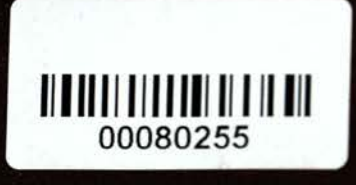
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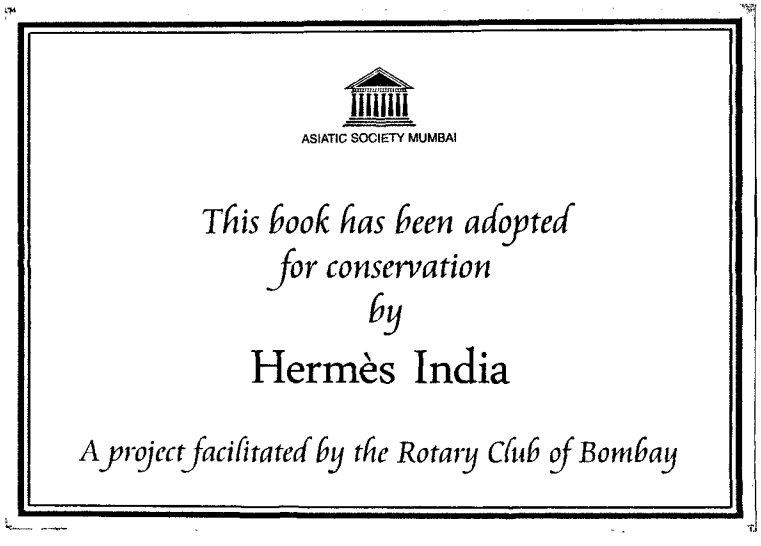

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HISTORY OF PAINTING

VOLUME I.

HISTORY

OF

PAINTING

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

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VOL. I.—ANCIENT, EARLY CHRISTIAN, AND MEDIÆVAL PAINTING

LONDON

C. KEGAN PAUL & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1880

759
W01/1tiS

Printed by R. & R. CLARK, *Edinburgh.*

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In the study of painting, as in so many other studies, the critical and historical spirit of our age continues to be ever more and more actively at work. Since we have learnt to realise how large and vital a part of the genius of the past survives in the images of the painter, the labours of many industrious inquirers have been constantly directed towards the solution of chronological, personal, and technical problems connected with every period and phase of the art. At the same time, the inherent attraction of the subject has drawn towards it a constantly increasing measure of popular interest and curiosity. Hence there has made itself felt the need of an adequate general History of Painting, in which the scattered results of research should be collected and set forth for the benefit alike of the student and the general reader.

This need one of the most distinguished of the several distinguished German historians of art, the late Professor Woltmann of Strassburg, undertook a few years ago to satisfy. The first volume of his work, carrying the subject from the dawn of ancient Egyptian down to the transformation of Italian mediæval civilisation, is now laid before the English public.

The standard general book on the subject has hitherto been the Handbook of Dr. Kugler, which, in its successive English editions, had the advantage of translation and revision by thoroughly accomplished hands. The present work not only represents the existing state of knowledge better than that of Kugler, but follows a more comprehensive plan, inasmuch as it prefixes to the story of Christian painting the story of painting as practised in Ancient Egypt, the Asiatic Empires, Greece, and Rome; a portion of his task which Professor Woltmann confided to a highly instructed colleague, Dr. Woermann of Düsseldorf.

Professor Woltmann's own share of the book is especially dis-

tinguished for its copious and original treatment of the various European schools of miniature-painting, mural painting, and mosaic, in the Early Christian and Middle Ages. A knowledge of these comparatively obscure branches of the subject is in truth essential to the understanding both of the genius of those ages themselves, and of the steps by which painting, in the days of its humility, determined the choice and matured the conception of those themes which in the days of its glory were destined still to occupy it.

Speaking generally, it may be said with confidence that the narrative now set before the reader will be found to be the most complete and trustworthy History of Painting yet written.

The untimely death of Professor Woltmann, in the early spring of this year, has prevented the conclusion of his undertaking by his own hand. But it is being carried on from the materials which he had prepared, and with the assistance of other writers of authority, by his colleague, Dr. Woermann; and the present volume will be followed within a few months by a second containing the history of painting in its great age, the age of the Renascence.

For the English text as it hereinafter appears, it is proper to say that the Translator and the Editor are alone responsible. It has been their endeavour to convey in the clearest and simplest form the facts and information provided by the authors. For that purpose allowance has been made for the difference which exists between German and our own modes, not of expression only, but of thought; and the letter of the original has often been sacrificed for the sake of presenting a statement or an idea in the shape that seemed most suited to English apprehensions. With the facts and judgments of his authors it would have been presumption in the Editor to tamper; and he has been careful to mark with brackets [ ] the very few instances where he has introduced an addition or interpolation into their text or notes. For the rest, he has considered it within his province to venture upon an occasional abridgment or transposition, and has consulted his own ideas of order and lucidity in such matters as chapter-headings, the indication of leading dates, and the divisions and headings of paragraphs.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
May 1880.

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PART I.

PAINTING IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

BY

KARL WOERMANN.

BOOK I.

PAINTING IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE EAST.

CHAPTER I.

EGYPT.

Nature of the Art of Painting—Earliest monuments of known date—Egypt : its geography and history—Variations of style in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms—Architectural aspect of ancient Egypt—Relations of Painting and Relief Sculpture in Egyptian art—Absence of perspective in Egyptian painting—Various modes of compensating for absence of perspective—General system of composition—Canon of human form—Deficiency of individual character; skill in portraying movement; use of symbolism—Deficiency of facial expression—Treatment of animals—Treatment of vegetation—Treatment of water—System of colouring in Egyptian painting—Division of labour; technical methods—Character of the results—Religious subjects—Domestic subjects—Landscape—Various forms of painting in Egypt—Illustrated MSS.—Caricature—General character recapitulated.

MIRACULOUS is the power of painting, which on a flat surface of limited size can represent, even to illusion, all the spacious world with its wealth of forms and colours. Whatever towers aloft to heaven and whatever clings humbly to the earth—whatever stands near and large as well as whatever dwindles remote and small—the blackest darkness and the brightest light—all these painting is able to grasp within the four corners of a frame, or to fling down upon a sheet of paper which a breath may blow away.

The secret of these miracles lies, as we all know, in the natural construction of the human eye, on the retina of which, as on a plane surface, the objects of sight image themselves side by side. Thus, in the words of the physiologist Helmholtz, "it is because the objects of sight, as our glance sweeps out over them, present themselves to us as though arranged on a flat surface, that we are able to recall their appearance to the eye by drawing and painting executed really on the flat." The capacity, then, of rightly fixing upon a plane surface the appearances of things according to their forms and colours is the first condition of all high success in painting, the richest and most many-sided of all the manual or shaping arts. Simple as the optical laws of right painting may seem to those who have once mastered them, nevertheless to generations upon generations of men who strove to paint, those laws remained unknown. Painting in its accomplished form—painting in the full consciousness and full exercise of its own capabilities—is the youngest among the kindred arts. But the history of painting is bound to include within its scope not only the efforts of the art's maturity, but also those of its infancy among the early nations of the world.

Those very races whom we especially designate as the classic races, as the ancients, themselves regarded with awe the people of Egypt, that land of wonders immeasurably more ancient still. To them Egypt seemed the home of all venerable, all immemorial traditions of human civilisation. The most recent research confirms their belief to this extent at least, that it finds upon Egyptian soil the earliest monuments of human activity for which it is possible to fix a historic date. The history of painting, then, must have its starting point, like other histories, in the Valley of the Nile.

Egypt proper consists of a long and narrow oasis lying between the yellow sands of the Lybian desert and the barren mountains of the Red Sea coast. Beginning about the lower spurs of the mountain-terraces of Nubia, near the cataracts of Assouan (the Syênê of the Greeks), the territory follows thence the course of the sacred river, which by its mysterious inundations is the one fertiliser of the almost rainless land, down to the marshy region where its waters find their way into the Mediterranean. The political Egypt of history moved, indeed, in the reverse direction—from the mouths of the Nile upwards to the Nubian mountains. Memphis, the capital of the "Old Kingdom," lay but a short distance above the point where the river branches into the Delta, opposite the site of the modern capital, Cairo; and the mighty pyramids of Gizeh, which from the citadel of Cairo you can still see emerging over the horizon, are the tombs of Pharaohs who ruled over the same soil almost five thousand years ago. Farther up the river, in Upper Egypt proper, lay the city of the hundred-gated Thebes. Thebes was the capital of the so-called "Middle Kingdom," from the eleventh dynasty down, and more specifically of the "New Kingdom." It was from this seat that the New Kingdom went out to the overthrow of the foreign sovereignty of the Hyksos, which had then maintained itself for centuries over the lower Valley of the Nile. The monuments of Thebes, the mighty ruins of her temples, palaces, and tombs, to this day extend far along either bank of the river, and during the lapse of three thousand years and more have retained, beneath the perpetual azure of the Egyptian skies, the luminousness of their ancient colouring. It was these same monarchs of the Theban period who pushed their way with horse and chariot still farther to the south, and planted within the territory of Nubia, beyond the boundaries of Egypt proper, monuments destined to be the bulwarks of civilisation against the negro hordes. Some of these monuments, as for instance those of Abousimbel (Ipsambul), rival the remains of Thebes herself in majesty and splendour, so that the historian of the art of Egypt is compelled to pursue his subject even into those inhospitable wilds.

It has been a question of much and learned debate whether it is really permissible to speak of the history of Egyptian art as a history of changes in style corresponding to changes of period and circumstance. The debate must now be regarded as having been decided in the affirmative. At any rate, we

may establish a true principle of distinction between the art of the Old Kingdom, which reached its highest point under the sixth dynasty, and that of all succeeding periods. In the art of the former epoch the human body was conceived under proportions comparatively broad, squat, and sturdy; but no uniform or unalterable canon—and this is the essential distinction—had yet imposed its constraints upon design. Some of the works of sculpture brought to light by Mariette from the tombs of the ancient Memphis exhibit a realism of individual life and character completely at variance with all our preconceived notions as to the invariable conventionality of Egyptian art. Under the eleventh dynasty, with which some scholars begin a Middle Kingdom, the human proportions become slenderer. The chest is still broad and powerful, but the body is drawn in, the arms and legs become relatively thin, while the face retains the low retreating forehead, the upward-sloping cut of the eye, the thick lips with their half-sensual, half-mechanical smile. Above all, every figure is now mathematically designed according to a prescribed canon of numerical proportions between the parts. Under the New Kingdom, from the eighteenth dynasty down, this type and this canon undergo but little change; but there is an advance towards technical perfection, and the stir of new political movements among the dwellers of the Nile Valley seems to impart something of new life and inspiration to the historical representations of art. Even in the days of the Ptolemies, when Egypt had become politically Hellenised, the canon of proportions remained essentially the same, although we can discern slight divergencies, and although a foreign influence and an imitative intention are perceptible in a feeling for rounder and more flowing forms. Nevertheless all these phases of art after the eleventh dynasty are phases of merely superficial variation, and the difference between one and another is so slight as almost to disappear when we consider the enormous spaces of time in which such differences occur. Egyptian history reckons by dynasties where we reckon by individual potentates, and counts by thousands of years where we count by hundreds. If we leave out of view the remote age in which Memphis was the seat of empire—and this age was not taken into account by the ancient Greeks in their own estimate of things Egyptian—we are justified, first as last, in speaking of the stability of Egyptian art as having been such as almost to exclude the idea of historical development.[1]

The impulse of artistic creation in the ancient Egyptians was very strong, and it was above all things an impulse to the creation of monuments of vastness. Architecture was the ruling art in the Valley of the Nile. In that narrow space, during the great days of Egypt, there stood probably a more prodigious number of the mightiest buildings than ever stood in such a space elsewhere. From Beni-Hassan downwards throughout Lower Egypt it is true that almost the only monuments which remain are monuments raised above ground to the dead, or subterranean places of burial. In this region the temples and palaces

of the primeval dynasties have perished, partly from the very excess of their antiquity, partly from the comparative variability of the climate, and partly from the fact that political revolutions have been more frequent and more violent here than farther inland. On the other hand, of the colonnaded courts, the halls of pomp, the proudly towered sanctuaries, built by the Theban dynasties in Nubia and Upper Egypt, quite enough has been preserved to our own day to give us a lively insight into the architectural aspect anciently borne by those regions.

The point which strikes the attention first of all in regard to all these prodigious buildings—those below as well as those above ground, those of the Old and Middle Kingdoms as well as those of the New—is that architecture here universally absorbs into her own service the other manual arts of sculpture and painting. In Egyptian art, the painted relief, considered as sculpture, is raised but very little from the field, and scarcely differs in treatment from painting properly so called—from the art, that is, of representing solid objects on a flat surface. The painted reliefs of the Egyptians come, therefore, legitimately within the scope of the present enquiry. We find all the wall-surfaces of their buildings, inside as well as out, all cornices, all shafts of columns, decorated in colours, whether laid really on the flat within outlines previously drawn, or whether disposed upon spaces carved in real though low relief, or whether, finally, upon spaces treated in that kind of sunk or apparent relief which is peculiar to Egyptian art (*κοιλανάγλυφα, bas-reliefs en creux, versenkte Reliefs, Scheinreliefs:*—in this last case the decorated surface does not really project from the face of the wall, but owes its appearance of projection to the outlines being incised and the retreating parts of the figures cut away). Of the vast subjects which decorate the outer walls of the temples of Nubia and Upper Egypt, the greater part are executed in this method of sunk or apparent relief. The chief application of painting to true flat surfaces which occurs in the monumental art of Egypt is in the decoration of sepulchral chambers, as for instance those of Beni-Hassan (twelfth dynasty): here, as in other tombs, with the exception of occasional subjects from the Ritual of the Dead, the scenes depicted are almost exclusively taken from the private and everyday life of the people. Painting executed strictly on the flat occurs again in the decorations of a variety of objects discovered in tombs of the early period, and especially by way of illustration or vignette to the papyrus rolls employed for writing. For our present purpose we need not spend time upon the minor works of Egyptian painting, but may limit our attention to what is by far the most important class of such works, the great monumental representations executed on the walls of temple-palaces or tombs.[2] When we have said that there is little essential difference of character between those which are pure paintings on the flat, and those which are paintings on a ground more or less relieved, we have already pronounced the verdict of the former considered

from the pictorial point of view. For painting cannot be combined in any degree with relief, without forfeiting its own specific prerogatives. It is not that relief is treated by the Egyptian artists, as Ghiberti treated it in the fifteenth century, according to the laws of painting, but that painting is treated according to the laws of relief; or more strictly, that painting and relief in one are employed to produce representations merely in outline and effects purely decorative. Neither the principle of the painter nor the principle of the relief sculptor is really carried out. The Egyptian artist applies his combined arts, one might almost say, hieroglyphically; his one object, to which all artistic effect is secondary, is to be clear and intelligible, and to tell so that all may understand it the story which he undertakes to tell.

Least of all do we find in Egyptian work any trace of perspective, or any attempt to conjure up by imitation on the flat a portion of the world's phenomena in their true appearance and relations. When two figures have to be represented behind one another, this is often done by simply doubling the outlines of the first figure; the natural consequence is that the farther of the two looks larger than the nearer. Sometimes the figures which are intended to be in the rear are shown emerging higher by half a length than those intended to be in front; and sometimes, again, the rear rank is ranged clear over the front rank, with the feet of the former above the heads of the latter. It can hardly be held that these conventions have reference to the real law of sight according to which objects as they recede seem to lie one above another up to the horizon. Nay, in many scenes all possibility of right perspective is excluded beforehand by another primitive convention, according to which superiority of rank is indicated in the picture by superiority of size. We find this especially in the great battle-pieces of the nineteenth dynasty, in which the king himself is accustomed to appear at the head or in the midst of his army, overtowering by many lengths all other personages whether of friend or foe. An interesting example occurs in the coloured work in half-relief on the side wall of the first chamber at Abousimbel (Fig. 1). The gigantic Pharaoh storms along in his war chariot with its prancing steeds, in the act of discharging an arrow against the mountain-citadel of his enemies. He is followed immediately by his three sons, who stand in like manner with drawn bows upon their chariots, and are represented one exactly above another, so as to leave a clear interval, if not between each charioteer, at least between the back of each horse and the feet of those above him; and yet the height of all three together only just equals the stature of their sire.

Naturally this absence of perspective, which throws so strangely out the grouping of even a few figures close to one another, tells with twofold effect where the background is regularly filled in, or where continuous landscape is attempted. In the latter case the country is depicted in ground-plan like a map. Of this treatment the battle-pieces at Abousimbel and in the Temple

Fig. 1.

of Rameses at Thebes furnish very interesting examples. In one of the first we have a river-bed drawn in ground-plan, and within the river-bed an island or tongue of land defended by a wall and ditch; the fortifications of the island are indicated by six battlemented towers drawn in elevation, and in the same way the camp with the royal tents is drawn partly in ground-plan like the river-bed, partly in elevation like the towers. The same methods are combined in the ground-plan representation of a river and fortified island, and the profile representation of a battle-medley on the shore, with zig-zag lines for waves, which occurs in the Temple of Rameses at Thebes. Another very singular substitute for perspective occurs sometimes in the paintings of the twelfth dynasty in the tombs at Beni-Hassan. Favourite scenes here are scenes of fishing and fowling among marshes. The fisher or fowler stands upright beside the water, which is indicated by a perpendicular zigzag pattern in black at his feet. And in order to bring to the level of his eye the fish which he has to catch, or the water-bird which he has to shoot swimming, the piece of water in which the one or the other occurs is carried up perpendicularly in an isolated column to the required level. What

remains, however, the most characteristic feature of Egyptian drawing, is that curiously mixed system in which the general landscape is drawn in ground-plan like a map, and its individual features in elevation like a picture; while it seems to depend simply on considerations of symmetry or convenience in distribution, in what direction the base-lines of various objects shall be made to run, and therefore whether they shall stand upright, or on their right or left sides, or upside down. This fashion is clearly set before us by a well-known painting in a funeral chapel at Abd-el-qurna, representing the building of the Temple of Ammon (Fig. 2). Among other incidents, some figures, coloured yellow, are drawing water in great jars from a square pond. The reader will observe that this pond is drawn in ground-plan and surrounded by an edging of grass, which the painter has represented of equal width—that is, in ground-plan also—on all four sides. And beyond the edging of grass he has wished to represent shady trees surrounding the pond, six on each side of the square, and has had no hesitation in drawing each row of six at right angles to the line which bounds that side of the pond upon which it grows; so that all four rows point different ways, and only the top row stands upright. It cannot be denied that the painter by this method attains the object of making himself understood; but as to any other, any properly pictorial object, it is obvious that at such he makes no attempt, and for such he is entitled to no praise.

It is understood, then, that in Egyptian painting there is no question of enclosing separate and complete pictures within determinate limits. What we find in the pictures that cover the whole height of these enormous wall-spaces is essentially an arrangement of scenes in horizontal tiers one above another, such tiers being usually wider below and narrower above. Nevertheless figures larger than the rest interrupt now and then the continuity of the tiers; and the general scheme of the decorations is governed by no severe principle of regularity. When the conditions of symmetry have been sufficiently complied with in the arrangements of lines and colours at certain points—as, for instance, at the huge gateways where men passed in beneath the symbolic sun-globe with its extended wings—when this has been done sufficiently to insure decorative effect, the arrangement of the figure subjects remains to a large extent free, and admits of much variation, in spite of the continual recurrence of similar figures marching this way or that in stiff procession. Hence the assertion of the great historian of art, Schnaase, that in Egypt decorative painting and sculpture are not really subordinate to architecture, but independent, merely finding in the wall-surfaces provided by architecture an opportunity for their own free devices. Or again, if we consider that the primary purpose of all these great paintings seems to be to commemorate actual events for posterity; nay more, that their subjects are sometimes actually taken from the endless hieroglyphic inscriptions which share the same walls with them, and occasionally encroach upon their

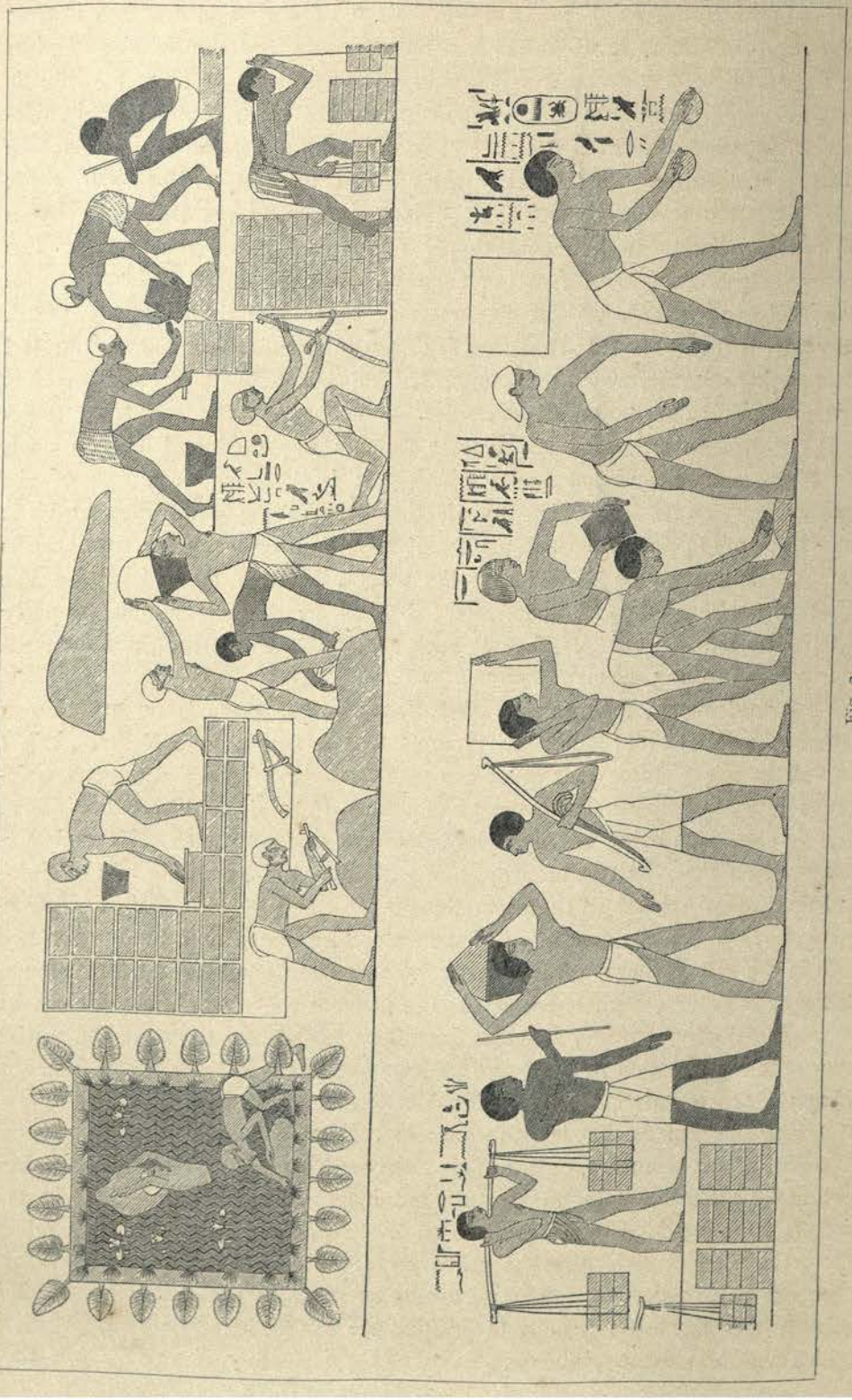

Fig. 2.

field ; so that, if these great decorations are in part the servants of architecture, they are at least as much the servants of history,—if we consider this, we shall understand why another distinguished writer, Semper, speaks of the storied walls of the Egyptian palaces as so many "colossal writing-tablets," and calls their painted decorations so much *colour-rhetoric*, as distinguished from *colour-music*, that is, from painting which is purely architectural.

Enough has been said to show that in reference to the monuments of Egypt there can be no question of the complete effects or mature processes of painting, regarded as an art having either the purpose or the means adequately to translate upon a flat surface the facts of nature and of space. Let us pass now from the consideration of the general system of composition which we find in these works, first to their treatment of individual forms, and next to their treatment of colour.

We have already spoken in general terms of the typical conception of the human form which prevails in Egyptian art. In the history of Egyptian painting we fail to encounter that comparatively realistic treatment which we have mentioned as characteristic of the earliest Egyptian sculpture. Both in paintings on the flat and in the works of the kindred art of sunk relief, we have to do from first to last with an established canon of human proportions, though it is true that the earliest sunk reliefs until the sixth dynasty show signs of more freedom and naturalism than those of later times. Even then, nevertheless, this art already exhibits some of the regular characteristics of Egyptian painting, and among others, that of a confusion between the side and the front views of the human figure. This confusion arises partly from want of feeling for perspective, and partly from the desire of representing action intelligibly. The consequence is, that the bewigged and strangely tired heads, with their conventional, often artificial beards, are almost always drawn in exact profile, while the breast is shown in full front and the lower part of the body again in profile. This distortion naturally produces a perplexing effect upon the eye.

Further, the adoption of a mathematical canon naturally excludes the possibility of sharply discriminating individual characters. To discriminate even age from youth is more than we are usually enabled to do. Nevertheless this uniformity does not extend so far as to obliterate distinctions of race. The various nationalities known to the Egyptians are indicated by clearly marked types, and the negro, his colour apart, is distinguished not less characteristically from the Egyptian than from the Asiatic. One of the royal tombs of the New Kingdom affords a good instance of such a grouping of various races. Again, it has been remarked with reason that, just as at first sight we fancy that all Chinamen, all Negroes, or all Malays, are alike, but upon further acquaintance are able to recognise their individual features, even so the student of Egyptian art learns in course of time to distinguish better among the physiognomies that at first he thinks so uniform. It is, however, only of the portraits of kings

that this remark holds good; the general multitude of figures of one and the same race show no less regularity in their rigid features than in the proportions of their bodily structure. Steeped in conventionality, however, as are the forms, the movements of figures in Egyptian art are full of life and spirit; not anatomically correct, but speaking and unmistakable. True, in repose or in slow advance, both feet are made to rest along the ground. But in the representation of running or any rapid movement, the point only of the foot is made to touch the ground; the legs, and with them the arms, which in repose hung quite stiffly by the side, are designed in the attitudes and movements of every variety of occupation. The Egyptians are thus capable of telling with clearness any kind of story by means of pictures; or if their knowledge of nature in any instance fails them, they know how to make up for it by a system of symbolism not less clear and obvious. Thus, in a large class of representations intended to exhibit the king as conqueror over many alien communities, such conquered communities are brought together in a kind of tangle, so as almost to look like a single creature, many-legged, many-armed, and many-headed, which the king grasps by a single top-knot composed of the hair of all the heads twisted together, in order to cut the heads themselves off the bodies at a single blow of his sword. The Egyptians, then, are only capable of representing naturally individual figures and actions, and even in this, tradition keeps their naturalism within narrow bounds; while as soon as knowledge derived from observation fails them, which it does in all extended efforts, they have recourse either to the kind of symbolism we have just mentioned, or else to those devices in lieu of perspective described farther back. Another natural consequence of the deficient command of the Egyptians over individual form and feature, was that they could not assign to each of their several gods, as the Greeks with so much mastery assigned to each of theirs, an appropriate and distinguishable type. In default of this power, the painters of Egypt employed a symbolism which may, from its correspondence to the religious ideas of the people, have been not less plain to them than the significance of the types of Greek art was to the Greeks. Their mode of expressing the differences between one god and another was by fastening the heads of different animals upon human bodies, and fastening them often in a very inorganic and tasteless way; as when, for instance, we see the thin Ibis-neck of the god Thoth growing from the broad shoulders of his trunk in a fashion as comical as it is monstrous.

But the greatest of all the deficiencies in Egyptian art is its deficiency in the power of depicting the affections of the mind as expressed upon the features. One face wears almost always the same fixed and invariable expression as another. A king, whether we see him engaged in prayer or sacrifice, or confronting the enemy in the onset of battle, or marching in triumph after his victory, or sitting upon the seat of judgment in the character of an avenging deity, invariably bears upon his countenance the same character of inexpressive

and conventional rigidity, beneath which our modern eyes seem to detect something of a sensual and self-complacent smile. It is by gestures only, and especially by the gestures of the arms, now raised in entreaty, now extended to avert some visitation, now upheaved in menace,—it is by these alone that the emotions of the personages are wont to be indicated.

From all this it is clear that Egyptian art fails the more the higher it aspires. It is incapable of anything like a worthy realisation of the divine. It is almost incapable of representing any of the movements of the human spirit. It is not even capable of adequately representing the physical life of man, of which the true beauty can only be rendered by an art which has freed itself from the shackles of conventionalism.

These shortcomings of Egyptian art affect us much less in the representation of animals, because, as has been justly said, we are most of us, in our observation of animals, content with recognising the type, and do not descend to individual particulars. And the various types of animal life are apprehended by Egyptian art in a very lively and natural manner; nay, even the individual actions of their lives are often vividly copied, as when a calf in the meadow obeys the calls of nature, or when peacocks sit in a fig-tree and pluck the fruit, or when goats leap up to catch the twigs of trees.

In like manner the vegetable world is often characteristically enough represented. Sometimes, indeed, as in one of the great pictures at Karnak, the trees seem as childishly drawn as in an old Nuremberg toy-box; but in other instances, as in the court of a small temple of the age of Rameses II., at Beit-Ualli in Nubia, we find them very natural and well characterised. We see a troop of defeated negroes taking flight for some palm-groves, and the palm-trees are very faithfully delineated with their crop of fruit, their broad leaves and scaly stems; monkeys sit in their summits; within a hedged enclosure a woman is busy over household tasks; other women and children run out to meet the piteous company of the fugitives; and altogether we seem to look upon a very lively picture of the tropical groves of Ethiopia. Not, of course, that Egyptian art, by its general laws, admits anything resembling the drawing or grouping of various trees in pictorial masses. Spacious gardens are indeed represented, but in the aforesaid manner, their extent being indicated in ground-plan, and the individual trees, gates, pavilions, potted shrubs, and the like, being drawn in outline and standing this way or that according to fancy, though more commonly upright than not.

Water has been called the eye or the soul of landscape, and Egyptian art is just as little able to express, in the higher sense, the character of water as it is to represent the eye or the soul of man. In this particular, indeed, rigid convention reigns supreme, and for thousands of years a strip of blue, filled perpendicularly with zigzag black lines, was taken as standing for water, and

the different kinds of water in the country were indicated, as the case might be, by fishes, crabs, turtles, crocodiles, hippopotami, or the like. Thus marshes are indicated sufficiently for the artist's purpose by beds of water-flags, lotus, or papyrus, and by the many-coloured water-birds which inhabit them; we see how the reeds are bent by the nests, full of eggs and young, which hang from them, and which the weasel and ichneumon climb their stems to rifle.

To turn to the Egyptian system of colouring, it is as little possible to speak of any true pictorial treatment of colour in their art as of any true perspective system of drawing. As there is no attempt at a continuous or natural background, the various figures are simply relieved upon the general tint of the wall. This, as at Pompeii, is generally coloured dark along the dado, where flowers are represented growing, but over its main area is more commonly brilliantly light. . This uniform-coloured background, while it governs the architectural impression of the whole wall, and gives it a kind of decorative unity, on the other hand breaks up the pictorial unity of the scene represented in it. Pictorial unity being thus excluded, and no attempt whatever being made at modelling or chiaroscuro, we can hardly speak of the "colouring" of the work as a whole, but only of the particular tints which are distributed upon its several parts. These tints are applied on the principle of imitating nature, so far as the observation of nature and the knowledge of pigments made such imitation possible. The Egyptians painted male figures of their own race a reddish brown; horses the same; whereas women were from the very earliest times painted yellow, or at any rate a lighter brown; negroes were tinted black, Asiatics yellow, and once we find a figure with a white skin, blue eyes, and yellow hair. Patterns both various and pleasing are painted on the coloured stuffs with which the races are respectively clothed. These stuffs are often so thin as to be transparent; and the one instance of something like true pictorial effect which we find in Egyptian art is where the bodies, as seen through these transparent tissues, are painted in a whiter shade of their own colour, or else in a new colour lighter than their own. For the rest, the scale of colour and number of pigments at the command of the Egyptians were too limited for them to attempt more than the merest approximation to the local colouring of nature. Sometimes, however, a marked deviation from nature is due not to poverty of resources but to other considerations. This is the case especially in the representation of divinities. To represent the supernatural, the Egyptian mind had recourse, fantastically enough, to the *un*natural, and, not content with giving their gods the heads of brutes, proceeded to paint them — perhaps according to some profound principle of colour-symbolism which we are no longer able to fathom—in vivid hues of red, yellow, green, or blue. Where the sense of perspective is wanting, as we have said, in all things, for aërial perspective as expressed by gradations of colour we of course cannot look. And thus the whole system of Egyptian colour is contrary to

the principles of the true pictorial representation of nature. At the same time it serves all the better to characterise under various conventional types the several classes of person and object represented, and thus works hand in hand with the art of drawing as practised on kindred principles by the same race.

Just as no free or complete pictorial effect could be produced by these means, so the hands employed were, we must understand, not those of artists in any higher sense of the word, but only those of craftsmen possessed of technical skill and training. Moreover, the pictures as we see them were not even, we know, carried out in any case by one hand. The various crafts in ancient Egypt were strictly organised in guilds, and severe penalties forbade all encroachment by the members of one guild upon the functions of another. Thus it appears that one group of workmen was told off to face the stone of the walls with the plaster preparation which was used as a ground for all kinds of painting. Another group drew the outlines in red. Another, in cases where the method of sunk relief was in favour, hollowed out these outlines. A last group was charged with the actual laying on of the colour, which was always done upon a white ground, and it is even probable that for the laying on of this white ground a separate group of hands was employed. As to the technical processes of Egyptian painting, they seem to have been those of distemper in its simplest form. The vehicle employed was gum-water, and fresco seems not to have been known. Some examples are preserved in which, the work having stopped short at one or other of the various stages of manipulation we have described, those stages can be traced back and examined. On the other hand, we have also pictures representing Egyptian artists at their work; some, whose business it is to prepare the ground, stand with their paint-pots by their side and brushes in their hand; others, who have palettes suspended from the arm, we must conclude to be the painters properly so called, whose task it was to complete the picture by giving it variety of colour. The museum at Florence possesses a wooden tablet which is of the utmost interest inasmuch as it seems to be a palette with the remains of painting materials upon it. On this we find only seven colours, black, green, dark and light red, dark and light yellow, and light blue; but we know that at least brown and white were in use besides.

The processes of Egyptian painting, like most other processes to which a similar division of labour is applied, were carried out with much care and certainty to a point of uniform and smooth completeness. But their result carries, as might be expected, the corresponding stamp of conventionality, want of inspiration, and constraint, whereby the greater part of Egyptian art stands bound in the fetters of Oriental bondage, with the art of painting properly so called arrested in its infancy, and the art of outline-drawing, itself by no means devoid of spirit and liveliness in motive, tied nevertheless to the service of a kind of colossal picture-writing or monumental annals. If, therefore, the eye

lingers with interest upon the strange and manifold aspects of life thus recorded, it is the subject rather than the fashion of the record which attracts us. The reader will have realised by this time that Egyptian art is after its manner an art of clear and lively illustration, and indeed we owe to it a very living and varied insight into the phases of a picturesque and long vanished primeval culture.

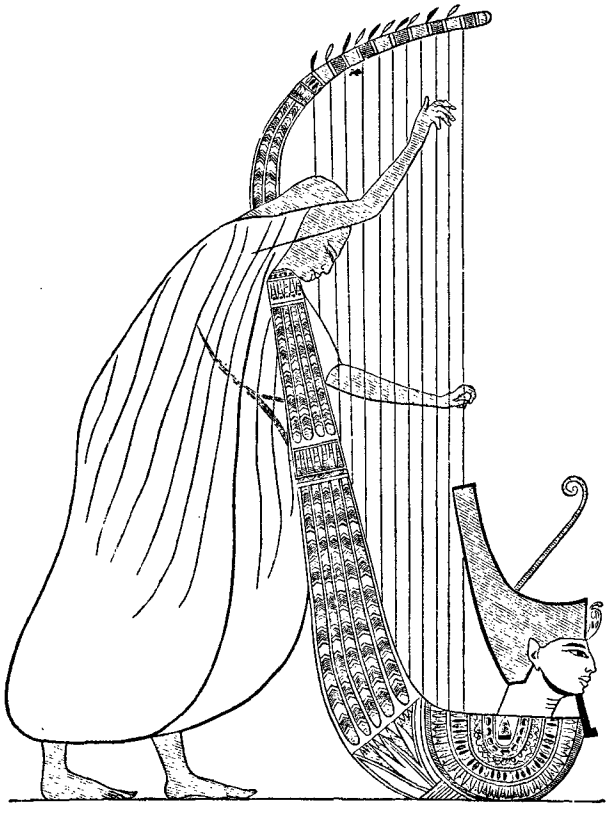

Fig. 3.

The scenes painted on Egyptian walls have been appropriately classed under three heads—religious, historical, and domestic. Of these, the religious class is that which lies farthest from our sympathies. In these brute-headed divinities, blue or green, we can take no pleasure for themselves, while their sacrificial ceremonies soon pall upon us by their repetition and their uniformity, and many of the mysteries represented remain mysteries to our eyes none the less that Egyptologists profess to have deciphered them. Still we do not fail to appreciate a certain character of lofty and tranquil solemnity which prevails in many scenes of dedication and procession. Among the most interesting are those which refer to the worship of the dead, the transport of mummies in funeral barges, rites of burial, the weighing of departed souls in the scales of judgment, and the like. Such scenes of religion and ritual are most frequent

in the funeral monuments of the New Kingdom. In connection with them the deceased is generally introduced in his own likeness.

The historical class of paintings, on the other hand, naturally interest us in the highest degree, although here too we must admit the fault of a certain monotony in the frequent representation of similar subjects. Such great historic scenes occur for the most part on the walls of the huge structures of the eighteenth

Fig. 4.

and nineteenth dynasties in Nubia and Upper Egypt. They are mostly executed in sunk relief. To this class belong the striking paintings of the terrace-temple of Der-el-baheri, in Upper Egypt, representing the naval expedition against Arabia conducted by the sister of Thotmosis III. in the eighteenth dynasty.[3] The expedition defiles along superposed strips of water, each strip alive with turtles, lobsters, and fishes; and there is a peculiar animation in the scenes which show us how the masted and richly rigged ships in part lie moored to the trees of the bank to receive their freight of booty, and in part are already being sped by swelling sails and strong rowers upon the homeward voyage. There has been preserved a disproportionate number of scenes from the life of Rameses II.; but it has been proved that this vainglorious sovereign, a royal forger on a grand

scale, in many instances caused his own name to be substituted for those of his predecessors on the monuments that celebrated their exploits. It was while he was still young that Rameses caused the chief incidents of his reign to be depicted at Abousimbel, in Nubia. The victories which he won over an Asiatic confederation, in the fifth year of his reign, and which were sung in an epic poem by Pentaur, which is preserved in the British Museum, are depicted upon various monuments at Beit-el-Ualli, in Nubia, at Luxor, and at the Temple of Rameses in Thebes. The real glory of this prince, about whose name so much renown has centred, ends with his early campaigns. The chief enterprises of his later years were slave-hunts, which he carried on in Ethiopia for the sake of securing the hundreds of thousands of labouring hands that were needed to satisfy the building mania which possessed him. Transports laden with negro captives are shown on many of his monuments, and bear a startling resemblance to the illustrations of the slave-traffic lately made by Schweinfurth from life in the same regions ;[4] and thus we see how, aloof from the main highroads of western civilisation, the same scenes of barbarism have gone on repeating themselves through thousands of years. Some campaigns of the third Rameses, on the other hand, are represented in scenes of much simplicity and liveliness on the walls of a temple at Medinet Abou in Thebes. They show us, among other things, how the Pharaoh goes lion-hunting in a jungle of sedge or papyrus, and again how he takes part from the shore in a fight going on at sea, stepping over corpses of the dead and discharging arrows from his bended bow. In spite of the shortcomings we have discussed, there is both life and movement in these pictorial military reports, as we may call them.

It is in tombs, and especially in the tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, that we encounter the domestic class of subjects ; among which we have already mentioned, as deserving the name of true paintings, those belonging to the twelfth dynasty at Beni-Hassan. These are scenes of which the purpose is to set before our eyes the life of the deceased ; hence they reproduce, with clearness and simplicity, all the manifold aspects of private existence in ancient Egypt. Hunting and fishing incidents are represented in the bas-reliefs of the sepulchral chambers of the Pyramids as early as the time of the fourth and fifth dynasties. Scenes of fruit-gathering, primitively enough rendered, occur in the fifth dynasty ; the sixth introduces animated idyllic pictures of the life of herdsmen and woodmen. Pictures of the same kind, more natural and lively still, occur in the caves of Beni-Hassan already mentioned, and show us the dealings of man with nature as a cultivator of the soil, surprising us often by little touches of truthful and even humorous observation. Nor are these all the incidents of private life that are familiar to Egyptian painting ; we are introduced besides to a variety of arts and crafts, to scenes of music and dancing, of navigation, trade, the tribunals, gymnastic and military exercises, and much more. We see women busy over the preparation of perfumes ;

tumblers, with yellow skins and their hair in plaits, playing ball with black balls; bald-headed harpers; female mourners at the funeral; in short, innumerable persons of every sort and condition in the exercise of their several callings.

Landscapes proper, landscapes for their own sake, are naturally foreign to Egyptian art, although we find extensive background views of the kind already described, and although the garden scenes which find their place in some of the great figure compositions almost produce, if you regard them by themselves, the effect of independent landscapes (we speak especially of certain works of the twelfth dynasty at Beni-Hassan, and of the eighteenth at Tel-el-Amarna).[5] They enable us to form interesting conclusions as to the symmetrical Egyptian mode of laying out gardens, usually in strict and intelligent obedience to practical ends. At least in the views that have been preserved, utility has evidently held the first place in the plan, though pleasure-grounds have been introduced also in suitable places.

Thus the wall-decorations of the Egyptian painters spread before our eyes a whole world of war and peace, of devotional and secular occupation, and give us a picture of the ways and doings of the race almost more complete than either Greece or Rome has left us of their own. At any rate, thanks to the durability of their processes and the dryness of their climate, the Egyptians have bequeathed to us far greater areas covered with works of the painter's art than all the other and younger races of heathen antiquity. In comparison with the number and importance of these monumental paintings of the Egyptians, it is hardly worth while to draw attention to the different kinds of painting which cover almost all the other objects of their handiwork that have been brought to light, and especially their coffins, or mummy-cases, both inside and out.

On the other hand, it would well repay the student to examine in detail the pictorial representations that occur in the written papyrus scrolls; but to do this is alike beyond the limits of our space and the present state of Egyptological knowledge. Enough that such occasional illustrations and vignettes introduced in the papyri evidently serve the same purpose as the miniatures in early Christian and mediæval manuscripts. In a word, they are strictly the oldest book-illuminations in the world. They consist usually of somewhat rude outlines, drawn, like the text, with a reed pen in red or black; but sometimes we find them instead painted with a brush in several colours, and occasionally even rolls are found which are full of such paintings and nothing else. The scenes represented belong chiefly to the Ritual of the Dead, the writings upon which they occur having been found for the most part in tombs, and constituting, in the words of Lepsius, a kind of funeral passport designed to secure for the deceased a favourable reception at the many gates of the celestial regions. These subjects occur in exceptional excellence in the Turin copy, the most complete of several that have been found, of the book specifically

Fig. 5.

known as "the Book of the Dead." Another celebrated set of miniatures is that which adorns a papyrus-roll found at Thebes by the French Expedition in 1798, and now in the Louvre. The series consists of a number of ritual scenes with figures of gods, men, and animals. It is noteworthy that these pictures resemble certain mediæval miniatures in being painted in bright colours within black outlines. The illustrations in this case occupy the upper border of the manuscript, and this is a common arrangement. But sometimes they are introduced by way of occasional pictures separately in the text, and a papyrus at the Louvre shows clearly how in such cases the scribe has left the required space for the picture. Often, again, the pictures occupy an entire roll. There exists one roll more than twenty yards long, which represents nothing but funeral ceremonies painted in bright colours and heightened with gold.[6]

Caricature is a branch of art which we should not have supposed conformable to the serious and measured attitude of the Egyptian mind; but that it was not unknown we learn from a papyrus in the British Museum which exhibits, in a slight, free, and far from conventional style of drawing, a parody of the bas-reliefs carved by the direction of Rameses III. for the commemoration of his exploits, on the walls of his palace at Medinet-Abou. Cats and rats fighting stand in the parody for the heroes, and a lion toying among gazelles for the king in his harem.[7] Thus these drawings and paintings on the papyri, though they teach us nothing new

about the style and mode of treatment of Egyptian art, confirm our impression of the range and variety of its subjects.

In truth there was no theme from which the artists of Misraim shrank; whatever they could conceive they held themselves free to represent. But such representations, as we have by this time fully learnt, are in their essential scope no more than a kind of picture-writing. In the real writing of the Egyptians, the characters, and sometimes the signs for entire words, consisted of figures of actual objects. It was a natural step from this to set forth comprehensive narratives and reports of events in the form of pictures on a large scale. A painted chronicle—such was the real character of Egyptian painting throughout the whole of its history. Independent artistic aims the art could not pursue for lack of means; nor could it hope to acquire those means when it had once given up the comparative truth to nature which is observed by the oldest school of sculpture, and allowed itself to be bound in the bonds of tradition, convention, and canon. Lepsius calls the art of Egypt "a child, a strictly, heedfully, narrowly brought up child;" and the child in truth never grew nor became of age. The network of sacerdotal prescription, which among that race enmeshed all the movements of man's life, paralysed in art also the power of individual progress and the chance of individual eminence; it is therefore no wonder that out of all that multitude of toilers there emerges no single one above the rest, that we have no name of an Egyptian painter to record, and that if the arts of Egypt may be said to have a history, yet history of her artists there is none.

CHAPTER II.

THE MONARCHIES OF WESTERN ASIA.

Geographical centres — The three Monarchies — Remains of the first Monarchy — Remains of the second Monarchy—Assyrian fresco-paintings—Assyrian tile-paintings—Scale of colouring—Assyrian sculptured reliefs—Composition in Assyrian sculptured reliefs—Remains of the third Monarchy—Babylonian tile-paintings—Description of lost specimens—Shortcomings of Egyptian and Assyrian compared with Greek painting.

THE great Mesopotamian plain is the geographical starting-point of the arts of Western Asia, arts of which the common progress and development came to a close about the time of the Persian wars. The countries which invented and propagated styles were Babylonia and Assyria. These styles, with their strongly-marked characteristics, imposed themselves first upon the Persians when that people entered upon the political inheritance of Mesopotamia, next upon the Asiatic coasts of the Mediterranean, and from thence, as is now on all hands acknowledged, went forth to exercise a powerful influence upon the arts of Greece herself in an early stage of their development. As for the painting of these races, although scarcely any vestiges of it are left, we can nevertheless prove that this art played a considerable part in the cities of Mesopotamia, and even formed a conspicuous element in the external decorations of their palaces.

Mesopotamia, that is to say the country between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, exhibits two separate seats of a very ancient civilisation: in the south, Chaldea, with its renowned capital of Babylon; in the north, Assyria, with its not less renowned Nineveh. We all know how the exploration of these cities of Babylon and Nineveh is an achievement of our own century, for which we are indebted to the enterprise and acuteness of the great English and French scholars and excavators in this department, Rawlinson, Layard, Oppert, and others.[8]

During the centuries of the greatness of these countries, to which the conquests of the Persian Cyrus put an end, the ruling influence came at two separate periods from the south, and at one period from the north. The order in which we have to consider the arts of the three mighty monarchies, following the course of their chronology, is this: 1, Old Chaldea; 2, Assyria; 3, New Babylon.

Of the oldest of these kingdoms, the only monuments that remain are confused heaps of brick ruins. Among such ruins, those of Mugheir, Warka, and Abu-Scharein are especially attributed to the primeval kingdom of Chaldea.

At Warka there is preserved an interesting fragment of the coloured surface-decoration of an external wall, in the shape of a mosaic pattern composed of sections of little red, white, and black rods, glazed on the surface, and having a carpet-like effect. It has been attempted, indeed, to show that the whole system of wall-surface decoration in Babylonian and Assyrian art was a development from woven rugs or hangings, that weaving in many colours was among the earliest industries of those countries, but that figure subjects were in the first instance not woven into the pattern of such hangings, but worked upon them in embroidery.[9] The history of painting begins naturally with the introduction of figure subjects. Of these the ruins of the primeval cities of Chaldea preserve no trace as applied to exterior wall-surfaces, neither have we any written evidence on the matter. The interior walls, on the other hand, of certain chambers in Abu-Scharein do show traces of painted decorations upon a plaster surface. In one of them there could be made out the figures of two men, one tall and the other short, and the taller bearing upon his wrist a bird very rudely executed in red; and it is to the first Chaldean period that Rawlinson ascribes this attempt.

The second great monarchy of Mesopotamia was the northern, the Assyrian, of which the ascendency began about B.C. 1400. The ruins of its palaces have been recovered chiefly at the three sites of Nimrud, Koyundschik, and Korsabat, in the neighbourhood of the present commercial town of Mosul on the Tigris. Here too the ruling art was architecture, to which sculpture and painting served in subordination. The relations of the handmaid arts to their superior we find to be constant and uniform; and of those relations, thanks to the combined efforts of Assyriologists and architects, we can form a distinct and well-grounded conception. The lower course of the walls of the huge palaces of the kings, built usually of sun-dried bricks, were encrusted, both inside and out, with great plates of alabaster or calcareous stone richly decorated with reliefs. This system of facing the walls at the same time increased their stability, and contributed a system of ornament of no small value and impressiveness. This decorated lower course, or sculptured podium, so to speak, of the structure sometimes consisted of several tiers, one above another, of slabs carved in relief; and above these the upper part of the walls was ornamented again, both outside and in, with paintings sometimes executed on a plaster ground, and sometimes in encaustic direct upon the brick. Of such Assyrian paintings, however, the remains actually preserved are slight and merely fragmentary.

As to the paintings on a plaster ground, they seemed to have belonged exclusively to the inner wall-surfaces. The mound of Nimrud is rich in evidences of walls having been duly prepared to receive such paintings; but of the pictures themselves hardly a trace is preserved. The reports of the excavations, indeed, contain no infrequent mention of fragments of painting found upon the plaster, but go on no less often to say how they disappeared almost immediately

after they were brought into contact with the air. No strict technical examination of these remains seems to have been made at the time, but it has been conjectured that they were executed in distemper. Neither is much said about their subjects. "Monsieur Place," says Oppert, in his *Lecture on the Principles of Assyrian Art*, "found some frescoes (?) at the entrance of the harem of Sargon. Outside the earthen wall had been built a stone wall plastered with lime. On this were painted rosettes, lions, gods, and other subjects. My travelling companion, Monsieur Thomas, saw and copied them, and has thus preserved their record; for when I came to Nineveh a year later, I saw the wall indeed still in its place, but the coating of lime with its paintings had only survived for a few days the excavation which withdrew them from the interment in which they had lain protected for two thousand five hundred years."

Fig. 6.

Of Assyrian painted tiles there have been preserved fragments of somewhat more importance. They too come chiefly from the ruins of Nimrud. Unfortunately, however, no single one of such tiles has been recovered quite unbroken, still less has it been possible to put together the whole of any subject, which was in each case made up of many such single tiles. Single pieces only have been saved, with fragments of trees, animals, and human figures on them. The largest of these fragments, found at Nimrud, represents three figures walking behind one another, and the front half of a fourth personage facing the first of the

three (Fig. 6). This first figure we recognise by his tiara as a king returned from the chase or from battle; he puts to his lips the cup of welcome which has been handed by the servant facing him; or, according to another explanation, he offers a drink-offering. Two servants follow; first a beardless eunuch with a sword, bow, and quiver; next, a bearded spear-bearer, with pointed cap, short coat, and bare legs. These figures are only nine inches high. Others seem as a rule not to have been larger than this, so that the whole of each could be represented on a single tile. There have been found, however, the separate parts of some figures of which the size shows that each must have covered several tiles. Layard found one tile at Nimrud on which was depicted part of a face that must have belonged to a figure three feet high; but this is mentioned as an unusual size.

The existing remains, which furnish examples of painting perhaps as good as any that Assyria produced, enable us to draw very interesting conclusions as to the style and treatment of such representations. What immediately strikes us is the use of a broad, strong outline, resembling that of certain mediæval paintings. This is always a sharp and distinct band of colour, contrasting not only with the colour of the background, but also with that which it encloses; nay, contrary to the practice of all other schools, this broad outline in Assyrian painting is lighter than the rest of the picture, being pale yellow, or even white. Only where finer outlines appear, as round the head of the largest Assyrian fragment already mentioned, are they indeed of a darker brown. For the rest, the Assyrian scale of colour was very limited; and there is as little trace to be found here as in Egyptian art of any blending of colours, or of the employment of light and shadow, modelling, or anything in the nature of chiaroscuro. The outlines are broadly filled in with a few simple tints. The ground from which the figures stand out is pale olive green, reddish, or blue. The flesh is painted of a yellow hue, and it is rarely that this tone is sufficiently broken with red, as it is in the larger fragment we have mentioned, to produce any real effect of flesh-colour. Besides these, brown and black were used, according to Rawlinson, for hair, eyes, and eyebrows, and sometimes for bows and sandals; men, chariots, vessels, weapons, helmets, wing-feathers, gold ornaments, and sometimes horses, were painted yellow; other horses, shields, feathers, fishes, and dresses, blue; white appears in the eyes, in the linen shirts of men, in the tiaras of kings, and other objects, also in horses and buildings; olive-green seems only to appear in backgrounds, red only in certain parts of the royal head-dress, orange and lilac in the plumes of winged monsters. Evidently the scale of pigments known to the Assyrians was not sufficient to represent all objects in their natural colours. We must only think of their colouring as an approximate imitation of reality; for we can hardly imagine the Assyrians to have been really dressed in such few and quiet colours as would appear by these tile-paintings.

To complete such idea of the character and system of Assyrian painting as

we have been able to form from these scanty fragments, we shall do well to glance at their sculptured work of the same period,—we mean at those great relief-slabs which have withstood the lapse of time so far as concerns their carven substance, though not, unfortunately, in the freshness of the soft colouring with which originally they were entirely covered. The subjects of such sculpture are taken wholly from the life of the king. But while in Egyptian painting the religious relations of the king to the gods hold a conspicuous place, the scenes which the Assyrians thought worthy of being immortalised in art were almost entirely of a worldly nature. The despotism of Asia suppresses sacerdotal ambition. The walls are filled with reliefs of great public ceremonies, hunting or battle pieces, processions of conquerors returning with the spoil, and triumphal revels. Mythic and symbolic monsters apart, the imitation of nature is evidently the watchword of the Assyrian. Although single classes of objects, as trees, may be treated even more conventionally here than in Egypt, still there is nothing of the rigid and universal obedience to a prescribed scheme which we find there. True, figures in repose stand with both feet flat upon the ground, one before the other; true, the chest is often represented in front view in a manner which cannot be reconciled with the profile position of the head and legs; true, we scarcely find a trace of individuality or animation in the features; but all this is not the consequence, as it is in Egypt, of a prescribed and unalterable canon. Conventionalism does not rest here on authoritative laws, but on the natural limits of the powers of representation. Accordingly, the short, strong, muscular, often too fleshy type of the Assyrian race as it really was, with the Semitic head and aquiline nose, thick lips, full cheeks, heavy puffed eyelids, and bushy highly-arched brows, reflects itself distinctly in the art of the country. An advance is plainly noticeable, within comparatively few centuries, from the rigidity and uncouthness of the archaic style, which represented the muscles of the leg standing out separately, almost like a pattern embroidered on leather, to a freedom and truth to nature which almost approach the art of Greece. The best works, especially animal pieces, show such a close observation of nature combined with such a realistic power of representation, that Oppert has for this reason called the Assyrians the Dutchmen of antiquity.

For the history of painting, the inquiry which most concerns us in connection with these reliefs is, What system of grouping the parts of a great composition do they exhibit, especially of grouping them in relation to the background? It must be premised that the Assyrian artist, like the Egyptian, had for his first object to tell his story clearly, simply, and in chronological sequence. The Assyrian succeeded best; many symbolical expedients of Egyptian art he was able to cast aside, and his arrangement of great compositions is conspicuously simpler and more like nature. Particularly the connection of the action with its scenery is often exhibited in a manner much more adapted to produce

upon the eye something like a true idea of space. It is plain, indeed, that the Assyrians had no just idea of the laws and limits of relief as distinguished from painting, for they constantly and with great ostentation attempt in their reliefs to throw up the principal action against a complete natural background; a task properly to be undertaken by painting alone, and one which Greek painting itself only undertook after a period of probation in which it had acquired the necessary technical strength and freedom. Naturally this attempt of the Assyrians failed; their art shows a greater *feeling* for perspective than that of Egypt, but no scientific knowledge of it. The mixture of ground-

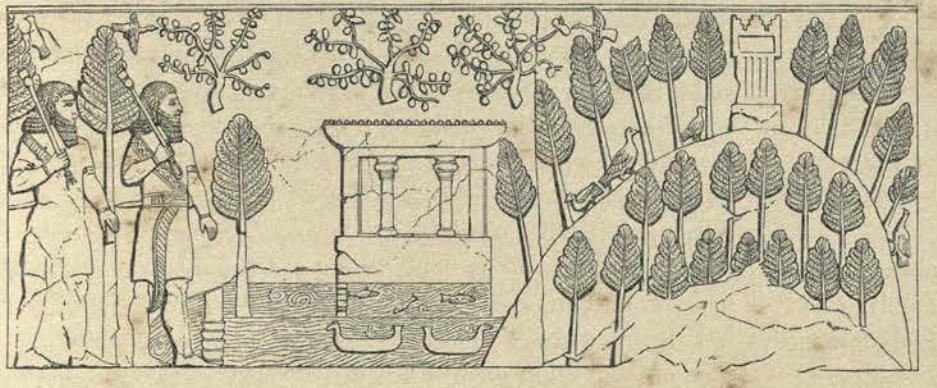

Fig. 7.

plan and elevation does not occur regularly as in Egypt; but similar arbitrary devices are not wanting: we do find occasionally trees, hills, and towers, drawn with their tops downmost, and constantly trees drawn at divergent angles from the hills on which they stand. Moreover all these backgrounds produce an overcrowded effect, and in the representation of many things, as in the brushwood on a mountain side, the artist is apt to repeat what looks like a regular stamped or stencilled pattern, producing an effect quite at variance with his realistic endeavours in other points. Water, on the contrary, though still conventional, is treated with much greater freedom than in Egypt. In place of spaces filled with stiff, regular, upright zigzags, there appears a free wave-line, varied here and there by formal spirals, which are irregularly distributed where the sea is figured, but repeated at equal intervals where rivers are meant (Fig. 7).

In the sixth century before our era, the supremacy of Assyria in the Mesopotamian regions was superseded by the renewed empire of Babylon, which reached the height of its prosperity under Nebuchadnezzar. The art of this Neo-Babylonian period followed essentially the principles which had been developed by the Assyrians, principles originally received by them in their turn, most likely, from the primeval empire of Chaldea. A difference in the building materials proper to the more southerly region of Babylon produced somewhat different

conditions in monumental art, the only art of these nations with which we are acquainted. Alabaster and limestone, which the Assyrians could quarry in the neighbouring mountains, the Babylonians had not got. They could not therefore, like their northern neighbours, face the lower parts of the walls of their palaces with slabs carved in relief; and it is quite by exception that such carvings are found in the ruined cities of Babylon. On the other hand, the Chaldeans had at command a far finer clay for making tiles than the Assyrians, and hence this industry was carried to perfection. External walls were almost entirely faced with glazed tiles, and the art of painting and enamelling such tiles was carried to great excellence. Oppert expressly declares that the tile-painting of Nineveh is to that of Babylon as water-colour to oil. The walls of Babylon, then, shone with a deeper, warmer, and more varied splendour than those of Nineveh; or, as Rawlinson says, by the side of Assyria, her colder and severer sister of the north, Babylon showed herself a true child of the south, rich, glowing, careless of the rules of taste, only desiring to awaken admiration by the dazzling brilliance of her appearance.

The coloured and glazed tiles of Babylon, however, were far from being always ornamented in imitation of nature. Many must only have carried a regular carpet-like pattern; others seem to have been coloured in plain colour. Instances of this last treatment have been found in the famous terrace-temple of Borsippê, near Babylon, the ruins of which were discovered at the modern Birs-Nimrud. But we know, both from ancient writers and from remains, that many other buildings of the mighty capital were decorated with tile-pictures properly so called. Among ancient writers, there is the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel, who speaks[10] (chap. xxiii. 14, 15) of "men pourtrayed upon the wall, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity." Semper thinks these words must refer to tapestries; we prefer, however, with most other critics, to understand them of enamelled tile-paintings. Among Greek writers, Diodorus Siculus, following Ktesias, reports thus of the scenes figured on one of the walls of Babylon:[11]—"Here were various kinds of animals represented on baked tiles to the life both in colour and drawing;" and farther on, in describing another wall:—"Animals of all kinds were figured on the towers and walls, and both as regards colour and truth to nature were rendered according to all the rules of art. The whole represented a chase full of animals of the most varied kinds, each more than four cubits in size. In the midst was Semiramis discharging a javelin from horseback at a panther, and close beside her was her husband Ninus in the act of spearing a lion." The Greek writer seems, as has been justly observed, to have taken the eunuch who usually accompanies the king for his wife; and indeed we should not have been able to attach any great importance either to our Hebrew or our

Greek witness in the matter, if their evidence had not been confirmed partly by the analogy of the Assyrian hunting reliefs, partly by existing fragments of Babylonian tiles.

It is not unusual to find such fragments among the ruins of Babylon. Oppert had collected a whole cargo of them for the Louvre, which however sank in the Tigris soon after it was got on board. He describes them thus:—"The plain-coloured fragments would not have surprised us, as we knew of their existence, and the sight of Mohammedan mosques and minarets had accustomed us to the employment of glazed tiles of this character. But we found many-coloured fragments also, which evidently belonged to a scheme of encaustic decoration in low relief. We found, among others, pieces of which the ground was blue and the raised parts yellow; on these raised yellow parts was drawn in black outlines a system of conventional lumps, like that which indicates a wooded mountain country on the Ninevite bas-reliefs. The raising of the tile-surface made this part of the representation more conspicuous; it was a combination of painting with the lowest possible relief. We found several pieces of this kind representing mountains or woods. Other fragments showed a system of bluish wave-lines, as if intended to represent water; others bore the remains of walls and natural trees. Another class of painted tiles carried portions of animal subjects; thus we found a horse's hoof and parts of a lion, the mane and tail in particular. A broad black line drawn across a blue ground may very well have stood for a huntsman's spear. Again, we saw a human eye drawn full in front, although what remained above the eye seemed to belong to a face drawn in profile. M. Fresnel supposed this, not without reason, to be the eye of either the king or the queen who, according to Ktesias, were depicted on the palace walls. Other remains of a human figure completed the interesting collection which we made at the excavations at the Kasr." This account confirms the statement of the Greek writer, as well as our own supposition, that the backgrounds represented on Mesopotamian tile-paintings must have been like those on Assyrian carvings. Oppert's description also makes it clear from the outset that these tile-paintings were, in strictness, works not on the flat but in relief, yet in relief so slight as not essentially to interfere with their pictorial character.

As compared, then, with the strides which we shall see the art of painting make in Greece, the work of all these eastern nations stands at the same backward and primitive stage. While architecture and sculpture in Egypt and Mesopotamia are in almost full possession of their resources, and fall short of perfection rather in consequence of certain national characteristics than for want of technical maturity, painting has not yet mastered the alphabet of its own science and power. As these races understood it, painting was an art differing scarcely if at all from relief, by which disconnected figures were drawn, often helplessly enough, in outline, and then conventionally

tinted; an art to which it had not become clear how a single figure seen from different sides, or even seen from one and the same side, could be correctly represented on the flat, and which was quite inadequate to depict larger compositions with natural backgrounds and all the combinations necessary to a true picture. The Egyptian as well as the Assyrian artist had some dim feeling that there existed a possibility of imitating on a flat surface a portion of the outer world in all particulars as it appears to our eye; but their efforts to solve the problem failed. It may seem strange that neither Egyptians nor Chaldeans, who were good mathematicians as well as close observers of natural phenomena, should have made out the laws of perspective. But this is only one of a hundred cases in which knowledge that seems close at hand has lain for centuries undiscovered. Lastly, the artist of the ancient East did not understand how to depict the emotions in the face. Hence the painting of the Egyptians and Mesopotamians was wanting in that *Ethos* which delighted the Greeks in the work of their own painters even when technically it was scarcely more advanced. Hence, too, the figure-painting of the nations of which we have thus far spoken, successful so far as concerns its special purpose of exhibiting a clear and comprehensive chronicle of events, is at the same time no more, so far as it concerns its artistic effect, than a piece of tapestry or embroidery done into stone, and can only be estimated according to the value it may have, with its conventional or fantastic figures, as a piece of coloured wall-decoration.

APPENDIX.

1. The chief authorities to be consulted for this subject are :—Lepsius, *Die Chronologie der Ægypter.* Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, 2d. ed. Lenormant, *Les origines de la Civilisation.* Maspero, *Histoire des Peuples de l'Orient.* Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste* (2d. ed.), I. §§ 241-384.

2. The following are amongst the most important works illustrating Egyptian painting :—Gau, *Antiquités de la Nubie.* Rossellini, *I Monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia.* Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ægypten und Æthiopien.* Prisse d'Avennes, *Atlas pour l'Histoire de l'Art Egyptien.* As the text in some of these great publications is wanting or incomplete, and as, in any case, it is not always made clear as to which of the three classes a given illustration belongs,—viz. (1.) painted bas-relief, (2.) painted κοιλανάγλυφον or sunk relief, and (3.) painting on the flat—so there is the better reason for not too strongly insisting on these distinctions in the text.

3. See Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler.*

4. See Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Afrika*, vol. ii. p. 433.

5. For particulars concerning these works, consult K. Woermann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der alten Völker* (Munich, 1876).

6. Bruno Bucher, *Geschichte der technischen Künste*, vol. i. p. 174.

7. Both the original scenes and their caricatures are figured in Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden*, Pl. xxiii.

8. The chief publications are the following :—Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (1849-53.) Botta and Flandin, *Monuments de Ninivé* (1849-50). Place, *Ninivé et l'Assyrie* (1867). Consult also—J. Oppert, *Expédition scientifique en Mesopotamie*, vol. i. (1863). Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, 2d ed. 1871. Lenormant, *Les Antiquités de Babylone et de l'Assyrie*, 1868. Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste*, 2d ed. i. 146 *sqq.* Reber, *Kunstgeschichte des Alterthums*, 1871, p. 45 *sqq.* Oppert, *Grundzüge der Assyrischen Kunst*, 1872. And compare Semper, *Der Stil*, §§ 65, 67, 68, 69; and Lübke, *Geschichte der Plastik*, 2d ed. 1871.

9. Semper, in the work referred to above, has made himself especially the champion of this theory. Diod. Sicul., *Biblioth. Hist.* ii. 8.

10. Ezekiel xxiii. 14, 15.

11. Diod. Sicul., *Biblioth. Hist.* ii. 8.

BOOK II.

PAINTING IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ITALY.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Relation of painting to sculpture in Greece—Relation of existing remains to the recorded masterpieces of the art—History of Painting according to literary records to be separated from the same history according to existing remains—History of Roman not to be separated from history of Greek painting—Distance between achievement of Greeks and Orientals greater in painting than in sculpture.

IT is an acknowledged fact that on the soil of Greece art first shook off all her fetters, and grew strong in deliberate freedom till she became a power able alike to delight the mind and senses of man, and to satisfy and elevate his moral being. In this high estimate of the arts of Greece, it is usual to give the first place to sculpture; nay, it has been said and repeated to satiety, that the genius of the race was above all things a plastic genius, and that the plastic feeling, or feeling which finds its natural expression in sculpture, pervades all the other arts of the Greeks as well, and asserts itself in their poetry and architecture not less than in their sculpture itself. And it is true that towards sculpture everything seemed to direct the powers of the Greek—the landscape which surrounded him, his own physical beauty, the customs of his life, the forms and temper of his religion. It is true, again, that he brought sculpture to perfection much earlier than he did painting. But it would be a great mistake to infer from the splendid genius of the sculptors of ancient Greece that her painters were more doubtfully gifted. Classical literature would of itself make such an opinion improbable; for ancient writers have left praises not less enthusiastic of painters than of sculptors. Polygnotos, Zeuxis, Parrhasios, Timanthes, Protogenes, and Apelles are just as celebrated in prose and verse as Myron, Pheidias, Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos. Just as many marvels are related of the works of painters, and of the point of illusion to which they imitated nature, as of the triumphs of the plastic art.

If, then, doubts as to the merits of Greek painting have been entertained, they must have been suggested by the fact that so few remains of this art have been preserved to us from classical antiquity. We must steadily insist on the fact that no single work of any one of the famous painters recognised in the history of Greek art has survived to our time; and that we cannot from actual inspection form a judgment as to the merits of any one of the Greek paintings extolled by ancient authors. The number of ancient paintings by this time recovered from the soil is indeed very large. Out of Greek and Italian tombs have been brought to light many thousand vases adorned with painted figures.

We can count by hundreds the ancient mosaic pavements with pictorial designs which have been discovered on both sides of the Alps. Painted stone tablets and sarcophagi are by no means rare. But it is above all from the thousands of ancient mural paintings which have been recovered from the soil of Italy, partly in Etruscan tombs, partly in Rome and its neighbourhood, partly in Lower Italy, and especially in the Campanian towns destroyed by Vesuvius, that we can form a really lively conception of what the painting of the Greeks and the Italians was like. Of all these pictures, however, there is not, perhaps, one which can be identified with any work noticed by ancient authors; in not one can we recognise with certainty the repetition of the motive of any design known to us from other sources. It is true that modern archæologists have often tried to recognise in mural paintings and mosaics now extant repetitions of original pictures celebrated in the history of ancient art; and with a certain degree of success; in some cases such a connection has been shown to be highly probable, but positive certainty has never been attained. In any case, these possible imitations of great masterpieces, like all the ancient paintings that have been preserved to us, are works marked by the conventional style which might be expected from decorative craftsmen, and we must be very cautious in any attempt to argue from their technical treatment to the style of original works by the great artists of antiquity. True, many of these ornamental vase-paintings, decorative mosaics, and wall-pictures, were clearly produced by workers whose skill came very near to being real and free art, and who were conscious enough of their own powers to put their names to their work (in the case, that is, of many vase-paintings and some few mosaics). But not one of the names preserved upon existing works is among those celebrated in the literary history of art.

Under these circumstances, the difficulty of writing a connected history of painting in classical antiquity is evident. The natural method of a history of art—that of illustrating, explaining, and if necessary correcting, the literary records concerning artists by comparison with their existing works—is of course put almost out of the question. But the employment of such works for the elucidation of our literary records needs not to be altogether given up, although they can only serve in a very few instances to establish the definite character of any artist. At the outset, therefore, the history of Greco-Roman painting according to ancient writings must be separated from its history according to existing remains. The former, which will here be treated first in a separate chapter, will constitute a brief documentary history at once of artists and of art in the higher sense. The latter, with which we shall deal in separate chapters later on, will be really only the history of certain decorative branches of art-industry; branches, however, which in the absence of other materials are of the highest importance for our study.

In architecture, it is possible to make a distinction between Greek and

Roman art; but scarcely in sculpture, and not at all in painting. Not but what the paintings discovered on Italian soil present plenty of native elements, which it is possible to separate from the elements introduced from Greece, and to which we shall in due place call attention. Nevertheless, in the history of ancient artists, those of Rome come but as an appendix after those of Greece; and in the account of their works, though a few may have to be put aside as untouched by the Greek spirit, yet with the vast majority, even of those found on Italian soil, it is not so. Of the vases found in Italy, most must be regarded as of Greek manufacture and decoration; of the mural paintings, most belong manifestly to the Hellenistic age; they are the work of Romans, but of Romans having no other ambition but to tread as closely as they can in the footsteps of the Greeks. Indeed, what would be the reverse of true for sculpture is true for painting—that upon Italian soil have been found the remains which give us our best idea of what had once been the technical capabilities and mastery of Greek art. And one inference at any rate is certain, that in pictorial resources, such as the employment of linear and aerial perspective and the like, not to speak of the matters of intellect and invention, the masterpieces of ancient art at its best cannot possibly have been *less* accomplished than are the ordinary wall decorations of Rome and Campania.

By comparison with the East, Greece, it must be understood from the first, lays the art of painting upon new foundations as distinctly as she does any of the other arts. Nay, while in sculpture the Greeks had only to ennoble by their own clearer genius and higher instinct of style the results already gained by the Egyptians and Assyrians, in painting they effected nothing short of a revolution, which they may not have followed out, as the moderns have followed it, to its last and most complex consequences, but by right of which they yet deserve the glory of having first made painting a truthful mirror of realities. Naturally, this revolution was not effected all at once. We can follow it through a whole series of successive phases. We shall see how Greek painting at first only differed from Egyptian and Assyrian by a spiritual difference, and not by any technical superiority; and then how it freed itself from one disability after another, by steps not more sure and rapid than they are easy to trace; until at last it differentiated itself completely from sculpture, with which it had been at first bound up, and like sculpture, though centuries later, stood in the exercise of all its long latent resources, self-accomplished, separate, and free.

CHAPTER II.

GREEK AND ROMAN PAINTING ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT WRITERS.

Origin of Greek painting; probable derivation from weaving and embroidery—Anecdotes of the ancient writers—Probable date of the improvements attributed to Eumaros and Kimon—Polygnotos; his date and career; his works at Athens, Plataiai, Thespiai, Delphi—Pictorial character of the works of Polygnotos and his school—Their ethical and ideal character—Judgments of the ancients concerning Polygnotos—Agatharchos of Samos, scene-painter and decorator—Agatharchos the founder of perspective and landscape-painting—Rapidity of his execution—Apollodoros of Athens—Wall-painting and easel-painting—Apollodoros the first complete painter—Subjects of his works—Their character—The Older Attic School succeeded after the Peloponnesian Wars by other schools—The Ionian School—Zeuxis of Herakleia; his character and career; subjects and style of his works—Parrhasios of Ephesos; his rivalry with Zeuxis; style and character of his works—Testimonies of antiquity—Timanthes; his picture of Iphigeneia—The Dorian School of Sikyon—Eupompos—Pamphilos—Melanthios—Pausias—The Theban-Attic School—Nikomachos—Aristeides—Euphranor—Nikias—Other painters of the Hellenistic Age; Apelles; his career as portrait-painter in the service of Alexander; his subsequent career; his picture of Calumny; his Aphroditê Anadyomenê—Other allegorical and mythological works and portraits by Apelles—Characteristics and anecdotes concerning Apelles—Their general result—Protogenes; his works at Rhodes and Athens; his character and fame—Antiphilos—Theon of Samos—Aëtion—Helena—The *rhopographi;* Peiraïkos—Exhaustion of creative power and individual genius—Exceptions; Timomachos; his date and character—Rise of landscape-painting—Demetrios and Serapion—Greek painters at Rome; Ekphantos, Damophilos, Gorgasos, Dionysios, Laia, Dorotheos—Painters of Roman birth; Fabius Pictor, Turpilius, Titidius Labeo, Q. Pedius, Amulius—The decorator Ludius, Studius, or Tadius—Criticisms and descriptions of pictures by the rhetoricians of the Empire.

THE origins of Greek painting are wrapped in obscurity. It is probable, however, that the earliest kind of pictures on the flat were the representations either woven into or embroidered upon figured stuffs of various colours, and that in these decorative industries the Greeks in the first instance imitated the Asiatic races, who had practised them from time immemorial.[1] Homer speaks several times in the Iliad of tissues thus artistically woven, as the robes of Helen and Andromachê, and the veil of Hera, in which are many a "wondrous image" of Athene's weaving. And in the Odyssey we hear of the rich embroidery on the front of the garment of Ulysses:—

> About the skirts a hound a freckled hind
> In full course hunted; on the foreskirts, yet,
> He pinch'd and pull'd her down, when with her feet
> And all her force she struggled hard for flight,
> Which had such life in gold, that to the sight
> It seem'd the hind itself for every hue,
> The hound and all so answering the view,
> That all admired all.
>
> (*Od.* xix., 228 sqq. CHAPMAN'S transl.)

We have to suppose that the subjects thus figured consisted of rows of animals conventionally treated, flower and leaf ornaments, and also scenes of hunting and battle; and that their style was essentially that of the West Asiatic schools. It is true that proof of the existence of such originals is lost in prehistoric darkness; but our inferences concerning them are confirmed by the systems of ornament which we find on actual remains of earthenware; and, coming within the range of history, it happens that two of the earliest recorded names of Greek artists are the names of famous weavers, Akesas and Helikon. The attempt, however, to follow out this and kindred industries in detail would lead us too far for our present purpose, which compels us to limit our attention to the arts of brush and stylus, to drawing and painting proper.

Several ancient writers have left us their views concerning the origin and development of these arts. They have it that the first drawing was silhouette-drawing, and relate either how a Greek youth traced the outline of the shadow cast by his horse in the sun, or else how a maiden taking leave of her lover outlined his likeness from the shadow which he cast upon a wall. Next, they say, some one had the idea of filling up an outline so drawn with colour, but only with one colour (monochrome); a third defined the several parts of the body within the general outline; a fourth learnt how to distinguish men from women, and in general one of several figures from another within a group thus drawn in outline; and the author of this last improvement is handed down under the name of Eumaros. The next great step in advance is attributed to Kimon of Kleonai, who is said to have achieved the correct drawing of profiles, and to have distinguished figures in profile from those in full face, making them look back, or up or down, according to nature, and in general adding to them a new freedom of life and variety of movement. According to Brunn, this change in profile-drawing refers to the mode of treating the eyes, which in Assyrian, Egyptian, and the oldest Greek art, had been represented in the side view as they are really seen only in front. Kimon is also thought to have been the first to represent the folds of the drapery and the veins of the human body. The first originators before Eumaros and Kimon are variously named; but such names, being quite unhistorical, may be left out of account.[2]

Tradition places at a comparatively late period of Greek history the development thus shadowed forth. Such a course of development is quite natural, and may therefore be accepted—particular anecdotes apart—as probable; the more so as we seem to find corroborative evidence in Oriental art, in Etruscan wall-painting, and in the earliest vase-painting. Kimon of Kleonai is thought to have been practising his art as late as the time of the Persian wars. According to this view, Greek painting would have been technically not a whit further developed than Assyrian or Egyptian until towards the middle of the sixth century before our era; so that the assertion of the Egyptians

that they had discovered painting six thousand years before the art reached the Greeks—an assertion which Pliny thought to dismiss with contempt—seems to ourselves after all by no means impossible. We do actually know of Egyptian painting thousands of years older than any Greek. Pliny would have done better if, instead of throwing doubts upon the antiquity of painting in Egypt, he had insisted on the credit due to the Greeks for bringing the art, within a single century from their first primitive attempts, to a degree of perfection which the Egyptians never reached through tens of centuries.

If we cannot say that Greek painting made in the hands of Kimon of Kleonai the decisive advance which separated it for good from the whole art of the East, it did certainly make such advance in the hands of the famous Polygnotos. Polygnotos was an elder contemporary of Pheidias, and had for his patron the statesman Kimon, the predecessor of Perikles. He conducted the pictorial decorations of the public buildings of Athens and the neighbouring cities after the Persian wars. His is the first immortal name in the history of painting, and with it some of the ancient writers themselves make the history of painting begin. Polygnotos was born in the island of Thasos, and was the son and pupil of a painter of the island, Aglaophon. We cannot actually determine the year in which he came to Athens, any more than the year of his birth or death. We must be content to know that he flourished between the 75th and 80th Olympiads (B.C. 475-455). Having undertaken and carried out without payment certain great series of public paintings at Athens, he was rewarded with the right of citizenship in that state. And his general fame in his own day was so great that the Amphiktyons gave him the right of free entertainment in the Hellenic cities, and that poets like Simonides celebrated him in their songs. He was the head of a school, or at least a group of painters aiming in the same direction, who gathered round him in Athens. In conjunction with these the Thasian artist carried out the great mural paintings with which the public buildings of Athens were decorated during the supremacy of Kimon. Polygnotos was the leader and inspirer of the work, and among his associates at Athens the two most important were Mikon and Panainos, the latter a near relative of the great sculptor Pheidias.

The works with which this group of painters adorned the city by the Ilissos, when she rose in renewed splendour from her ruins, were the following:—First, a series of four great battle scenes in the *Stoa Poikilê*, or Painted Gallery, in the market-place; of these the Taking of Troy, by Polygnotos, and the Battle of Theseus and the Amazons, by Mikon, belonged to the cycle of heroic legends; the battles of Oinoë and Marathon to the real and freshly-remembered past of Greek history. Second, various passages from the life of Theseus, principally by Mikon, in the *Theseion*, or temple of that hero. Third, the Wedding of Kastor and Polydeukes with the daughters of Leukippos, by Polygnotos, and the Return of the Argonauts, by Mikon, in the temple of the Dioskouroi. Fourth, a more

extensive series in the *Pinakothekâ*, or picture gallery proper, a building united with the Propylaia or portico of the Akropolis; of this series, as Brunn has shown, it is probable that six subjects taken from the Trojan cycle, and forming three corresponding pairs, were by the hand of Polygnotos himself.

But it was not only in Athens that Polygnotos painted with his companions. Works of his were also to be seen in Plataiai and Thespiai in Bœotia. A certain Onasias was his assistant in the former of these towns; but the works at Thespiai were attributed to the master alone. The most important works carried out by Polygnotos alone, indeed those which even in antiquity seem to have been looked upon as the standard masterpieces of the great painter and of his whole school, were the wall-paintings in the *Leschê* or assembly room of the Knidians at Delphi. Pausanias has left us the fullest descriptions of them, and not a few artists and scholars have occupied themselves in our own century with their reconstruction.[8]

On the right-hand wall going in were figured the destruction of Troy and the departure of the Greeks. Imagine the fight still raging between single combatants; Epeios still in the act of tearing down the wall of the conquered city; Kassandra still seated on the ground and clinging to the Palladion, while the wailing Trojan women are making ready to depart with their captors; the tent of Menelaos beside the Trojan shore is ready struck, and the ship of the victorious hero is being laden for departure. In this long-extended scene, the house of Antenor, represented on the left of the spectator, stood for the city of Troy, while the sea must have reached from the right of the picture nearly to the centre of its foreground. On the opposite or left-hand wall was represented the under world as described by the epic poets; Ulysses upon his mission to Hades to question the spirit of Teiresias concerning his return; and a multitude of all manner of shapes besides, the shapes that people the kingdom of the dead, disposed in symmetrical groups of the happiest invention and arrangement. Orpheus with his lute seems to have been seated under a willow in the midst. On the extreme left, Charon, the ancient ferryman, steered his skiff over the waters of Acheron; while on the right Sisyphos strained every nerve to roll his rock up the steep declivity, and Tantalos endured all the pains that Homer fabled of him.

Let us consider as closely as we can the technical style of these paintings, and inferentially of all other wall-paintings by Polygnotos and his contemporaries. However few indications the old writers may have left us as to the style of this ancient school, they must suffice to give us to some extent a clear conception of it.

First of all, we must bear well in mind that, however decided an advance in the treatment of details these paintings showed over the whole mass of Oriental art, they were yet just as far from being really complete pictorial representations as the wall-pictures of the Assyrians and Egyptians themselves

The paintings of the school of Polygnotos consisted of still isolated groups, not bound together by any natural background, but thrown up in profile against a conventional ground of a single colour, probably in most cases white. In the matter of background features, whether of landscape or otherwise, the masters of this school did no more than pick out and represent single objects, such as a house, a tree, a piece of water, or the like, in a manner intended not to recall the locality to the eye, but merely symbolically to suggest it. Again, they insured the recognition of single figures by writing their names close to them in the picture, a custom which the ancient painters never quite abandoned. Moreover they had no knowledge of chiaroscuro, no skill in managing fine transitions from one colour to another, but had to make the most of a scanty range of local colours yielding only an approximate imitation of nature. Within these limits, however, it is clear that they used the brush with fancy and ingenuity; thus we hear that Polygnotos painted the body-eater Eurynomos blue-black, the fishes of Acheron shadowy grey, and the pebbles of the river-bed so that they could be seen through the water. If we study the earlier class of Etruscan wall-paintings upon a white ground, and the Greek painted vases of the early or "strong" style, we can form a tolerably just idea, in regard to many of these formal points of style, of the character of this school of painting. Their works, we may infer, combined the principles of strict rhythm and of symmetry with freedom both in the design of individual groups and in their general distribution, whether in tiers or otherwise, over the surface of the wall. Thus they far surpassed in excellence of composition the ancient arts of the East; they surpassed those arts still further in the feeling of beauty with which individual human forms were represented in full control over their own movements, as well as in the beauty and pliancy of fold with which broken draperies were made to accommodate themselves to and reveal those forms; they surpassed them most of all in the nobility and expressiveness of the human features, which in the hands of this school of Greek painters become for the first time the mirror of the soul.

Hence an ancient poet could say of a Polyxenê by the great master of this school, Polygnotos, that she carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan war; and hence the after-tribute paid to the same master by Aristotle when he says that his works are pre-eminent for *ethos*, that is to say for a clearly determined spiritual character in the individual heroes. For a painter of heroes, and nothing but heroes, was Polygnotos, whereas some of his companions painted historical pieces proper, and began already to aim at something approaching portraiture of the personages they represented. But such portraiture we cannot suppose to have gone as yet beyond a somewhat generalised and ideal resemblance. Love of the ideal, desire to lift the spectator above prosaic reality by beauty of form, by majesty of gesture, by power of spiritual expression,—such were doubtless the essential principles of the style of these

contemporaries of the divine Pheidias. It has been said with justice that the history of ancient painting differs from the history of ancient sculpture in this, that while in sculpture the utmost spiritual beauty and sublimity went hand in hand with the utmost technical perfection of which the art was capable, in painting the highest spiritual and the highest technical points were reached, not together, but at different points of time. The age of Polygnotos was an age which aimed at beauty and greatness, at the noble and sublime, in all the provinces of artistic creation. The impress of these ideal aspirations of the spirit it stamped upon its painting no less than upon its sculpture; but painting in this age was still a mere system of tinted outline design, and only entered into possession of its full technical means in a later generation, when the arts in Greece were no longer bent upon their ideal mission in the same high earnest as of old.

Under these circumstances it is natural that very different judgments should have been formed of Polygnotos and his associates in the later ages of antiquity itself, according as the critic regarded their work from the point of view of its technical completeness or of its spiritual character and invention; since, with all its great qualities, it is clear that such work must have failed in many of those preliminary conditions without which it could not have risen to the many-sided freedom of true pictorial beauty.

Polygnotos had a younger contemporary, in whom we must seek the leader of a real revolution by-and-by effected in Greek painting,—a revolution by which the art was enabled to achieve great and decisive progress towards a system of representation corresponding with the laws of optics and the full truth of nature. This was Agatharchos of Samos, who, like Polygnotos, was a native of a distant island and found his career at Athens. Agatharchos was first of all a scene-painter for the theatre. For the theatre, illusion has at all times been in some degree a necessity. The Greek stage, with all its complicated apparatus of masks, buskins, and the rest, was still less able than the modern to dispense with decorations. We know that the plays of Æschylus required no inconsiderable amount of scenic preparation, and that such preparation was presumably carried to its farthest point under Sophokles. It seems that the rear wall of the stage was covered over its whole surface with a great set piece, upon which the scene of the action was painted, just as we are used to see it to-day. The side scenes to right and left were severally constructed in the form of a revolving prism of three faces, and these completed the decoration of the stage, which was of no great depth. The usual background of a Greek tragedy consisted of an architectural scene such as a temple, a king's palace, or the like; but at the extremities of this, it is clear that landscape-distances must often have found place as well. And sometimes the whole scene consisted of a picture of a camp, or of a landscape pure and simple. In scene-painting as thus practised, we accordingly find the origins, not only of all representation of

determinate backgrounds, but also, and more especially, of landscape-painting. It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the invention of scene-painting as the most decisive turning-point in the entire history of the art, and Agatharchos is named as the master who, at the inspiration of Æschylus, first devoted himself to practising this invention. It is possible, however, that he only worked for the later plays of that great perfecter of Greek tragedy, and probable that he continued to work in like manner under his successor Sophokles.

That the labours of Agatharchos were not confined exclusively to stage-painting, we know from the story which tells how he decorated, or at least was to have decorated, the dwelling-house of Alkibiades. He was obliged, runs the tale, to decline the commission of Alkibiades on the score of over-work, whereupon that arrogant young commander caused him to be locked up within his house, in order to force him to the task. According to one version, this high-handed measure succeeded, and the painter, having completed his work, was handsomely rewarded and dismissed; according to another, he gave his captor the slip. At any rate, we may surmise that the paintings of Agatharchos for the interior of houses were of the purely decorative kind, akin, both in subject and mode of treatment, to scene-painting; that he painted, or was capable of painting, figures we nowhere learn.

Partly from the nature of the case, and partly from the accounts of ancient writers, we are enabled to form a tolerably exact notion of the character and place of Agatharchos in the history of painting. In the first place, it is clear that scenes painted in imitation of nature for the decoration of a theatre could not have answered their purpose of illusion unless they had been laid out, to some extent, according to the rules of perspective. And in fact the ancient writers mention that Agatharchos left a treatise upon the right manner of scene-painting, and that it was from him that the philosophers Demokritos and Anaxagoras took the hint which first set them inquiring seriously into the laws of perspective. No doubt the parts of stage perspective at this time made out were most likely only the elementary rules for objects seen in full front, and the contemporary practice of Agatharchos would have failed to satisfy, at any rate in complicated cases, the requirements of our modern knowledge. At the same time, it cannot be doubted that the principles of foreshortening and the use of lines converging towards a vanishing point had been discovered, and this progress was quite enough to mark a new period and a new departure in comparison with the previous practice alike of Greece and of the East, and to produce an effect of illusion undreamt of till now among men who, like the contemporaries of Agatharchos, had grown up in absolute ignorance of perspective.

It is clear, in the next place, that a manner of treatment comparatively broad and picturesque, and radically different from the precision and rigidity

of the earlier outline manner, will have been demanded both by the extent of the surfaces to be covered in scene-painting, and by the nature of the objects represented. Such a manner will naturally have tended to degenerate towards slightness and sketchiness; and accordingly we find an ancient anecdote which represents Agatharchos as set down by a reply of the celebrated younger master, Zeuxis, to whom he had boasted of his rapid rate of work. In general, we may with certainty assume that the art of Agatharchos offered in all points, alike as to subject, origin, and mode of treatment, a diametrical contrast with the art of Polygnotos. Judged by the standard of artistic excellence, the palm would doubtless fall to Polygnotos, but we must not forget that in the innovations of Agatharchos lay the seeds of a great and fruitful revolution for the whole art.

What was now wanted was the advent of a figure-painter who, taking his inspiration from the stage with its movement of figures in front of a determinate background of natural scenery, should place at the disposal of painting, in all its uses, that mode of representation with which the public was already familiar in stage use alone. Such a figure-painter in fact arose among the Greeks towards the end of the fifth century B.C., at the beginning of the Peloponnesian wars, in the person of Apollodoros the Athenian. Those ancient writers, who, like Pliny, treat the history of painting from a technical point of view, speak of Apollodoros as the first painter worthy of real fame.[4]

We must above all bear in mind that the art we have so far spoken of (scene-painting apart) was of a monumental character. Into the vexed question which was long ago vehemently discussed between the French archæologists Letronne and Raoul-Rochette,[5] as to whether Polygnotos and his associates painted directly on the wall, or on wood panels let into walls, we will not enter, since it is a question which can hardly be decided from the evidence at our command. As in any case these paintings were from the first intended for mural decoration, and bore distinctly the character of mural painting, we can, and are clearly entitled to, regard these masters exclusively as wall-painters, in contradistinction to the painters of portrait or easel pictures. Not that easel-painters did not exist by this time; Aristophon, a brother of Polygnotos, was such a painter; but there were, and could be, none of any great fame, inasmuch as that absence of the indispensable technical conditions of perfect painting, which made itself the less felt in great wall-pictures because of their severe architectural composition, because of the symmetry of their groupings, and even because of the decorative charm of their still conventional system of colouring, would, in panel-paintings, be deprived of these compensations, and show itself in all its nakedness. Panel-painting in fact demanded the exercise of those conquests which had been won, for the purposes of stage-decoration, in the first instance by Agatharchos.

It was Apollodoros, as we have said, who first adapted these conquests to

smaller works, in which he combined landscape and figures; no wonder, then, if Pliny heaps praises on him in such terms as these—that he was the first to give the appearance of reality to his pictures, the first to bring the brush into just repute, and even that before him no easel-picture (*tabula*) had existed by any master fit to charm the eyes of the spectator. Apollodoros was the first to give his pictures a natural and definite background in true perspective; he was the first, it is emphatically stated, who rightly managed chiaroscuro and the fusion of colours. Hence he earned the title of *skiagraphos*, or shadow-painter. He will have also been the first to soften off the outlines of his figures, and thus no longer to draw and tint merely, but, in the true sense of the word, to paint with his brush. For this reason we may, with Brunn, in a certain sense call Apollodoros the first true painter.

Of the subjects of his pictures we know little. He seems to have taken them,—with the exception, however, of a priest in prayer,—from heroic legend. The most interesting of his pictures seems to have been one of Ajax in his ship struck by lightning, a subject which of itself would point to a pictorial treatment of the background, as well as of the light and shadow.

But we must be on our guard against supposing that the improvements effected by Apollodoros and his school, in the relations of foreground and background, were equivalent to those effected by the brothers Van Eyck in the development of modern painting. We must rather infer, from the evidence both of ancient writers and of the few remaining fragments of wall-painting which it is possible to suppose copied from originals of a time earlier than Alexander, that in the great days of Greek painting, the backgrounds of pictures, however natural and distinct, served simply as an unattractive foil to the figures, to which they were kept in the strictest subordination. Nay more, we can be sure that the old principle of the monochrome background was by no means abandoned all at once in favour of the new principle of the natural background. White generally takes the place of sky, or even encroaches more than a true sky upon the features of the landscape. And in general, we must of course remember that, in the progress of Greek painting, many phases which to ourselves would seem primitive and elementary must have been novelties of a kind to make no small stir in their own day. Such a stir was deservedly made by the work of Apollodoros among his contemporaries. At the same time his manner of painting must have been in some respects hard and imperfect by comparison even with that of his immediate successors; and hence he will have seemed, to use the very words of Pliny, no more than the gatekeeper who threw open the gates of painting to the renowned inheritors of the art.

During the period of which we have thus far spoken, between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars, Athens had taken the lead in the arts no less than in the politics of Greece. It is true that the great painters whose acquaintance we make in this period, and some of whom, like Apollodoros, lived to be wit-

nesses of the Peloponnesian war, were by no means all Athenians by birth. But Athens was the chief seat of their industry. We can therefore, with some accuracy, class them together under the name of the Older Attic School, though within this school Polygnotos represents one main tendency and Agatharchos another. The Peloponnesian war caused Athens to forfeit her supremacy. With her decline the art of painting branches off into several schools, having their seats at various centres of Hellenic culture. The chief of these schools, which we find establishing themselves while the Peloponnesian war was still in progress, and maintaining their separate existence until new conditions came into operation in the time of Alexander, are, in order of seniority—1, the Ionian; 2, the Sikyonian; 3, the Theban-Attic. Nevertheless, in this interval of nearly a century, there appears more than one individual painter of eminence who cannot very well be positively included in either of these schools. For instance, of the Ionian school, Zeuxis and Parrhasios are named as the chief masters, while Timanthes leads us from it to the Sikyonian. Yet Zeuxis, as we shall see, belonged only in an incomplete sense to the Ionians.

Zeuxis, Parrhasios, and Timanthes are the three Greek painters who perfected a system of pictorial representation adequately rendering on the flat surface the relief and variety of nature, in other particulars if not in colour. And this is only an apparent contradiction; since a pictorial treatment, in contradistinction to the old outline style, is quite possible in monochrome. So it is said of Zeuxis that he occasionally painted in monochrome, and later writers emphatically count all three masters among those who used a simple and elementary scale of colour. But by others they are just as emphatically described as the perfecters of those technical conditions to which Apollodoros first led the way.

Zeuxis was born at Herakleia, probably the town of that name in Lower Italy, but he must have early entered upon the career of a wandering artist, as we find him appearing in various places. At Athens he formed his style under Apollodoros; his earlier teachers are unknown to fame. He seems to have made his final home at Ephesos, and to have passed the greater part of his life there. He is said to have been the first painter who excited public attention by his extravagance in spending the ample means which he acquired. At the Olympic festival he appeared in a garment bearing his name woven in letters of gold into the pattern. Towards the end of his life he gave away his works, as he was of opinion that they were simply beyond price; whereas, at an earlier time of his career, he had adopted the thoroughly modern practice of taking entrance-money from those who came to see any of his famous pieces. His pride is described as quite on a level with his love of display. He inscribed one of his works with the verse:—

μωμήσεταί τις μᾶλλον ἢ μιμήσεται.

"Easier to carp at than to copy."[7]

In another epigram Zeuxis simply pronounced himself unsurpassable. He is said to have died, literally, of laughing at one of his own pictures representing an old woman.

We know the subjects of a dozen or more of his works. Among these may be mentioned as the most famous, the Zeus enthroned among the other gods, a picture praised by Pliny; the Centaur family disporting themselves on the soft turf, minutely described by Lucian; the Helen, painted for a temple of Hera at Kroton, where the citizens allowed him to make choice from among the fairest maidens of the town, in order that from their various beauties (he is said to have chosen five) he might compose his ideal Helen; his Penelopê, who appeared as the personification of all household virtues; and lastly, the famous bunch of grapes which he executed, as we shall see, in rivalry with Parrhasios. Besides these Zeuxis painted, among divinities, Eros, Marsyas, and Pan; among heroes, Herakles, Alkmenê, Menelaos; and of pictures of every-day life, an athlete, a boy with grapes, and the old woman already mentioned.

In exact opposition to Polygnotos, the great monumental wall-painter, Zeuxis, the panel-painter, represented only single events. But he tried above all things to make these attractive by the charm of novelty and grace. With depth of expression and moral earnestness he has little or nothing to do; his endeavour is by the brilliant use of the brush to rival nature herself, although he continues, in the true spirit of ideal art, to divest her of all accidental ugliness. He so far outstripped Apollodoros in the treatment of light and shadow, that some writers have described him as the true discoverer of chiaroscuro. If we could but see his work to-day, we should doubtless be ready to confirm the immense fame which he enjoyed through all antiquity.[6]

Parrhasios, the rival of Zeuxis, was born at Ephesos. At first a pupil of his father Euenor, he too seems to have completed his education as an artist at Athens. For Athens, at any rate, he worked, and perhaps received the freedom of that city as a reward for his painting of the national Attic hero, Theseus. The names of Parrhasios and Zeuxis are often coupled; but we can gather from the ancient writers that though the general tendencies of their work were the same, yet the style of Parrhasios was distinguished from that of his rival by several well-marked characteristics. Many looked upon his art as an advance upon that of Zeuxis, and once at least the latter had himself to admit as much. This was when Zeuxis had painted some grapes so naturally that the birds were deceived and flew to peck at them; Parrhasios then painted a curtain as if hanging in front of a picture, with such absolute reality that even Zeuxis was deceived, and asked his competitor whether he would not begin by drawing the curtain from his work.

Anecdotes of this kind, whether true or not, are in any case happy, and serve to characterise the style of the artists about whom they are told. From this history of the grapes and curtain we can infer with certainty that Parrhasios

as well as Zeuxis laid the greatest stress on carrying out to the point of actual illusion the deceptive likeness to nature. That he outstripped Zeuxis in this direction is testified not only by this story, but by the criticisms of antiquity which ascribe to him, besides much subtlety and grace in facial expression, and besides a great research and ingenuity in his theory of human proportions, a special care for modelling and rounding, even to deception, the contours of his figures; "for," says Pliny on this subject, "the contours so round themselves and vanish away, that they seem to promise something behind, and even suggest what they conceal."

Besides, it appears from this and other sayings of ancient writers, as well as from his choice of subjects, that Parrhasios, in contradistinction to the typical themes of Zeuxis, liked above all things to represent motives of dramatic interest. To his principal works of this kind belong the simulated madness of Ulysses; the strife between Ulysses and Ajax for the armour of Achilles; the anguish of Philoktetes on Lemnos; scenes from the tales of Meleagros and Telephos; lastly, the representation of the Attic State or *Demos*, which Demos he personified, according to some, in a single figure, and according to others in a number of figures, but at any rate in such a manner as to suggest all its good and all its evil qualities in dramatic and well-studied combination. As Demos was brought upon the stage about the same time by Aristophanes in his play of *The Knights*, we may safely infer that it was as a single personage that he figured also in the painting of Parrhasios.

Of single gods and heroes he chose out Hermes, Prometheus, Herakles, and Theseus. As subjects rather of *genre* or every-day life, we hear of a Thracian nurse carrying a child on her arm, and two boys, one of whom seemed to personify the simpleness, and the other the pertness, of his years. In the same spirit must have been conceived the portrait of a high priest of Rhea, and another priest with a garlanded boy holding a censer beside him. To the same class belong the famous curtain with which Parrhasios outdid Zeuxis, and the small licentious pieces which, according to Pliny, he used to paint for his own delectation.

Sublimity, morality, and ethical greatness do not seem to have been the aim of Parrhasios. Manners grew more lax and sensual, and art followed them. When, therefore, Quintilian declares that the forms of gods and heroes painted by Parrhasios set a standard to his successors, in virtue of which he was styled the legislator of these things, this must refer especially, as is shown by all we have said, to the contours and proportions he gave to the human figure. If Parrhasios out-rivalled Zeuxis in some particulars, he tried too to outdo him in self-glorification concerning his art and in ostentatiousness of demeanour. He flaunted about in a purple robe, with a gold wreath on his head and gold clasps to his sandals; he painted his own portrait, and called it the god Hermes; he celebrated himself in prose and verse as a descendant of Apollo and one of the kings of art; he gave himself the title *habrodiaitos*, with reference to his

delicate living, which scoffers changed into "*rhabdodiaitos*," from his living by his pencil.

As Parrhasios had beaten Zeuxis, so Timanthes, the third artist in this succession, is said to have outdone Parrhasios, to the latter's great annoyance, in a pictorial competition of which the subject was the contest between Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles. The birthplace of Timanthes is variously given, but was probably the island of Kythnos. His competition with

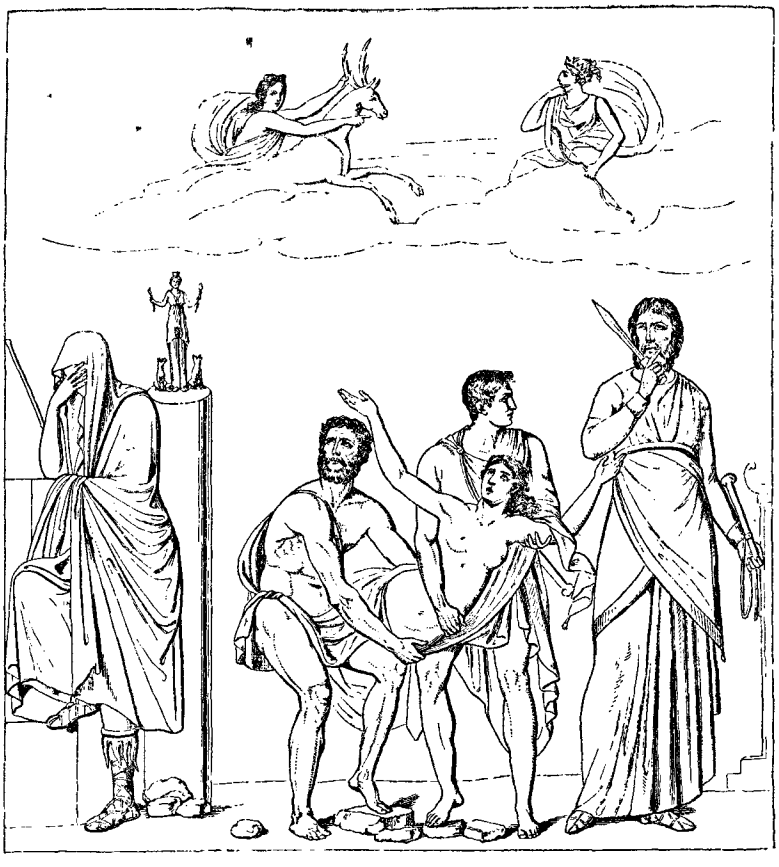

Fig. 8.

Parrhasios took place at Samos. He seems, however, to have lived at a later period of his life at Sikyon. The most famous of his works was the Sacrifice of Iphigeneia. The maiden was represented standing before the altar on which she was about to be offered up, and a deep compassion was expressed in the faces of all the bystanders. The graduated scale of intensity, in the expression of pain upon their several countenances, especially struck the ancients as something new in art. Valerius Maximus says that Kalchas stood with looks of sorrow, Ulysses gloomily downcast, Ajax weeping, Menelaos wailing aloud, and

to indicate the last climax of grief, Agamemnon, the father of the victim, was represented with his head veiled from view. We possess a Pompeian wall-painting (Fig. 8) which is simpler than most of such pictures, and which agrees with the above account, in so far as it includes a sorrowful Kalchas and a veiled Agamemnon. The other incidents differ from those in the picture of Timanthes; still we may assume that from it our Pompeian example is, if but indirectly, derived.[7]

From the description of this Sacrifice of Iphigeneia, which was one of the most celebrated of all pictures in antiquity, we can to some extent understand the verdict of ancient writers, who, high as they place the artistic skill of Timanthes, prize yet higher his suggestive invention, declaring emphatically that in his works, and in his alone, the spectator seems to see more than is actually there. If we have therefore to think of him as an artist on the same general level of technical perfection as his contemporaries Zeuxis and Parrhasios in the qualities of mind and moral significance, we must probably suppose his work to have surpassed theirs.

If we have been approximately right in treating Parrhasios, Zeuxis, and Timanthes as representatives of an *Ionian* school of painting in the age of the Peloponnesian war, we have still further evidence of the existence of a *Dorian* school which flourished in the Peloponnesian town of Sikyon, during the same age and later,—in the period, speaking generally, between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander the Great. This group is the first that deserves to be called, in the full sense of the word, a school; since the masters who composed it are the first of whom we learn that they made the training of pupils a regular part of their profession, and accordingly laid particular stress upon academical correctness, which they cultivated theoretically with the help of mathematics, and practically by conscientious study of nature.[8]

Eupompos is considered the founder of the Sikyonian school. We know nothing more of him than that he was a contemporary of Parrhasios and Timanthes, and that he was held in high repute at Sikyon; that he painted a gymnastic winner with his palm; and that he expressed the opinion that the artist who wished to succeed must go first of all to nature as his teacher. His pupil Pamphilos brought the school to maturity. The course of teaching in his studio is said to have lasted twelve years, and the fee was a whole talent. The renowned Apelles was among his pupils. It was Pamphilos who recognised and introduced the necessity of scientific study for the painter, especially the sciences of number and geometry; it was through his influence that the teaching of drawing was established in all the boys' schools of Greece; it was he, again, who gave a new development to the method of encaustic painting in wax. This method had been occasionally employed before; but it was from the time of Pamphilos only that it took its place on equal terms beside the method, hitherto universal for easel-pictures, of distemper. In this process of

encaustic, the colours were prepared in little rods heated red hot and laid on with the spatula ; its difficulty made it suitable only for small pictures, but the brilliancy of the result gave it a place in ancient art analogous to that of oil-painting among the moderns. ' Of the works of Pamphilos we only know, 1, a family picture; 2, a historical picture representing the history of the Athenians at Phlius ; 3, a painting from the epic cycle, described as " Ulysses in his boat." He seems to owe his fame more to his powers as a teacher than as an original painter. " It is not so much," says Brunn, " on his artistic skill, or how much he could do, as on his artistic science, or how much he knew, that stress is laid in the mention of Pamphilos."

Next after Pamphilos came his pupil Melanthios, who inherited from him the bent towards investigating the scientific foundations of the pictorial process. In the matter of composition, the first place is said to have been readily conceded to Melanthios by his famous fellow-pupil Apelles. Yet we know of only one picture by Melanthios, and that only by name. And even this seems according to Plutarch to have been painted by the master not alone, but in co-operation with his pupils. It represented Aristratos, tyrant of Sikyon at the time of Philip of Macedon, standing beside the car of the goddess of Victory ; and when at a later time under Aratos all effigies of tyrants were destroyed, the work of Melanthios owed a partial preservation to nothing but the fact that another painter scraped out the figure of Aristratos, and painted in a palm-tree in its place.

The chief practical representative of the Sikyonian school of Pamphilos was Pausias. He too was one of those whose technical improvements in his art made a great impression on his contemporaries. For instance, it is quoted as a novel and striking effect, that in one of his pictures the face of Methê (or personified Intoxication) was visible through the transparent substance of the glass out of which she drank ; and as a thing more admirable still, that in a great picture of a sacrifice, the sacrificial ox was drawn in bold foreshortening, with such skill that the eye seemed able to measure his length. At the same time Pausias developed, it seems, a more natural method of representing the modelling of objects by the gradations of a single colour, instead of using, as his predecessors had done, one distinct colour to represent the lighter or projecting parts of solid objects and another to represent their darker or retreating parts. It seems to have been by the technical capabilities of encaustic that Pausias was led on to these improvements in the colourist's part of his art. He did so much to perfect this method that Pliny calls him the first who became distinguished in it. It was, we learn, a slow method ; and hence the pictures of Pausias were all taken from familiar life, and on a small scale ; we find them expressly contrasted with the monumental works of the battle-painters, and the famous Sacrifice above mentioned is the only example quoted of his powers on the great scale. His favourite themes, according to Pliny, were " boys," that is, no doubt, scenes of

child life. He also painted a picture of his mistress Glykera, in the character of a weaver or seller of garlands; a famous work, which among other things earned for him the earliest reputation as a flower-painter which we meet with in the history of art.

Among the many paintings of this Sikyonian school which the Ædile Scaurus at a later period transported to Rome, were several works of Pausias. Their technical refinement, and the nature of their subjects, destitute of all ethical interest but drawn fresh from life, seem to have had special attractions for the later Romans. On the other hand it was alleged against him, what indeed we should naturally expect, that he was not particularly successful in a restoration which he was commissioned to execute of the mural-paintings of Polygnotos. Taking all these facts into consideration, we can feel tolerably certain as to the place and character of this painter in the history of art. As a teacher, also, he enjoyed a considerable celebrity. However, the independent importance of the Sikyonian school seems not to have survived his scholars and successors, who form the connecting link with the post-Alexandrian age.

To the third school of Greek painters, which flourished in the fourth century B.C., we have given, following Brunn, the name of Theban-Attic. We use this double name because this school, originating in Thebes, after the rapid decline of that city took root without breach of continuity first at Corinth and then at Athens. In contrast to that severe academic exactness and thoroughness (called by the Greeks *chrestography*) which distinguished the Sikyonian school, we find in the Theban-Attic school a greater ease and versatility, and an invention more intent upon the expression of human emotion. We can only here notice their four chief painters, of whom Nikomachos and Aristeides were established at Thebes, Euphranor in Corinth, and Nikias in Athens.

Nikomachos, who was living about B.C. 360, and was the pupil of his father Aristaios, is, so far as we know, the first Theban painter of note. In asserting that the fame of Nikomachos by an unkind fate fell short of his deserts, an ancient writer has assured that very fame for all time; though, unfortunately, our details concerning him are scanty. Among his paintings, of which the subjects seem to have been entirely derived from Greek mythology, the most celebrated were—a Rape of Proserpine, Victory ascending to heaven in a four-horse chariot, Kybelê riding on a lion, a Skylla, and then, on a more familiar level, a company of Bacchants surprised by Satyrs. Nikomachos seems to have been celebrated for the rapidity and facility of his brush. In a few days he finished for the before-mentioned tyrant Aristratos the pictorial decorations of the monument of the poet Telestes. But it is expressly noted that this studied and showy velocity of handling was not allowed in any way to impair the completeness and beauty of the result.

Aristeides, the son or brother and in either case the scholar of Nikomachos, was the only famous artist of the name; so that we may waive the question

whether it was or was not also borne by another and older master. Of the works of Aristeides we can form a clear idea, since their subjects, described by Pliny, correspond with the general verdict passed by that writer on their merits. Thus we are told that in a representation of the taking of a town (perhaps Troy) Aristeides represented the dismay of a mortally wounded mother whose child still craves for the breast. Another of his subjects, apparently mythological, was a woman hanging herself out of love for her brother;[9] another was a tragic actor; another, again, a sick man, "esteemed above measure." It is evident from these accounts that Aristeides specially devoted himself to the representation of the affections of the mind, and to those, above all, which spring from bodily pain. This view is confirmed by the statement of Pliny that Aristeides was the first to express the feelings of the human mind and senses, as well as the throes of pain. And hence we are not surprised by the remark of the same author, that the colouring of this painter was somewhat hard; for, as Brunn observes, we see in modern art that the painters who lay the greatest stress on the representation of the mental affections are often careless in their colouring. The fame of Aristeides may be inferred from another account, according to which he stipulated for a thousand minæ for a great picture of the battle with the Persians. As there were a hundred figures in this picture, he would have been paid at the rate of ten minæ a figure. The whole sum, reckoned in our currency, may be calculated at about £1850. At a later period Attalos, King of Pergamos, offered a hundred talents (more than £20,000) for the Dionysos of the same painter, one of his most celebrated works, which was preserved at Rome in the temple of Ceres.

The third distinguished painter of this school, who was a pupil of Aristeides and celebrated also as a sculptor, was Euphranor. Euphranor ranks among the most many-sided and thorough artists of antiquity. He worked in Corinth, and seems to have combined the excellencies of his Theban master with those of the neighbouring school of Sikyon. We only hear of four of his pictures, but these prove his versatility. In a representation of the twelve Olympian gods he entered on the domain of religious painting proper. A Battle of Cavalry was evidently a historical painting; in a picture of the simulated madness of Ulysses, Euphranor drew from the tales of the heroes a motive of physiological interest; and finally his Theseus with the personifications of Democracy and the Demos must be regarded as a subject political and quasi-allegorical. To all these pictures peculiar qualities are ascribed. It was said, for instance, of his Theseus, that he looked as if he had been fed on beef, while the Theseus of Parrhasios looked as if he had been fed on roses. In his picture of the twelve gods, Euphranor is said to have given to his Poseidon such an air of majesty that he had no higher expression left for Zeus. These traditions correspond with the general judgment of Pliny, that Euphranor was the first painter to do justice to the type and cha-

racter of the Greek hero (but the first only, we must understand, among the later schools—among those who had completely mastered the technical conditions of their art). He is also said to have studied human proportions, and to have left treatises both on this subject and on colour; though it was thought that the limbs and heads were too large in proportion to the slender bodies of his heroes. He is always put in the first rank of painters, and the traditions as to his works are in accordance with what we are told of his style. We must think of him as an artist as far removed as possible from the effeminacy of the decadence, but rather as characterised by manly force, and as knowing also how to turn to account opportunities of psychological expression, such as that given by the Ulysses subject aforesaid. Euphranor had, it seems, worked for Athens; at any rate, it is entirely at Athens that we can trace his school; a school of which the chief name, Nikias, is only that of the pupil's pupil of the master.

Nikias the Athenian is connected in the history of art with the vexed question how far "polychromy," colour-tinting, was applied by the ancients to marble statues. When the great sculptor Praxiteles was asked which of his works in marble he valued most, he is said to have answered, "Those on which Nikias has set his mark;" and Pliny explains this expression by the comment, "So much importance did Praxiteles attach to the *circumlitio* applied by Nikias." But apart from this question, what is the precise meaning of this word *circumlitio*, *i.e.*, surface-tinting or wash, a question which need not detain us here, Nikias ranks amongst the most distinguished artists of antiquity. His wealth was such that when King Ptolemy offered him sixty talents for his picture of the visit of Ulysses to the under-world, he declined the royal offer and gave the picture to his native city. Moreover, he was so entirely absorbed in his art as to forget all earthly wants, and is said to have had often to ask his slaves whether he had bathed, breakfasted, and the like. With regard to his technical excellencies, his chiaroscuro is especially praised, and he is said to have set great store upon the quality of relief in a painting; two properties which naturally coincide. But Nikias was not one of those painters who, in their love for the mere *métier*, maintain the principle that is of no consequence what the artist paints, but only how he paints it. On the contrary, he used to say that the subject as such was as essential a matter in painting as the fable in poetry; and he gave a practical illustration of this law when he declared that the artist should choose a worthy theme, and not fritter away his skill on insignificant objects such as birds and flowers, but rather paint battles of cavalry and sea-fights. In particular his women were admired, also his animals, and especially his dogs. The list of his works which has reached us contains a whole series of heroines, but we should expect from the general tendency of the master that these would be only the chief figures in compositions illustrating their respective myths. When Pliny, however, specifically describes as "large" pictures his Calypso, Io,

Andromeda, and also his portrait of Alexander, we must assume that these were distemper pictures; while those which Pliny previously mentions must have been works in encaustic, and were certainly on a smaller scale, as, for

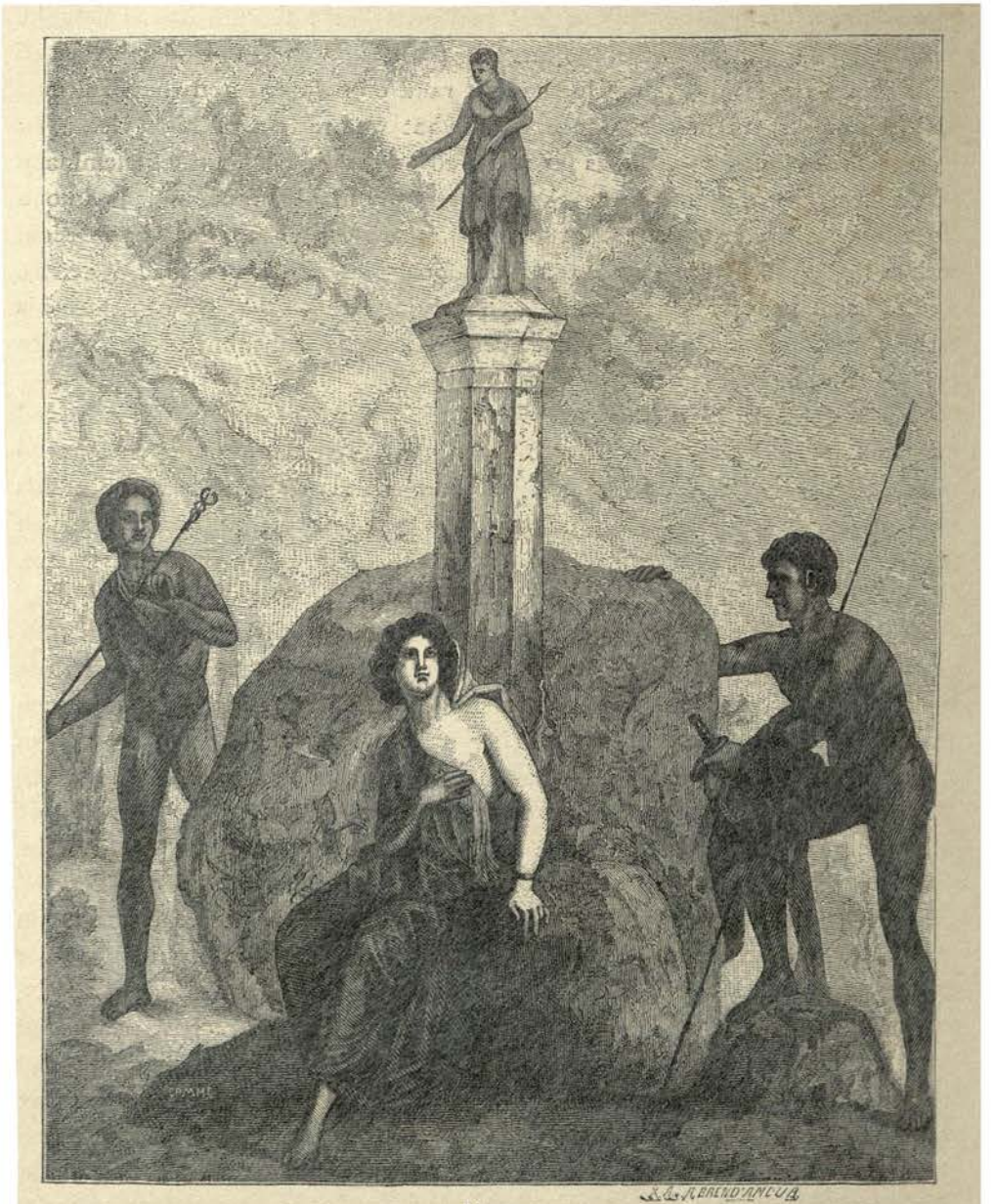

Fig. 9.

instance, the Hyakinthos, the Dionysos, and the Nekyia (the last apparently a piece in which the landscape element was predominant); and among female figures, the Danaë and the celebrated personification of Nemea. Of the Nemea, indeed, it is expressly said that Nikias himself specified it as an encaustic

work, by an inscription stating that he had "burned it in." It is very possible that replicas of the Io of Nikias exist in several wall-paintings at Pompeii, and in a more complete form in one at Rome, in the Palatine.[10] Nikias seems to have survived Alexander the Great; and, speaking generally, the careers of these latest representatives of the Sikyonian and Theban-Attic schools will have reached quite into the time of that cosmopolite and international Greek culture which ensued after the death of Alexander the Great, and which we call Hellenism. Still, it is most convenient to speak of them in connection with the school from which they were descended.

Contemporary with these masters, in the age of Alexander and his immediate successors, there flourished other Greek painters of high renown, whom we may regard as belonging more specifically still to the beginning of the new, the Hellenistic period of Greek civilisation. At their head stands Apelles, beyond all question the most famous among the many famous painters of Greece. His name in antiquity was as much used to express the ideal of perfection in his art as that of Raphael in modern times. Apelles, says Pliny, surpassed all earlier and later painters. Recent researches have endeavoured more closely to define the qualities of this extraordinary artist, and in so doing, to bring his merits within somewhat narrower limits. Some critics abide in the conviction that he was the Raphael of antiquity; others compare him to Correggio. Of course such comparisons cannot possibly be more than conjectural on the one hand and approximative on the other; and if we could see his works, we might find that he was like no one but himself.[11]

Apelles was a true-born Ionian of Asia Minor. Most ancient authorities speak of him as having been, like Parrhasios, an Ephesian, a statement which, however, is modified in a manner we have no reason to distrust by one writer who says that he received the right of citizen at Ephesos, but was born at the neighbouring town of Kolophon. It was at Ephesos, then so rich in works of art, that Apelles was first put by his father to study under Ephoros, a painter otherwise unknown. And his progress must have been rapid, for we learn that when he determined to complete his studies at the celebrated school of Sikyon, he was already an admired artist, whom men esteemed fitter to share the glory than to profit by the teaching of the Dorian school. However, he duly paid to Pamphilos at Sikyon the high fee demanded by that master from a pupil, and appears to have shown the greatest diligence in making his own all the theoretical and technical attainments of his teacher. We may be sure that he must have derived peculiar advantages from the combination of Doric thoroughness and accuracy with his innate Ionic facility and glow of feeling. In fact, public opinion seems to have so soon distinguished Apelles, that Philip of Macedon, who aimed at attracting to his court the most distinguished representatives of Hellenic culture, induced him to take up his residence in Pella, the Macedonian capital. In that court a society of artists was forming itself. Along with Apelles the

sculptor Lysippos held especial eminence. Artists lived on intimate terms with the princes and great men of the city. Apelles must have early formed a friendship with the young Alexander. When this prince ascended the throne, he appointed Apelles court painter, and is said even to have forbidden by edict the painting of his portrait by any other artist. When Alexander undertook his Asiatic campaign, Apelles must have left Macedonia. We find him established in Ephesos, where the right of citizenship had probably by this time been conferred on him.

The subjects which the Macedonian artists had to deal with were of a truly monarchical character. There was no thought of the problems of ideal art; the painter's mission was to celebrate the person and the deeds of the king, as well as those of his captains and chief men. To this sphere may be assigned all the celebrated paintings executed in the first period of the art of Apelles. These pictures were portraits, some of which had no pretensions to be anything more, while in others the artist rose to the height of historical painting, or represented with flattering allegory the apotheosis of the prince. It would be superfluous, says Pliny, to record how often Apelles painted Philip and Alexander. Among the most famous of these allegorical portraits was that of Alexander which adorned the temple of Artemis at Ephesos, then lately rebuilt after having been burnt by Herostratos. The outstretched right hand of the king held, as if it had been the hand of Zeus, the thunderbolt, and seemed to advance out of the picture; to achieve which effect the face was kept in shadow. Alexander paid twenty talents (nearly five thousand pounds) for this work, and used to say that there were two Alexanders, one invincible, the son of Philip, and one immutable, the work of Apelles. The great king was also painted on his triumphal car, followed by a figure of War represented in fetters. In another work the painter associated him with Kastor, Polydeukes, and the goddess of Victory. Lastly, there was a portrait of a mounted Alexander, in which the horse was so true to life that other horses neighed at sight of it. The number of Macedonian magnates whom Apelles painted is very considerable. Kleitos he figured on horseback about to engage in battle, and in the act of putting on the helmet which a servant reaches him. Archelaos, on the other hand, was shown in a domestic group, surrounded by his family. Antigonos seems to have often been painted by Apelles. In a celebrated portrait of this king on horseback, the loss of one eye was concealed by treating the face in profile. To the same class must have belonged also that picture which represented the festive procession of Megabyzos, the high priest of Artemis at Ephesos. Among portraits of the ladies of Alexander's court, that of the beautiful Pankaspê, the mistress of the king, was famous not only on account of the splendid life-like flesh tints of her undraped form, but also on account of the romantic tale which tells how Apelles in the course of this work fell in love with his beautiful model, and how Alexander in a burst of generosity gave her up to him. Apelles survived his bountiful patron. Of his

mythological pictures, we must ascribe the greater number to the latter part of his career, though it is possible some of them may have belonged to an earlier period. But it seems natural that Apelles, so long as he was the court painter of Alexander, should have found but little time to work out subjects drawn at his own choice from the regions of the ideal.

Apelles seems to have continued to make his home at Ephesus. Of his excursions elsewhere, that of which we have most knowledge is the visit he undertook to Alexandria to pay his respects to Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, the new Hellenistic king of Egypt. This prince was a lover of art, but at Pella, the Macedonian capital in the old days, Apelles does not seem to have succeeded in winning his favour, and even now, at Alexandria, had to struggle against snares laid for him by his rivals. Antiphilos, of whom we shall speak presently, seems to have been the court painter proper, and he, perhaps fearing that Apelles would supplant him, tried to put difficulties in his way. A well-known story tells how a forged invitation to the king's table was sent to Apelles by his enemies, and how he appeased the king's wrath by sketching on the wall a likeness of the servant who had brought the invitation. It was in Alexandria, too, that Apelles is said to have painted an allegorical picture of Calumny to punish his detractors. He must also at one time have lived in Rhodes, as it was there he met his distinguished contemporary Protogenes. It is probable that he also visited Athens; and lastly he is said to have begun one of his famous pictures of Aphroditê in the island of Kos, but to have been overtaken by death before it was finished. It is therefore not unlikely that it was at Kos he died.

Lucian has given us a detailed description of Apelles' allegory of Calumny, of which the renown in antiquity was great, though to us the invention sounds questionable. It consisted of a series of personified ideas of the mind, which, though abstract in their nature, were depicted in vehement action. No doubt the conception, as such, is cold and unpromising enough, but Apelles must have endowed the picture with all his own peculiar charm. Its great fame induced a whole series of Italian and German artists to reproduce it from Lucian's description. Dürer himself took from it the design for one of the wall-paintings in the town-hall at Nuremberg; but the best known of the existing experiments of this kind is the picture by Sandro Botticelli, now in the Uffizj at Florence. The efforts made by the enemies of Apelles to prevent his appointment at the court of Ptolemy were successful.

Among the mythological pictures of Apelles, by far the most famous was the Aphroditê Anadyomenê, in which Venus was seen emerging from the sea, and wringing out the moisture from her hair with her hands. Whether the goddess was shown as still half in the water, or already standing on the shore, has lately been a subject of discussion. The ancient authorities are not explicit on the point; but from what they say it seems to us unlikely that the lower part of the body was at any rate wholly under water. The master had been commissioned by

the citizens of Cos to paint this Aphroditê for their temple of Asklepiôs. The praises of the picture were sung by many poets, and it took among paintings of the goddess the same position which the Aphroditê of Praxiteles, at Knidos, took among statues. Augustus carried the picture to Rome, but by way of compensation remitted a hundred talents of the tribute money due from the people of the island. Soon after this, however, the picture perished. Even as early as the time of Nero, it had suffered so much that that emperor caused it to be replaced by a copy from the hand of a certain Dorotheos. The happiest verses in praise of this famous picture are the following by Leonidas of Tarentum :—

Sweet Aphroditê from the ocean's womb
Fresh risen, and all her beauty shining-wet,
Apelles saw, and seeing, limned her bloom
So true, the heart's desire seems breathing yet.
Fair ooze her locks between her fingers pressed ;
Fair laughs the love-light in her summer eyes ;
Tells of ripe youth each rounded quince, her breast.
Pallas and Juno, at the fair surprise,
Must cry, To her, great Zeus, to her, not us, the prize.
(*Anthol. Græc.*, Leon. Tar. 41.)

The best idea of the aspect of this Venus is perhaps given by certain marbles, both smaller and larger, found in Italy. It is significant of the position held by painting in antiquity to remember that even sculpture sometimes borrowed a leading motive from a famous picture. [Among modern masters, Titian has been inspired by the description of the Aphroditê Anadyomenê of Apelles, in the famous picture of the same subject which is now in the Bridgewater Gallery.]

The second Aphroditê which Apelles painted for Kos, and left unfinished, is said also to have been very beautiful; so beautiful that no one ventured to complete it after him.

Other famous mythological paintings of the master were his draped Charis, in the Odeion at Smyrna, his seated Fortune, and his Artemis in the midst of her troop of virgin huntresses. If these pictures probably belong to the artist's later time, we seem to have the record of two of his earlier paintings, produced more immediately under the influence of the school of Sikyon, in two figures of Heakles. In one of these, say ancient writers, the face of the hero was turned away, but you divined its aspect as if you saw it ; in the other, the undraped body of the hero seemed a challenge to nature herself.

To the portraits by Apelles already mentioned we have to add one of himself. And along with the allegory of Calumny we may class another allegorical piece in which the phenomena of the weather were personified, as thunder, lightning, the discharge of the thunderbolt. That these powers of nature were represented in the likeness of female figures we may be sure from their names, Brontê, Astrapê, Keraunobolia, which stand in their Greek forms in the Latin

text of Pliny. All this points to the conclusion that the special talent of Apelles did not lie in large historical compositions of many figures. And hence we seem to understand why he should have himself assigned to one of his fellow-scholars, Melanthios, the first place in the art of disposition or distribution, and to another, Asklepiodoros, the first place in the art of "measurements," which means probably the knowledge of the right ratios of diminution for figures standing behind one another in perspective. These excellencies and his own it was scarcely possible that Apelles should unite, and it was wisely that he confined himself to the painting of that which he could paint best. In faithful imitation of nature he was second to none; he was first of all in refinement of light and shade, and consequent fulness of relief and completeness of modelling. One of his technical innovations, intended to promote this very effect, was to introduce the use of a transparent coat of dark glazing or varnish over his completed tempera-pictures. But the gift in which he was pre-eminent was, as he himself expressed it, that indefinable gift of *grace*,—that charm of beauty which fills the spirit of the beholder with yearning sweetness,—and with this, that happy dexterity of hand which made him say that Protogenes was his superior in all things save one, and that was in knowing when to stop. Protogenes, it appears, could not refrain from over scrupulous and laborious finish, hence the saying, *Manum de tabula;* "leave off in time." That the touch of Apelles was just as sure as it was light, is, on the other hand, attested by a tale to the effect that, calling upon Protogenes for the first time, Apelles found him not at home, and left a token of himself in the shape of a line drawn with colour upon the table. When Protogenes came home, he guessed at once who the caller had been, and proceeded to draw a still finer line of another colour, along and within the line of Apelles. Over this finer line, however, and dividing it, Apelles drew a third which was finest of all, and then Protogenes confessed himself beaten. Of the constant practice in drawing which our master imposed upon himself, we have evidence in the statement that he never passed a day without making studies; whence the saying, *Nulla dies sine linea;* "never a day without a line."

In the personal character of Apelles we discern, as has been above made clear, great modesty and a ready acknowledgment of the merits of others—qualities in strong contrast with the pride of a Zeuxis or a Parrhasios. Thus, he is said to have been the first to recognise the deserts of Protogenes, and to have done the latter an essential service by buying up his unsold pictures, and giving out that he was going to sell them as his own. On the other hand, he knew well how to set down the pretensions of the officious. He is said to have advised even Alexander to be silent in his studio, that the apprentices who mixed his colours might not laugh at him. But the cobbler, to whose criticism about the shoe-latchet of one of his figures Apelles willingly deferred, when he ventured to find fault with the leg of the same figure was answered with the saying which has since become classical, "Cobbler, keep to your last."

A greater number of characteristic anecdotes have come down to us of Apelles than of any other artist of antiquity. I do not set so slight a value as some critics on these records, since there is a certain harmony among them, and taken together they seem to give a tolerably clear idea of the personal as well as the artistic character of the master. Apelles was in all points a child of his age. For strong ethical sublimity and ideal grandeur in the spirit of Polygnotos, the time had lost its power. Astonishing technical perfection in the illusory imitation of nature, but withal an effect proper to stir the senses rather than the mind, and in the sphere of the mind, an appeal rather to the ingenuities of reason than to the simplicities of emotion,—these were the qualities demanded by the age from art. Apelles met these needs and sentiments to the full, and his own and after ages have rewarded him by making his the most popular name among all the painters of the old world.

The greatest of the contemporaries of Apelles was undoubtedly the above-mentioned Protogenes. By birth a Karian or Lykian, Protogenes practised his art in Rhodes. We have already learned some touches of his character, as shown in his relations with Apelles. He is said also to have been very poor, and according to one rather improbable account, to have been a ship's painter, and so in fact a thorough *pictor ignotus*, up to his fiftieth year, when Apelles recognised and proclaimed the merit of his pictures. The confidence of Protogenes in his own powers increased; for when Demetrios made war against Rhodes, the artist not only did not think of moving from his little garden, which was in the midst of the enemies' camp, but went so far as to make answer to the astonished king that he surely was making war against the Rhodians and not against the arts. Demetrios is even said to have refrained from burning the town, to spare a famous picture of the master's which was there.

The most celebrated paintings of Protogenes were his Ialysos and his Satyr taking rest. Ialysos was an ancestral hero in Rhodes; and as other subjects painted by the master, such as Kydippê the mother of Ialysos, and Tlepolemos, are also taken from the heroic legends of the island, it seems probable that he painted a whole series from the same cycle. In Athens, he painted a celebrated picture of the Attic heroes Paralos and Hammonias, of which we can form no very clear idea. We are also told of portraits by his hand; among these was one of the mother of Aristotle. So far, however, was he from following the friendly advice of that philosopher, that he should devote his art to commemorating the campaigns of Alexander, that he only grouped the great Macedonian with Pan in one of his pictures.

The Ialysos of Protogenes is by far the most frequently mentioned of all his paintings. In this occurred the dog whose foaming mouth the master is said to have got so like nature by throwing a sponge at his picture in desperation. In this too, was the partridge, which though only a piece of secondary detail, so riveted the attention of unprofessional spectators by

its extraordinary realism that the artist, in annoyance, is said to have scraped it out.

To reach the highest degree of illusion in detail seems to have been the great aim of this master; and like the Italians of the fifteenth century, who described such realism as "terrible," so an ancient writer said that he could not look at the realism of Protogenes without a certain shudder, *non sine quodam horrore*.[12] According to the opinion of the ancients, Protogenes had attained this startling truth of imitation by the most anxious extreme of carefulness. He painted very slowly: for years he would sit at the same panel, going over it again and again, partly, as it seems, with the idea of making his work more durable. We discern here an obvious justification of the friendly criticism of Apelles concerning his rival, that this excess of pains robbed his work of charm. We also discern, in the growing love of the age for realism, an obvious reason why Protogenes was placed on a level with the greatest masters of the world.

Antiphilos, who has also been mentioned before, was by birth a Hellenistic Egyptian; he worked at Alexandria, and was a jealous and successful rival of Apelles. He must have been a versatile and skilful painter; for we learn that he not only painted large historical and mythological pictures in tempera, such as a famous Hesionê, Hippolytos, Kadmos and Europa, Dionysos, Alexander and Philip in the presence of Athene, but also *genre*-pictures, probably encaustic and on a smaller scale, such as a Boy blowing the fire, Women dressing wool, and so forth; indeed he even tried his strength in caricature proper, by caricaturing a certain Gryllos, with a visible allusion to his name (which means pig); from which the whole of such caricatures received in Greek the name of *Grylloi*. The pictures of Antiphilos seem to have been painted chiefly with a view to specific effects, as for instance the illuminated interior in the picture of the boy blowing the fire. He was especially celebrated for facility. Pliny, however, only ranks him among the first of the second order of painters.

We are now already in quite a new world of art—a world which reflects the essential change which has come over the spirit of the time. A still more characteristic representative of the age was Theon of Samos, who was especially distinguished for what the Greeks called *phantasies*. A Madness of Orestes was among his most famous pictures. What we are to understand by the term *phantasies* becomes quite clear from an account given by Ælian of a warrior painted by Theon in full armour and in the critical action of attack. He represented him quite alone on the panel, and with so much liveliness that he seemed as if plunging forward out of it. To complete the illusion, Theon never exhibited his picture without first throwing the minds of the spectators into the right key by sounding a shrill flourish of trumpets, and then suddenly drawing the curtain. The principle of illusion which even Protogenes had kept subservient to ends artistic at least, if not sublime like

those of Polygnotos, becomes thus with Theon an end in itself, and art degenerates into legerdemain.

To this time also belonged probably Aëtion, whose famous picture of the marriage of Alexander with Roxanê we know from a detailed description by Lucian. Painters of the Renaissance have attempted to create this picture anew from the description, and especially Soddoma, in an exquisite work preserved in the Villa Farnese at Rome. As a companion to this we are told of a Marriage of Semiramis from the same hand. The element of luxurious passion in these paintings bespoke the spirit of the Alexandrian time.

A female Greek artist called Helena, the daughter of an Egyptian Timon, is also mentioned, but only by one and that not a very trustworthy authority, as having lived at the time of the battle of Issos. She is said to have painted a famous picture in commemoration of that victory. If this account may be trusted, it can scarcely be asserted with greater probability of any Greek painting recorded in ancient literature than of this, that we possess a reproduction of it executed in later days of antiquity. We refer to the famous Pompeian mosaic, to which we shall return below (see pp. 95-97).

To this epoch, finally, should be assigned the development of that school of painting in little, of which the representative names are Peiraïkos, Kallikles, and Kalates. The most celebrated of these was Peiraïkos. Pliny says of him, "I do not know whether he, who was behind few in artistic finish, did not purposely condescend to mean subjects; since in treating such he was the foremost name of all. He painted barbers' shops, cobblers' booths, asses, eatables, and such like, from which he received the surname of *rhyparographos* (that is, rag-and-tatter painter—probably an ironic twist of the term *rhopographos*, for toy painter or painter of small and trivial subjects). In these things he attained a finished perfection, so that they were sold for higher prices than the large pictures of many other masters." Peiraïkos must therefore be regarded as a painter of *genre* and still-life.

We see, therefore, that about B.C. 300, at the beginning of the Hellenistic age, or age of the *Diadochi*, as those kings were called who divided among them the dominions of Alexander, Greek painting had already extended its achievements to almost all conceivable themes with the single exception of landscape. Within the space of a hundred and fifty years the art had passed through every technical stage, from the tinted profile system of Polygnotos to the properly pictorial system of natural scenes enclosed in natural backgrounds, and thence to the system of trick and artifice which aimed at the realism of actual illusion by means beyond the legitimate scope of art.

The creative power of Greek painting was as good as exhausted by this series of efforts. In the following centuries the art survived indeed, as a pleasant after-growth, in some of its old seats; but few artists stand out with strong individuality from among their contemporaries. Only a master here and there

makes a name for himself. The one of these whom we have here especially to notice is Timomachos of Byzantium, an exception of undeniable importance, since even at this late period of Greek culture he won for himself a world-wide celebrity.

According to Pliny, Timomachos was contemporary with Julius Cæsar, who paid a large sum for two famous pieces by his hand, an Ajax and a Medea. It has been shown, however, that Pliny probably confused the date of the purchase with that of the artist's career, which must be placed in an earlier century.

The Medea about to kill her children, and the Ajax resting from his madness, were the most famous of the master's works, and were most likely pendants. The Medea especially has been not less praised in song and epigram than the Aphroditê of Apelles. An echo of the original perhaps remains to us in certain Pompeian wall-paintings. The Iphigeneia in Tauris and the Gorgon of the same master were also celebrated; and lastly a fencing master (or whatever character is signified by Pliny's *agilitatis exercitator*), and a family portrait piece are mentioned as the work of the master. The chief occupation of his art seems therefore to have been with mythological themes from tragedy. From all that we are told of these paintings, Timomachos must have avoided in them the limitations as well as the defects of many of his renowned forerunners. He seems to have shown a happy tact in choosing the right moment for representation, as when he showed Medea and Ajax not actually engaged in, but the one just before, and the other just after, the act of blood. He knew how also to express with delicacy and depth the characters and emotions appropriate to these subjects, so that his works, it seems, may have surpassed in ethical and tragical effect all those even of Zeuxis, Parrhasios, or Apelles.

One branch of art indeed, namely landscape, seems to have first risen into importance at this time of decline in Greek culture.[13] We can gather with certainty from poetry and literature that it was in the age of the Diadochi that the innate Greek instinct of anthropomorphism, of personifying nature in human forms, from a combination of causes was gradually modified in the direction of an appreciation of natural scenes for their own sake and as they really are. For the first time, therefore, art, which must technically have been well able to cope with the natural representation of landscape ever since the time of Agatharchos, could now apply itself to this task under favourable conditions, and as a pictorial end in itself. We have evidence that this actually happened. Vitruvius states that among the ancients (and under this name he includes the Hellenistic Greeks of the age following Alexander) an important part in the art of decorative wall-painting was played by the representation of natural scenes, as harbours, promontories, coasts, rivers, wells, straits, temples, hedges, mountains, flocks and herdsmen, and also "wanderings of Ulysses with landscape backgrounds," that is to say, scenes taken from the Odyssey of Homer.

Expressions are also used of several artists of this period — as of Demetrios, an Alexandrian who worked at Rome between B.C. 180 and 150, and Serapion, who worked there about fifty years later — which makes it probable that these artists, who painted no figures, did paint landscapes as well as other scenic representations. No doubt this kind of work, which we shall meet with frequently in our study of existing wall-paintings, was never carried as far as by the moderns; indeed it seems to have scarcely got beyond the superficial character of decorative work.

The artists last named were employed, as we have said, at Rome, though they were of Hellenistic stock. What more the ancient writers tell us of painting in Rome is little enough, but shall be here briefly stated.[14]

It is an interesting fact that, while all the sculptors of note who worked in Rome betray a Greek origin by their very names, we meet, among the painters who are recorded to have worked there, with Latin names as well as Greek. Painting, which must have flourished during a certain period in Etruria, from whence Rome derived her art before the influx of Greek culture, seems from the first to have found a favourable soil on the banks of the Tiber. Not, however, to exaggerate the aptitude of Rome for this art, we must remember that the names of Roman painters which come to the surface belong, with one exception, to a time when Greek culture already ruled supreme in central Italy; and that neither among the Roman painters themselves, nor the Greek painters living in Rome, were there any of such renown as to be susceptible of comparison with the Greek masters above mentioned, from Timomachos upwards. Ancient writers mention a whole series of wall and panel pictures without so much as naming the artists who painted them; and works of this class, executed in commemoration of historical events, were obviously more prized by the Romans for their subjects than for their artistic merit.

The earliest painters mentioned in Rome were Greeks, as for instance the legendary Ekphantos of Corinth, and in historical times, Damophilos and Gorgasos. Of later Greeks who painted in Rome, the above-named Demetrios and Serapion had for contemporaries Dionysios and Sopolis, known as the best portrait-painters in the city; but Laia or Jaia, a female artist from Kyzikos, earned higher prices for portraits, and was much sought after because of the rapidity and power of her work. Besides these, we have only to notice the Dorotheos whom Nero thought worthy to copy the Anadyomenê of Apelles.

The first person of Roman birth mentioned as having exercised the art was a member of the illustrious *Fabia gens*, who from his profession received the name of *Fabius Pictor*. His large figure pieces in the temple of Salus, painted in the year A.U.C. 450, were praised for their care, freshness, and simplicity. They are said to have possessed the firm and delicate outline of the ancient, in combination with the brilliant colouring of the later, schools of Greece. The Philistines of Rome seem, however, to have looked askance upon

Fabius because he made painting his profession. Romans of noble birth gave up, therefore, trying to become artists. Mention is made of one painting by the tragic writer Pacuvius, who thought he could disregard this sentiment in his capacity of poet. It was not till the time of the emperors that all such vulgar prejudices disappeared. But we have little to record except the bare names of most of the Roman painters of this period; as Turpilius, who painted with his left hand; Titidius Labeo, the ex-Prætor and Proconsul, who only won contempt with his small and amateur performances; Q. Pedius, who was put to learn painting because he was dumb, but who died in consequence; and Amulius, who is described as a serious, severe, and at the same time flourishing artist. The Roman emperors who practised the arts themselves were of course the merest amateurs.

There is only one Roman painter of really great interest; this is Ludius, as we shall call him according to usage, although the alternative readings Tadius or Studius perhaps deserve the preference. He was a contemporary of Augustus, and Pliny says of him, "Ludius, too, who lived in the age of the divine Augustus, must not be cheated of his fame. He was the first to bring in a singularly delightful fashion of wall-painting; villas, colonnades, examples of landscape-gardening, woods and sacred groves, reservoirs, straits, rivers, coasts, all according to the heart's desire; and amidst them passengers of all kinds on foot, in boats, driving in carriages or riding on asses to visit their country properties; furthermore fishermen, bird-catchers, hunters, vintagers; or, again, he exhibits stately villas, to which the approach is through a swamp, with men staggering under the weight of the frightened women whom they have bargained to carry on their shoulders; and many another excellent and entertaining device of the same kind. The same artist also set the fashion of painting views, and that wonderfully cheap, of seaside towns in broad daylight." We may take it as certain that Pliny was mistaken in thinking that Ludius was the *first* to paint this kind of subject. We have already seen that, according to Vitruvius (a much older writer), "the ancients" had treated subjects exactly similar. That for which we may clearly give credit to Ludius is for having taken a leading part in introducing, or at least in reviving, this style of painting in Rome, and he may also have been the actual inventor of some of those motives in landscape decoration which Pliny mentions but Vitruvius does not,—such as the villa scenes with humorous incidents, and the garden views, of which great numbers have been in fact discovered upon ancient walls in Rome and Pompeii. Ludius is probably the only painter celebrated by the ancient writers, an example of whose handiwork actually exists. This is the famous wall-painting of Prima Porta in Rome, representing the entire plan of a garden on all the four walls of a room. Now, as this kind of garden piece is emphatically attributed to Ludius by Pliny,—as, further, the saloon in question was part of a villa which belonged to the Imperial family in his time, and would

doubtless therefore have been put into the hands of the decorator in most repute,—and lastly, as the technical finish of the work surpasses that of all other existing antique wall-paintings,—the opinion advanced by Brunn, that it is from the hand of Ludius himself, must not hastily be set aside. However that may be, we must remember that the landscapes of this master were but decorative work, the only half-artistic superficiality of which Pliny practically admits when he goes on to contrast with the reputation won by workers like Ludius, that of the true masters who painted not on wall, but on panel according to the wisdom of the ancients.

We hear of no famous painters more in the late time of the Empire. The creative power of art was declining throughout the Greco-Roman world. Nevertheless, we find detailed descriptions of paintings among the works of the rhetoricians of the Empire much oftener than in earlier writers. So far as these descriptions concern particular paintings of celebrated old masters, we have already made use of them in our narrative. But most of the works described by the rhetorical writers are purely anonymous, indeed in many cases it is clear that the picture has been invented by the man of letters as a peg whereon to hang his eloquence. The chief descriptions of paintings belonging to this age of literature are those which were published as separate works by Philostratus the elder and Philostratus the younger, contemporaries of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and their successors. Some scholars believe everything described by the two Philostrati to be pure invention, others hold that such paintings really existed, and bring them forward categorically to illustrate the ancient notices of painters and their works.[15] The belief of the present writer is that there are no grounds for doubting the real existence of the works of art detailed by these writers, or at least of the picture gallery at Naples described by Philostratus the elder. But I think it impossible to trace, in the anonymous works composing the galleries of which we read in these pages, copies of those masterpieces by great artists of which the bare names are elsewhere recorded, least of all, of masterpieces of the schools before Alexander. We must, on the whole, take the descriptions of Philostratus merely as interesting evidences of the condition of Greco-Roman painting in the late age in which they were written. They contain, indeed, many indications of a decline in the art. The subjects include some of nearly all classes with which we have above made ourselves acquainted. But the softer, the amorous elements tend to predominate, and landscape backgrounds, or subjects which are no more than mere incidents in a landscape, play a greater part than we can suppose to have been the case in the true classical painting of the Greeks. Be this as it may, the study of these descriptions—a study which attracted Goethe, but upon which we must not here enter in detail—will always be fruitful towards our understanding of the painting of the ancients.

If the above is the general view of the development and characteristics of Greek and Roman painting which we derive from a consideration of written

notices alone, how much will that view gain in clearness and completeness by a study of the actual works which still exist. These we shall consider in the next chapter. But, as has been said before, we must be cautious how we use them for reconstructing to the mind's eye individual masterpieces of renown, since our remains one and all belong not to the highest sphere of art, but to the sphere of daily handicraft; and since, moreover, even those which seem at first sight the most important have all been found on Italian soil, and the great majority at least belong to an age of decadence. Finally, the limits of our survey must be kept in proportion to the space at our command, as well as to the relative importance of the material in a general History of Painting.

CHAPTER III.

EXISTING REMAINS—VASE PAINTINGS.

Figured vases; their place in ancient sepulchral furniture—Their number, origin, and forms—Earliest or so-called Pelasgic ware—Orientalising ware—Introduction of human figures; the Dodwell vase—The François vase—The regular archaic or black-figured style—Characters of this ware: the "strong" style—Question between true archaic and pseudo-archaic examples—Subjects represented on vases of this class—Black-figured gradually superseded by red-figured ware—Development of the red-figured style from severity to decline—Question whether red-figured vases were originally polychrome—Technical process of vase-painting in this style—Relation of the designs to the works of contemporary painting—Subjects of the designs—Athenian funeral vases painted in colours on a white ground—Post-Alexandrian vases; the "rich" or "Apulian" style in Lower Italy—Subjects and character of Apulian vases—Extinction of the art of vase-painting.

By a touching instinct of piety, the ancients loved to make the tombs of their dead into copies, as comfortable as possible, of the dwellings of the living. Hence the custom of laying beside departed friends in their graves the weapons, clothes, ornaments, and utensils that had belonged to them in life. Among such sepulchral furniture, vases of painted earthenware have been brought to light in great numbers in many parts of Greece and Italy. The designs figured on such vases are among the most important of our materials for the history of ancient art, more especially of painting, though it must always be borne in mind that they are works, not of high art, but only of comparatively humble decorative industry.[16]

The number of such figured vases, of all sizes and shapes, which are by this time distributed among the various museums of Europe, may be reckoned as twenty thousand at least, and this number implies a corresponding variety in the subjects of mythology and daily life which adorn them. The importance of vase-painting depends, indeed, partly on this very variety of subject, partly on the fact that the examples preserved enable us to follow the development of the art, in an almost unbroken chronological order, through its several stages from præ-Homeric days down to its expiration in the second century before Christ.

The forms of these vases, the style and subjects of their painted decorations, still more the inscriptions which occur on many of them, leave no doubt as to their Hellenic origin—an origin which is moreover confirmed in great part by the sites where they have been found. Vast quantities have, indeed, come to light in Etruria, and a few in other non-Hellenic districts; but of those excavated in Etruria, the majority are identical in character with others

found in Greece itself, and were evidently imported thence; while a smaller class bespeak not less evidently the attempts of native Etruscan industries to enter into competition with Greek. The examples of such competition which have come down to us are neither rare nor hard to recognise, and they prove that the result of the experiment was not happy. We can only concern ourselves here with the vase-paintings,—and they are in truth a vast majority among the whole,—which were really executed in Greek workshops.

The lover of art takes as much delight in the forms of these vases as in their painted decorations; indeed the decoration is always so strictly adapted to the form that it cannot be properly understood, at least so far as concerns its system of border lines and distribution on the curved surface, except in connection with laws of constructional form. In this place we can hardly dwell on such questions of technical principle, but have rather to do with the figured designs on the vases simply as such.

It is only within the last few years that a certain kind of ware has been recognised as the most ancient of all, and ascribed to the so-called Pelasgic, præ-Hellenic, or præ-Homeric period, a period as yet untouched by oriental influences.[17] Ware of this kind has been found at many sites of the ancient Greek world, and chiefly in the tombs of Attica. The colour of the clay is a light reddish yellow, and the paintings on it of a uniform dark brown. Figures of any kind, when they occur at all, are entirely subordinate to ornament; but the vases of this period are in fact commonly quite covered with simple rows of geometrical patterns and abstract linear arrangements of the kind which seem to be the common property of all primitive races, as zigzags, chequers, circles, dots, and so forth. Occasionally this symmetrically disposed network of merely linear ornament leaves spaces or bands free for the introduction of figures or animals. None but domestic animals and European game occur; the panther and lion of the East have not yet made their appearance. Among human subjects mythology finds no place, but only scenes from real life, as processions, funerals, sea-fights, reflecting the primitive manners and customs of these coast populations. Everything is simply treated in silhouette, or indeed in a style which can hardly be dignified with the name of silhouette, so childish and rude seem these primitive attempts of Greek painting (Fig. 10). It must not, however, be taken for granted that all vases in this style really date from the times which we call præ-Homeric. It is the style itself which in its first inception we attribute to this period, and not each particular example; since the productions of every-day handicraft may cling for centuries to a traditional system of decoration, while the works of serious art have changed their character with the progress of the times.

If the vases of which we have just spoken may be ascribed to a præ-Homeric age, those of the second period may be regarded as belonging to about the supposed age of Homer. They are easily distinguished from the first, in

contrast with which they exhibit, as is proved by a direct comparison with examples of Assyrio-Babylonian ware, unmistakable marks of Oriental influence. In this class also the decorations encircle the vase in tiers or bands; but the designs now employed belong almost exclusively to the order of conventionally treated animal or vegetable forms. The animals are arranged in rows as in a frieze, and the Asiatic lion and tiger, with fantastic sphinxes, griffins, and sirens, fill almost as conspicuous a place as stags, goats, swans, and other domestic creatures. The vegetable forms, which occur interchangeably with these regular rows of conventionalised animals, are turned in like manner into formal patterns. Thus the palm tree becomes the palmetto ornament, as we see

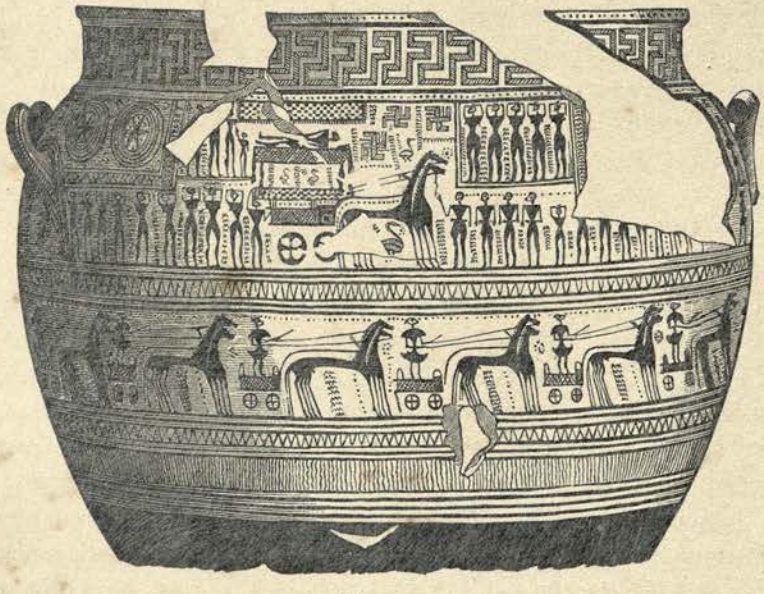

Fig. 10.

it also in Persian reliefs; a flower cup, looked at from above, takes the shape of a rosette, and from one side, that of a fantastic floral pattern. The empty spaces in the animal friezes are filled in according to fancy with rosettes and crosses. The decorative workman in this style has a positive horror of empty spaces. The whole vase must be evenly studded with ornaments painted in dark brown, broken occasionally with white and violet, and relieved on the light yellow ground of the clay. The total effect is generally harmonious.

Human figures scarcely appear on the vases which belong in strictness to this Orientalising class, but begin to make their appearance on examples of a somewhat later kind, which mark a transition from this to a more developed style of art. The most characteristic example of such transitional work is the famous Dodwell vase of the Munich collection, of which the body, it is true, only bears rows of animals in the Oriental style above described, but the cover

is adorned with a hunting scene, and even shows inscriptions in a very ancient form of alphabet (Fig. 11). The manufacture, it is plain, did not stand still between those most primitive periods of all, with their strongly-marked characteristics, and the much later ages to which belong the great mass of vases in our collections, whether painted with black figures on red, or with red figures on black. At various sites, specimens have been found which evidently date from one period or another, though from which cannot be exactly determined, within this long interval. The transition was a gradual one, and it would carry us too far to attempt here to trace it in detail.[18]

To the subsequent development of the art belong those numberless vases which lead us down from about the time of the Persian wars to about the time of Alexander the Great. These are painted at first with black figures on a red ground, and subsequently with red figures on a black ground.

Fig. 11.

The normal manner of the black-figured period is preceded by examples of a still severer archaism. This phase is represented at its richest in the splendid vase which is known as the François vase, after its finder and first possessor, and is now the gem of the Florence collection. The multitudinous figure subjects, which make of this vase a complete picture-book of epic mythology, are here again arranged in horizontal tiers. The principal subject on one of the centre bands is the procession of the gods to the marriage of the sea-goddess Thetis with Peleus. On the neck are depicted the chariot-races ordained by Achilles at the funeral games in honour of his friend Patroklos. The personages are everywhere identified by careful inscriptions, which in this style take the place of the rosettes and stars of the Oriental style in helping to fill and decorate the field. The general effect of the vase as a piece of decorative workmanship is good, but taken in detail the style of painting is still very uncouth; the actions sometimes too vehement and sometimes too stiff; and as a matter of course all the deficiencies assert themselves here which we shall indicate more particularly in speaking of the next, the regular black-figured class of ware. But in the faithful and careful execution of the whole, we recognise

the signs of a keen artistic feeling. The makers have thought it worth while to put their names to the work, and the potter who fashioned the vase signs himself Ergotimos, the painter who decorated it, Kleitias. The form of letters used in the inscriptions belongs to the alphabet which became obsolete in the 80th Olympiad. The workmanship cannot be assigned to a later date than B.C. 500.

Next in order come the black-figured vases of the archaic, early rigid, or, as it is sometimes called in English, the strong style. (It would be more correct to speak of this as the "oligochrome" than as the "black-figured" style, since in fact it employs several colours, though few.) The vases of this style (except so far as they may be products of later imitative work) were manufactured from about B.C. 500 till towards the days of the Peloponnesian war, then to give place in their turn to the almost exclusive prevalence of the red-figured style. They are in part, therefore, contemporary with the work of the great painters Polygnotos, Mikon, and their group, but according to the natural tendency of a mere ornamental industry to lag behind the progress of the higher forms of art, it was a long while before the vase-painters turned to account the conquests achieved by those famous masters. Inscriptions bearing the names of the painters are found on many vases of this style. Among those of most esteem we may reckon Exekias, Amasis, Xenokles.

In point of technical skill, the black-figured vases which belong to the genuine archaic style are very perfect examples of the potter's art. The natural pale tint of the clay is heightened by painting to a lively yellowish red, upon which the deep black colour and lustrous varnish employed for the figured decorations throw themselves up in vigorous relief. The painter was accustomed to incise the outlines of his figures on the clay ground with a sharp tool; having next filled in with black the outlines thus traced, he would again incise with a pointed instrument the inner lines and markings of the figure, which naturally had to show white upon the black (Fig. 12). But the artist was by no means satisfied with this effect alone. Attempts were made to compass variety of colour, although such attempts did not—and indeed could not so long as black was the prevailing colour of the design—get beyond a very limited and conventional scale. The additional colours used were white and a dark red. The naked parts of the female figures were painted white, whereby they were at once distinguished from the invariably black figures of the male personages. Horses were either white or black; fruit upon the tree was painted white; red served to define clearly all manner of details, such as hair, crests of helmets, manes, the variegated pattern or border on a garment, and so forth.

Nor was the difference between black and white the only means adopted to distinguish male from female personages. A conventional difference was adopted in the treatment of the eyes; those of men being drawn round, with two little strokes at the sides, and those of women long and almond-shaped, and

set as if seen in front, although the face was drawn in profile. Attempts made to give a front view of the whole face generally failed. Under such conditions anything like expression or play of feature was still, of course, out of the question. The cast of drapery, too, is still quite undeveloped; garments, for the most part, hang straight like sacks, or cling smoothly to the outlines of the figure; the plan of rigid symmetrical folds was not adopted until the early days of the next or red-figured style in vase-painting.

Fig. 12.

Moreover, the conception of the nude is in the work of this period more or less conventional. The body is on the whole meagre, often to such a point that the abdomen disappears; on the other hand the shoulders, hips, and thighs project powerfully. To this conception of form corresponds a kindred conception of action. In motives expressive of repose the design seems rigid and uncouth, in those expressive of action harsh and violent.

The compositions on these vases have more freedom than those on the very earliest kinds, but they are still treated in the spirit of relief or silhouette, and are as far as possible from being pictorial. So little trace do they show of any attempt at natural and definite background, such as had been introduced in the art of the regular painters on wood since Apollodoros, that all local features are reduced to mere symbolic indications. The groups are very simple, and similar motives are repeated to represent different subjects. The majority of the vase-paintings of this period represent an art which has not yet reached the standard, or turned to account the improvements, of Kimon of Kleonai, but has stopped about the point which we may suppose to have been attained by Eumaros (see above, p. 39). For the rest, it must be noted that

we find within this class work of very various degrees of excellence. The best examples, with all their awkwardnesses, exhibit a certain freshness and directness of conception, a loving solicitude in the execution, and a thoughtful observation of life. The worst are mere daubings, and daubings of the most crude and careless kind.

In this connection we must not leave quite unnoticed an important but difficult question which has been lately raised. It used always to be assumed as self-evident that the great majority of the vases of the severe style with black figures were original works of the fifth century B.C., and only a few were supposed to betray the intentional imitation of the early style by the workmen of a much later period. But a great authority, Professor Brunn, has recently endeavoured to prove that the real proportion which subsists between the genuine and the imitative work in this style is the reverse of that hitherto supposed. In his view the great majority of such vases discovered in Etruria are not genuine works of the fifth century at all, but imitations fabricated for the express purpose of exportation in the second and third centuries B.C. Etruria, however, is in fact the region where the great majority of all the vases of this style have been excavated. At the same time, even the best that have been found there show a great inferiority to some of the same style discovered at Athens itself; and Professor Brunn has supported his views with so many arguments drawn from style, palæography, and history, that they may well gain an increasing number of adherents.

If now we consider the subjects which are represented on vases of this class, and which, even if we follow Brunn's view, we must suppose the imitators of the archaic style to have adopted, along with their general principles of design, from the genuine works of that style—if now we consider these, we cannot fail to be astonished at their richness and multiplicity. Their range embraces nearly the whole spiritual and physical life of Hellas. At the same time, it is easy to detect a preference for certain special themes over others. Among gods, Dionysos is most frequently represented, either marching with his frenzied train, or reposing beneath a bower of vines (in this kind of Dionysiac vase, let us observe by the way, it is common to find branches laden with grapes or other fruits so trailed over the field as to fill up all vacant spaces). Among heroes, the chief part belongs to Herakles. At the same time vases of this kind, on the one part, both set before us often enough representations of the other Olympian gods, sometimes in relations which we can hardly explain from want of acquaintance with particular forms of worship, and, on the other, furnish a complete mirror of the heroic world of Greece as that world had been bodied forth in epic poetry. And the plain narrative character which belongs to the epic style is always preserved in these pictures. Finally, other vases of this period exhibit the daily life of the Greeks, now in its earnestness and discipline, now in its joyousness and abandonment. The gymnastic exer-

cises of youth, games and contests of all kinds, and anon also marriages, feastings, jovial drinking-parties, groups of men hunting, groups of women at the toilet or the bath, musical exercises of the young, and so forth—all these we find depicted. In a word, these wares are the product of a time and of circumstances when a flourishing school of painting occupied itself with all that can offer an artistic interest to man; and of that school the vase-painters have handed us down a humble reflection.

After the class of vases in which black is the prevailing colour of the figures, there follows, still as the product of the same school of design which we are

Fig. 13.

discussing, the other and more numerous class in which the entire ground is painted black, while the figures, for which space has been reserved in laying this ground, present themselves wholly in the natural red colour of the clay, with their inner markings drawn in black lines (Fig. 13). This style, however, does not suddenly supersede the earlier one. There was a period when vases of both kinds were made together; in fact there exist specimens decorated on one side with red figures on a black ground and on the other side with black figures on a red ground. It has, indeed, been proved that the later or red-figured style had been introduced in fictile art as early as the Persian wars. But it was only after the beginning of the Peloponnesian war that the red-figured manufacture entirely superseded that with black figures, which remained in abeyance until a deliberate revival undertook to supply wares in imitation of the older style to suit the

taste of foreign customers. Among the potters whose vases we find decorated sometimes with red and sometimes with black figures, we may quote the names of Nikosthenes and Panphios, and as leading manufacturers of the red-figured kind alone, those of Duris, Epiktetos, and Euphroneos.

These red-figured vases afford us examples of a progress from archaic rigidity through all stages of the development of the Hellenic and Hel-

Fig. 14.

lenistic styles of design. The earliest exhibit a thoroughly harsh and rigid style of drawing, a stiff formality in the cast of drapery, a conventional treatment of the hair, and that forced and strained vehemence of action which bespeaks the effort after a freedom not yet attained. Gradually, however, the style advances towards real freedom, acquiring more life and at the same time more repose. The faces gain expression, the draperies a noble flow, the bodies beautiful proportions, the movements a harmonious rhythm. The artist succeeds in representing heads and limbs correctly from the most varied points of view, and with foreshortenings that grow bolder as time goes on. For a while also there reigns along with these improvements that solemn earnestness of conception which is the special mark of the highest style. Vases of this kind are calculated to give us an idea of the manner of Polygnotos.

By and by there appears an element of increased grace and freedom, and we find vase pictures which belong in every respect to the most complete and beautiful examples of design which have been produced under the conditions proper to this art (Fig. 14). At last, in the course of the fourth century B.C., freedom degenerates into a pursuit of effects attractive rather than dignified. Charm, however, with purity of form, continues long to attend upon this style, which only begins after the age of Alexander to exhibit those negligences which are the symptoms of decline.

It is true that the greater part of those red-figured vases of the early or strong style, which have been found not in Greece itself but in Etruria, bear marks of carelessness not easy to account for in the work of the early period. Hence Brunn's supposition that they are not really original works of the fifth century, but deliberate repetitions of the style of that century, fabricated in a later age; a supposition which is naturally supported by the same arguments which apply to vases of the black-figured class.

With reference to the vases with red figures, another question of much importance has lately been raised.[19] It has been contended that the pictures which now appear in the red colour of the clay on a black ground were all originally painted with a diversity of hues, and that pigments, of which traces are still here and there to be found in greater or less quantity, have in the course of time either flaked off or otherwise disappeared from the surface of the great majority of vases of this class. Evidently this view, if it could be established, would completely alter our idea of the aspect originally borne by this kind of ware; but the theory is one which will hardly find acceptance to the extent which it claims. What is really certain is, that in the time of the free development of the art, the Greeks did paint a certain order of vases in diverse colours on the black ground. Sometimes a rich gilding was added to heighten their ornamental effect. This kind of ornamentation with gold and colours is perhaps best preserved on some vases found at Kertch and now in the collection at St. Petersburg; but these are by no means the only cases in which signs of an original polychrome treatment are to be discerned. It is certain, furthermore, that there is a specific class of wares (to which we shall presently return) having their ground laid in white pipeclay instead of the usual black, and that for the decoration of these vases, which in some early examples still exhibit figures drawn in black, a polychrome treatment came very soon to be employed. But, lastly, it is not less certain that the overwhelming majority of vase-pictures with red figures on a black ground show no traces of having originally been decorated according to any complete polychrome system at all. The only variety of colour is obtained by the use of white and dark red, employed in the same way, only much more sparingly, as upon the black-figured vases; but the majority of the class now under discussion, including the finest examples, fail to show even such slight applications

of colour as this. In face of plain appearances it is impossible to regard the matter as one admitting of question.

The following was the process employed in producing these pictures. The design was first sketched on the surface of the still unbaked vessel; the inner markings, lines, and hatchings, being put in with a pen, the masses of dark, in hair, ornaments, and so forth, with a brush. Next, all the spaces between the figures were filled in with black, which the painter laid on with a full brush, working from the outlines of the figures outwards. It is next these outlines that the colour lies thickest. Where black hair or other masses of dark form part of the design of the figures, it was necessary to leave a margin of the colour of the clay in order to detach such masses from the black of the ground. After all this came the firing.

We have said that the red-figured vases of the style which combines severity with beauty may be supposed to give us an idea of the manner and design of Polygnotos. From this point onwards the art of vase-painting ceases to exhibit a progress parallel with the progress of the higher order of painting. Apollodoros had already painted pictures with determinate backgrounds, and had been followed and surpassed by Zeuxis and Parrhasios. But vase-painting never adopted this reform. Its pre-occupation at this particular period was rather the pursuit of an extreme simplicity, inasmuch as the finest of the red figures often detach themselves in complete isolation, almost as if floating in air, from the plain black ground which covers the body of the vase.

There is no essential difference between the range of subjects illustrated in the paintings of the red-figured vases down to the days of Alexander, and that which had prevailed in those with black figures; there is only an increasing richness and multifariousness. All the conceptions of mythology were turned to account, and latterly sometimes in versions to which tragic poetry had first given currency. But historical scenes were also represented, as, for instance, Croesus on the funeral pile, which we find on a beautiful vase of the severe style (Fig. 15). Daily life, too, furnished now as in the previous period an endless abundance of motives; neither is the licentious element absent. But in the finest examples the endeavour of the artist has been to compass charm through simplicity; the design consists often of no more than a single figure or a pair of figures, and the ornamental borders and patterns are also much simplified in comparison with those of earlier periods.

A special class of Athenian vases of this period consists of those painted in various colours on a white ground. Most of them are in the shape of lekythi (λήκυθοι) or slender oil jars; they are very various in size, and have been found principally in tombs at Athens. These white Athenian lekythi seem to have been manufactured especially for the service of the dead, since the subjects depicted on them refer exclusively to death. Most commonly they show the *stêlê*, or memorial column of the dead, beside a mound which is

often overgrown with brushwood, and the kindred of the deceased adorning the column from either hand with garlands. But often too Charon, the ferryman of the under world, is depicted with his boat, in which case the water and the rushes are added as well. Generally speaking, the style of design is more

Fig. 15.

pictorial in this than in other classes of vase-painting, and shows more decidedly the influence of the higher art of the time; characteristics to which the white ground would naturally be more favourable than the black. Nevertheless in this style, too, the outlines have been drawn with the pen before they were filled in with colours. But in the colours themselves there is considerable variety. It is sometimes said that blue occurs less commonly than red, but that is only because the red pigment possesses the quality of incorporating

itself with the prepared ground of the clay more firmly and therefore more lastingly than the blue.

After the time of Alexander the Great, the whole civilisation, and with the civilisation the art, of Greece took another direction. The great days of Athens had gone by. The work of the Athenian vase-painters was for the future chiefly limited to copying designs of an earlier style for export to Etruria. In Lower Italy, on the other hand, the art struck out an independent

Fig. 16.

career, especially in Apulia; whence the general name "Apulian" is sometimes given to the wares of this late style, which is also known as the "rich" style. The vases of this South-Italian manufacture on the one hand bespeak clearly the inspirations of the Hellenistic age, and on the other show a certain admixture of elements more distinctively national and Italic. At the same time they are properly described as Greek, since they are the work either of the Hellenic populations in Lower Italy or of native populations Hellenised. The vases of this class, of which the richest collection is naturally that in the museum at Naples, are commonly of imposing size, and covered with a very rich system of ornamentation. The figure subjects are often again arranged in rows as in the oldest ware, and rich wreaths of vegetable ornament cover the neck and handles. There are many links of resemblance between the style proper to this new international Hellenism and the old Orientalising

style; even the old habit of filling empty spaces with rosettes now recurs The whole impression is meant to be gay and splendid, but to us seems in most cases overloaded.

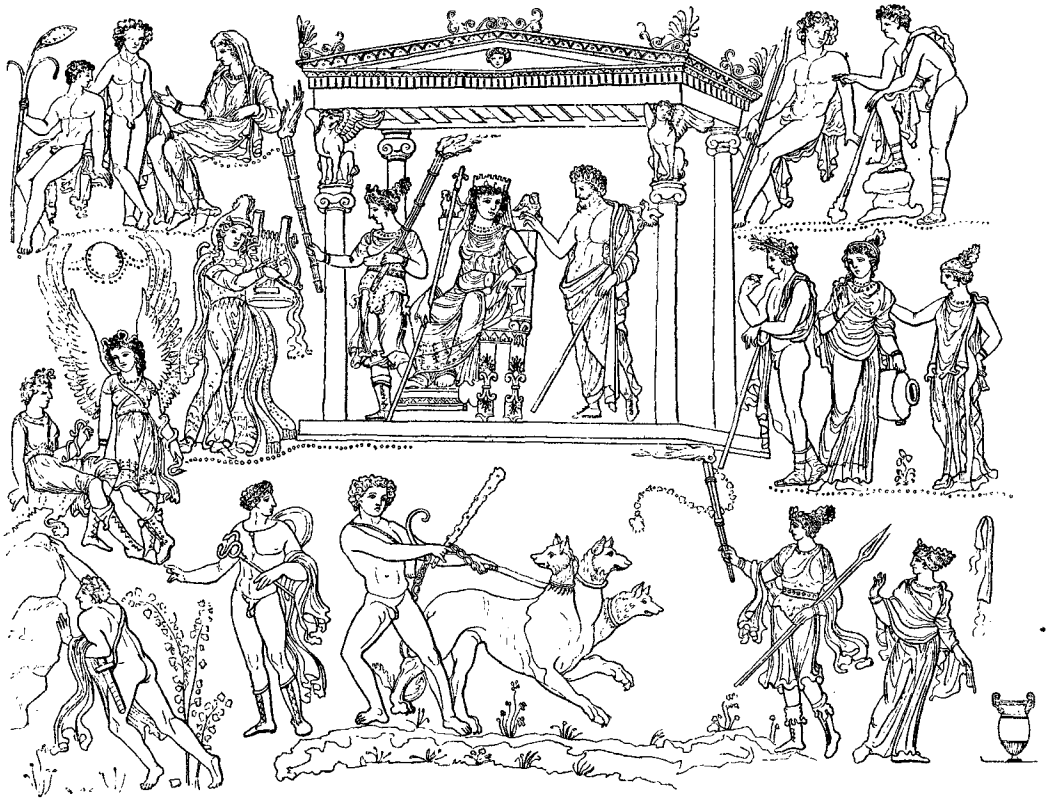

Fig. 17.

The subjects represented on these rich vases are again connected with the service of the dead; but the memorial structure, which forms the central point of the picture, is here seldom a simple *stêlê*, but more commonly a rich temple-like building or *herôon*, around which the friends of the deceased are introduced in numbers and grouped with pictorial freedom (Fig. 17). The most frequent scenes, however, in this style are scenes from heroic legend, and among these the myths in which most figures come into action are preferred. The underworld appears under various aspects; sometimes the palace of Hades and Persephonê forms the central feature of the design; sometimes the chief prominence is given to the tale of Orpheus, and Herakles leading off the three-headed hound of hell is seldom absent. Among the favourite subjects on this class of vases are also battles of Greeks against Amazons and Centaurs. Of the heroic myths properly so-called, this style treats chiefly those handled in later tragedy, especially by Euripides; a preference which is in direct contrast to

that of the old black-figured style, which drew its subjects chiefly from epic poetry. Thus Iphigeneia, Paris, Kadmos, Œdipus, Medea, Pelops, play leading parts in the pictures on the Apulian ware; the Judgment of Paris, which occurs on vases of all styles alike, is also a common subject now. A great predilection

Fig. 18.

is shown for the personified powers of nature. Pompous scenes of sunrise set before us anthropomorphic representations of natural phenomena, which are unique of their kind. So also the mythic company of the divinities both of sea and land receive rich and various treatment. Among themes of mere humanity, love scenes occur most commonly, and luxuriance is, as a rule, the character of the subjects chosen in this style as it is of their mode of treatment.

The great groups which form the leading compositions on these vases are very differently arranged from those of all earlier periods. A stately colonnaded building usually forms the centre of the design, and round about it numbers of figures are grouped right and left, above and below. The multitude of the figures in these compositions is indeed astonishing. When the personages proper to the story are not enough to fill the space, the artist invents supernumerary figures at discretion. Inscriptions added to these often

enable us to recognise them as personifications such as were popular at this time, but often also, in the absence of such inscriptions, they are very difficult to identify. In the arrangement of the figures, those placed below are meant to be considered as in front, and those above as behind—an intention, however, which is not carried out by any diminution of the upper figures in perspective. The different places of the scene are indicated by ground lines, from which grasses, herbs, or flowers, are often represented as springing. Such lines, again, are frequently replaced by rows of white or yellow dots, between which stones and rocks are scattered according to the requirements of the scene. In such particulars the older style of vase-painting, which worked in simple profile, had often had to employ modes of compromise with the pictorial principles of the easel-painters, of which the effect was curious enough; but in this late ware it is certain that the designers renounced complete pictorial perspective only in the just interests of the decorative laws imposed upon them by the form of the vase and the constructive necessities of the case.

The treatment of the figure in this style is free to the point of arbitrariness, the forms, as a rule, too soft and flaccid for refinement, and not unfrequently disfigured by false drawing. An extreme facility of hand is universal. A love of the subtle and far-fetched betrays itself in variety of posture, often accompanied with skilful foreshortening, as well as in fanciful and richly embroidered draperies which remind us of theatrical costumes and were often in fact copied from them. We discern everywhere a striving after effects and surprises. In this, as in the previous style, vases are commonly painted with a black ground, the figures being left the colour of the clay. But the effect is also heightened with the addition of other colours, although these, when they are restricted, as usually happens, to shaded work in white, yellow, brown, and especially in red, blend harmoniously with the dominant colour of the clay ground and do not look too bright or various. Bright and various colours, including even blue and green, do, however, in occasional instances occur in this style. Among masters of the style may be mentioned the names of Assteas, Lasimos, and Python.

Vases of this latest character may be traced down to about B.C. 65. The manufacture of painted vases then disappears. The Romans did not encourage it. But the art had lasted long enough to give us a faithful reflection, if only with the imperfections proper to a humble industry, of the graphic arts of Greece in the several phases of their history.

CHAPTER IV.

EXISTING REMAINS CONTINUED—MISCELLANEOUS.

ENGRAVED BRONZES—Toilet-cases and mirrors—Their origin; examples of mirrors found in Greece—Cistæ or toilet-cases found at Prænestê—The Ficoroni cista—Designs on Etruscan mirrors; their artistic character; their subjects—MOSAIC; invention and first application of the art—Mosaic patterns and mosaic pictures; examples of both found in various regions—Date of the first mosaic pictures; the *oikos asaratos* of Sosos—The Capitoline Doves—Rarity of mosaics applied to wall-decoration; their frequency as applied to pavement decoration; examples—The battle of Issos from the *Casa del Fauno*, Pompeii, probably after a painting by Helena of Alexandria—The Nile mosaic at Palestrina—Landscape mosaics and other miscellaneous examples—PAINTINGS ON STONE; these the only remaining easel-pictures of antiquity—Paintings in red outline on stone from Pompeii—The Niobe of Pompeii—The so-called Muse of Cortona—The Amazon sarcophagus of Corneto—MINIATURES: the name given to all illustrations of MSS.—Preserved examples belong exclusively to the decadence—The Milan Homer—Two Virgils at the Vatican—MSS. of Terence at the Vatican, Paris, and Oxford—MS. of Nikander at Paris.

I. ENGRAVED BRONZES.—In studying the painted vases of the ancients, we had to consider examples coming from widely scattered sites. On the other hand, the products of the industry with which we have next to deal come for the most part from a comparatively limited region: we mean those examples of bronze ware of which the surface is ornamented with incised outline designs. These works of the graving tool, which the Italians call *graffiti*, may be regarded as the forerunners of the modern art of metal engraving. The objects so decorated, with which we have chiefly to deal, are of two kinds—viz. (1) Toilet-cases; these are now commonly known simply as *cistæ*, but used to be called mystic cistæ, because erroneously supposed to have been intended for use in the mysteries; and (2) Mirrors, which by a similar error were formerly taken to be sacrificial plates. Every one now acknowledges the true character of such objects as being no more than respectively ordinary dressing or jewel cases and mirrors.

The greater part of these engraved objects in bronze have been found in central Italy, partly in Etruria and partly in Latium. They were formerly supposed to be almost unknown in Greece. So recent a scholar as Gerhard could express his surprise that mirrors of Greek origin had been found possessing the utmost beauty of form, and with their handles most artistically wrought, but none with designs engraved upon their surfaces. Later discoveries have invalidated this view. One example from Greek soil has been known for some time, in the shape of a bronze disk found in the island of Ægina and now in the museum at Berlin; this is engraved in the severe

archaic style with figures of young men engaged in athletic exercises. A remarkable disk adorned with the same subject, found in Sicily and now in the British Museum, has lately been made extremely well known (Fig. 19). In this example we find on the one side a youth with the *halteres*, or weights used in jumping, and on the other side a similar youth with a javelin, both drawn in a good archaic style which we may refer to the fifth century B.C. To these examples others of the same kind attach themselves.[20] Moreover, we have

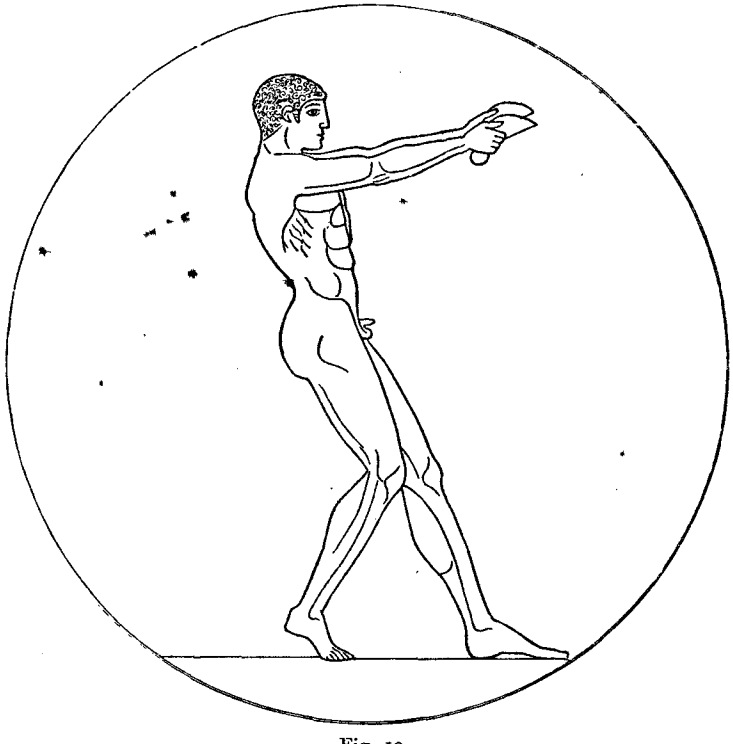

Fig. 19.

quite lately become acquainted with a special but not numerous class of mirrors, found for the most part in Corinth, and engraved with designs of a character genuinely and unmistakably Greek. The earliest known of these represents two veiled women; on the second appears the genius of cock-fighting; on a third the figure of a female Bacchant. On the other hand, a mirror lately discovered in Crete shows a winged genius of less purely Greek aspect (Fig. 20).

Having said thus much of these examples of pure Greek metal-engraving—examples few indeed, as yet, but of the utmost importance as proving that the Greeks took the lead in this as in other branches of art—we have now to turn to the works of the same class discovered in Italian soil. These cannot indeed be compared with the Greek works in freshness and originality of style, but they have been found in much greater numbers, and have been longer and better known.

Let us take first the engraved metal caskets of the kind commonly known as Prænestine cistæ, because they have been found for the most part at Prænestê, the modern Palestrina.[21] It has been supposed that the scenes represented upon them were originally picked out in various colours within their incised outlines, but this conjecture is not borne out either by their appearance or by the condition in which they were found. It is more conceivable that the

Fig. 20.

outlines in question were filled with some substance of a different colour from the bronze, according to the method known as *niello*. The effect of the scenes depicted is entirely that of outline designs, as the interior parts of the figures are defined by the necessary markings and a certain slight amount of shading. The body as well as the cover of the casket is generally ornamented with such designs as we have mentioned, and the vessel is decorated both above and below with borders of much beauty and excellence of style.

The subjects of these designs, so far as they are of a mythological cast, are borrowed usually from Greek and less frequently from native Italian legend; along with these we find also scenes of everyday life, such as hunting, young men arming, meetings of youth and maid, and so forth. Combats of animals also occur.

Of these incised drawings the style, speaking generally, is native Italian—sensibly influenced, indeed, by Greek art, yet independent up to a certain point. It is, however, destitute of that profound respect for nature which, combined with a not less earnest spirit of discipline and self-restraint, gives to the works of Greek art and even of Greek handicraft their incomparable nobility and the high perfection of their style. A very few works only of the class exhibit such purity and beauty as to warrant us in positively ascribing their execution to Greek artists employed in Italian manufactories.

The first cista found at Prænestê is that known as the Ficoroni cista, and was discovered before A.D. 1739. In 1866 Schöne reckoned at about seventy the total number of such cistæ then known, and this number has since been considerably increased. The greater part of these are preserved in Roman collections, and especially in the Barberini collection; there are also some at Paris, Berlin, and other places. The names by which they are spoken of are commonly those of their first owners. Hardly any of them can be of later date than about the end of the third century B.C. They therefore belong to a time at which the graphic arts in Greece had won their way to the greatest possible freedom, and the influence of this free Greek style makes itself felt in their designs, in spite of all native weakness of drawing.

We will speak in detail of only one example, viz. the Ficoroni cista already mentioned, which is preserved in the Museum Kircherianum at Rome. This not only was the earliest found of its class, but is also the oldest and most beautiful, and it may belong to about the beginning of the third century. The scene which encircles the body of the casket represents an episode from the tale of the Argonauts. Jason and his companions are supposed to have landed to draw water in the country of the Bebrykians, opposite the modern Constantinople. But the spring is guarded by the savage giant-king Amykos, who challenges every stranger to a fight with fists and vanquishes him. Happily, however, Polydeukes himself, afterwards a presiding deity of the palæstra, is among the heroes of the expedition; he beats Amykos and binds him to a tree. This story is depicted with admirable beauty and liveliness in a frieze-shaped composition which forms a consistent whole, but can yet be broken up and considered in its several parts. We see the ship lying by the shore; one goodly hero lies asleep on deck, another descends the gangway to the beach; a third looks on from on board at the chastisement of the churlish king (Fig. 21). Polydeukes, upon whose head a winged Victory sets a wreath, tightens the rope with which he is binding Amykos to a tree. A group of heroes scoop and drink water from the source which is now set free, and in front of which Seilenos appears grinning complacently among the rest. Another group of naked youths, of noble build and stature, look on in various attitudes and with manifest content at the exploit of their godlike comrade. Pallas Athênê, the tutelary goddess of the Greeks at every hour of need, is also by. The introduction of

certain lesser divinities, as well as the character of the whole conception, leads us to ascribe this drawing, with its loving thoroughness in the carrying out of many a detail, to a time not earlier than that of Alexander the Great. At any rate, the artist shows the utmost mastery of all technical means, as well as of drawing and foreshortening, and in spite of the predominance he gives to beauty has not neglected individual truth to nature. Many writers declare that this casket is the very finest monument of graphic art which antiquity has left us; and one skilled connoisseur has added the opinion that even Italian art in the *cinquecento* never produced finer drawing.[22]

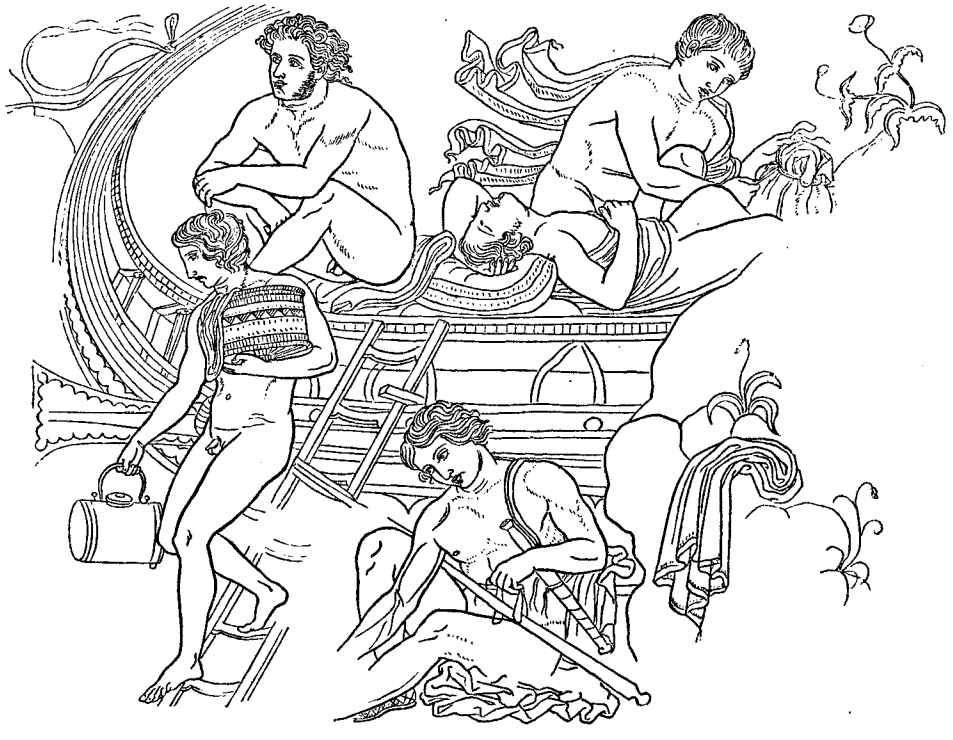

Fig. 21.

Engraved mirrors, which we shall next examine, are round disks provided with a handle. The front of the disk was formed by the flat polished surface used as a mirror. The back was ornamented with incised drawings executed in a manner corresponding to that of the caskets from Prænestê. Such mirrors, indeed, have sometimes actually been found inside these caskets, though more commonly alone. They are a much more numerous class of objects than the caskets, and may be reckoned, without fear of exaggeration, at over a thousand, dispersed among the various museums of Europe. The Antiquarium at Berlin is especially rich in fine examples. They are usually called Etruscan mirrors, and have in truth been found for the most part in Etruscan tombs.[23] Their inscriptions, too,

both with regard to characters and word-forms, point to a similar origin. Nevertheless, a good many have been found outside Etruria; not merely, for instance, the Greek examples already mentioned, but others in Latium, especially at Prænestê; nor are examples bearing Latin inscriptions wanting. The manufacture was evidently carried on for several centuries, and lasts from the time of the independence of Etruria down to the last days of the Roman Republic. This is proved by the variety of style in the designs, in which we can trace all the changes of Etruscan art, from its archaic awkwardness to the laxity and dissolution of all form characteristic of its decline.

The artistic value of these mirror-drawings varies surprisingly. By far the greater number show no trace of the Hellenic feeling for form, but assert themselves as the everyday handiwork of native journeymen. Many are formless to the point of caricature, and only a few lay claim, like the Ficoroni casket, by the beauty of their composition and nobility of their outlines, to be the work of Greek hands in the pay of Italian employers.

The scenes are usually well composed in the circular field, and are enclosed sometimes with a conventionalised and sometimes with a realistic leaf border. The mythical and other conceptions here embodied bear in essentials the Hellenic character. Some designs, which in style of treatment have nothing Greek about them, show nevertheless in their subject distinct influences of Greek culture; but these influences are seldom pure, more commonly they are strongly infused with Etruscan elements, which in itself is sufficient reason for declining to regard them as really Greek.

The representations of gods belong in part to the native creeds of Italy. These are hard to explain, and satisfactory interpretations have by no means been found for them all. Winged figures, in the creation of which the Etruscan imagination was very prolific, play here as elsewhere in the works of this race, a leading part. Motives may also often be recognised as having sprung from an adaptation of Greek myths to the native Etruscan dæmonology. Among subjects of pure Greek mythology, several of the more considerable refer to Zeus, Athênê, and Poseidon; we find, for instance, the Birth of Athênê, Athênê in the Battle of Gods and Giants, Poseidon drawn by winged horses, with Eros playing by him. The Delphic divinities also—Leto, Apollo, and Artemis—are grouped together on a few of these mirrors. Subjects of the Bacchic cycle are still more numerous, among which we may single out Zeus and Semelê (Fig. 22), the Birth of Dionysos, and Dionysos with Ariadne; and with these are naturally associated figures of Seilenos, Satyrs, and Bacchants. The cycle of the goddess of love is also richly represented. Aphroditê is often grouped with Adonis, or we find her tossing Eros in a swing. The same Eros recurs in plenty of other motives. A great part is played by Kastor and Polydeukes, to the representations of whom in various situations it has been attempted to give a significance connected with the priestly mysteries. Among heroic subjects, the tales of

the Trojan cycle fill a prominent place. The Judgment of Paris is one of the favourite subjects in this as in so many other ancient and modern forms of art.

Side by side with these mythological subjects we find also mirrors ornamented with scenes from everyday life: horse-racing, throwing the discus, young men putting on their armour, wrestlings and friendly gatherings, illustrate the daily life of men. That of women is exhibited chiefly in their relations with men. Motives of the most various kinds are suggested by marriage scenes, love scenes, assemblies and rencontres, which sometimes take a dubious turn.

Fig. 22.

II. MOSAICS.—The art of putting pictures together out of small cubes of natural stone, or pieces of many-coloured glass, seems to have been invented in the first instance for the adornment of floors. But for this purpose linear patterns, and conventionalised plant ornaments fitted to the shape of the space intended to be decorated, are more suitable than actual pictures. The shapes of animals and men can only be accommodated to such patterns on condition of being treated in a more or less abstract and decorative way. As a matter of fact, a series of the best ancient and modern mosaic pavements bear out this rule; it is also illustrated in the only

mosaic hitherto found on Greek ground—that, namely, which was brought to light by the first French expedition in the entrance to the temple of Zeus at Olympia. This work is unfortunately in a very dilapidated state; it was originally formed of the natural black, white, brown, yellow, and red pebbles found in the Alpheios, but in the time of the Romans it was plastered over with scraps of costly marbles. Dr. Hirschfeld ascribes this mosaic to about the time of Alexander.

The desire to imitate real pictures in mosaic seems to have arisen in the age following Alexander. It seems a self-evident error in taste to put such representations, especially when they are designed in perspective, in a situation where they must be trodden under foot; but for our present purpose this is precisely the class of mosaic on which we have to dwell. Small pictures introduced medallion-wise into a scheme of ornament are less open to objection than large pictures covering a whole floor-space. Examples of both kinds, however, exist in considerable numbers. The richest source of such discoveries has been in the neighbourhood of Rome and Pompeii; hence we find most of the finest antique mosaics preserved in various Roman collections, and in the National Museum at Naples. But important discoveries of mosaics have also been made in Spain and Africa, and north of the Alps in France, Germany, England, Hungary, and Transylvania. The Lupi mosaic, which represents Helios among the signs of the zodiac, with personifications of the Seasons below, was found in Italy and is preserved at Munich. Of mosaics found in Germany, that in the Darmstadt museum was discovered at Vilbel in Upper Hesse; another, more frequently mentioned, was found at Nennig; in Cologne there was brought to light one with busts of philosophers and poets, and among them Diogenes, Socrates, and Sophocles. A mosaic found in Salzburg represents a scene from the story of Theseus; others excavated at Varhely in Transylvania, and since unfortunately destroyed, represented a Judgment of Paris, and Priam in the tent of Achilles.

The history of the invention of the art of mosaic and its introduction into Italy can to some extent be traced. Ornamental pavements in mosaic were probably invented in the East, and at a very ancient date. But it was not, as we have said, until the Hellenistic age, the age following Alexander, that the transfer of actual pictures to this material was practised. Thus we hear of splendid mosaics adorning several saloons in the giant ship of King Hieron of Syracuse, which represented scenes from the Trojan war. Moreover, Pliny writes of an artist in mosaic who belonged to the age of the Diadochi: "The most famous in this art is Sosos, who executed in Pergamos an *oikos asaratos* or unswept house, so called because it represented the remains of food and other sweepings as if left about on the floor, by means of little cubes of different colours. Much to be admired herein is a dove drinking and darkening the water by the shadow of its head; other doves sun and plume themselves on the

rim of the vessel."[24] A fortunate chance has preserved for us parts of different repetitions of this famous piece. Mosaic pavements representing the remains of a meal have been found, for instance, in North Africa and on the Aventine, and pieces of the latter, in which the artist, Herakleitos, has introduced his name, are now in the museum of the Lateran. All these scattered objects on a white ground—mussels, snail-shells, fish-bones and other bones, lobster-claws, leaves, cherries, grape-stalks, oyster-shells, and the mouse which is making itself at home among the scraps—produce a very natural and pleasant effect. The finest example of the subject of doves on the edge of a basin is that found in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, and famous under the name of the Capitoline Doves, after the museum in which they are now placed (Fig. 23). This is among the most

Fig. 23.

popular works of ancient art, and does in reality set before us a most dainty picture of still-life, showing great artistic power in the natural treatment of glancing lights and shadows on the plumage. The doves sit on the edge of a round bowl filled with water; one of them bends her neck down to drink, another plumes herself, and two more look expectantly about.

Sulla is said to have first transplanted this art of executing true pictures in mosaic to Rome, and Marcus Scaurus to have been the first in that city who decorated a wall-surface—the middle course, namely, of the stage-wall of his great theatre—with glass mosaic of various colours. Later this fashion of decorating not only floors, but walls, with mosaic became more and more frequent. But from pagan times very few examples of such decoration applied

to perpendicular surfaces are preserved, except the interior walls of some small covered wells at Pompeii, a niche from Ostia, the wall of a niche from Baiæ, some columns from Pompeii, and a few other things.

On the other hand the mosaic pavements found and still preserved in Italy are very numerous; some of these are in simple black and white, some richly variegated, others in various limited degrees of variegation; some are only ornamented with patterns, some with pictures let into patterns, and sometimes the whole pavement consists of a single large picture. We can only take notice of a very few examples.

First of all must be mentioned the famous work found 24th October 1831, in the so-called *Casa del Fauno* in Pompeii, and now in the museum at Naples.[25] It represents a battle-scene, full of fire and movement, which covered the whole floor of a hall in that tastefully decorated house; and is in the true sense of the word a great historical picture (Fig. 24). After setting aside various erroneous opinions which have been propounded about the subject of this work, we may now affirm with certainty that it represents the battle of Issos, in which Alexander routed the Persian king Darius, B.C. 233. There could from the first have been no doubt that we had before us some encounter of Macedonians and Persians; but that the battle of Issos in particular must have been meant, follows from a comparison of the principal episode in the mosaic picture with a description in Curtius Rufus. That writer tells how Darius, when he had lost several of his chief officers and his own chariot was involved in the general disorder of the flight, would have fallen into the hands of the pursuing Macedonians if he had not saved himself on a horse which was offered him. This is the moment represented. On the left the Macedonians charge with Alexander at their head, who, careless of the loss of his helmet, dashes along on a fiery steed. On the right and largest half of the picture we witness the confusion and flight of the Persians; about the middle is a Persian noble, perhaps the brother of Darius, fallen to the ground. The king, despite the flight of his host, stands up in his chariot and turns facing the enemy and stretching out his arms towards his wounded friend; meantime his chariot and team are in confusion, but another trusty follower has leaped from his horse and holds it in readiness for his king. This horse stands in the middle foreground, and is seen directly in rear; it must clearly possess some special significance.

The composition of this mosaic is in the highest degree admirable. The groups are excellently balanced, and the tumult is distinctly rendered with but few materials. The incident we have described forms both materially and dramatically the central point of the picture. Indeed, it is not often that a crisis of such moving and intense suspense has been represented with so much inward life and at the same time with such simplicity and clearness. The single figures are of a corresponding excellence of execution, though

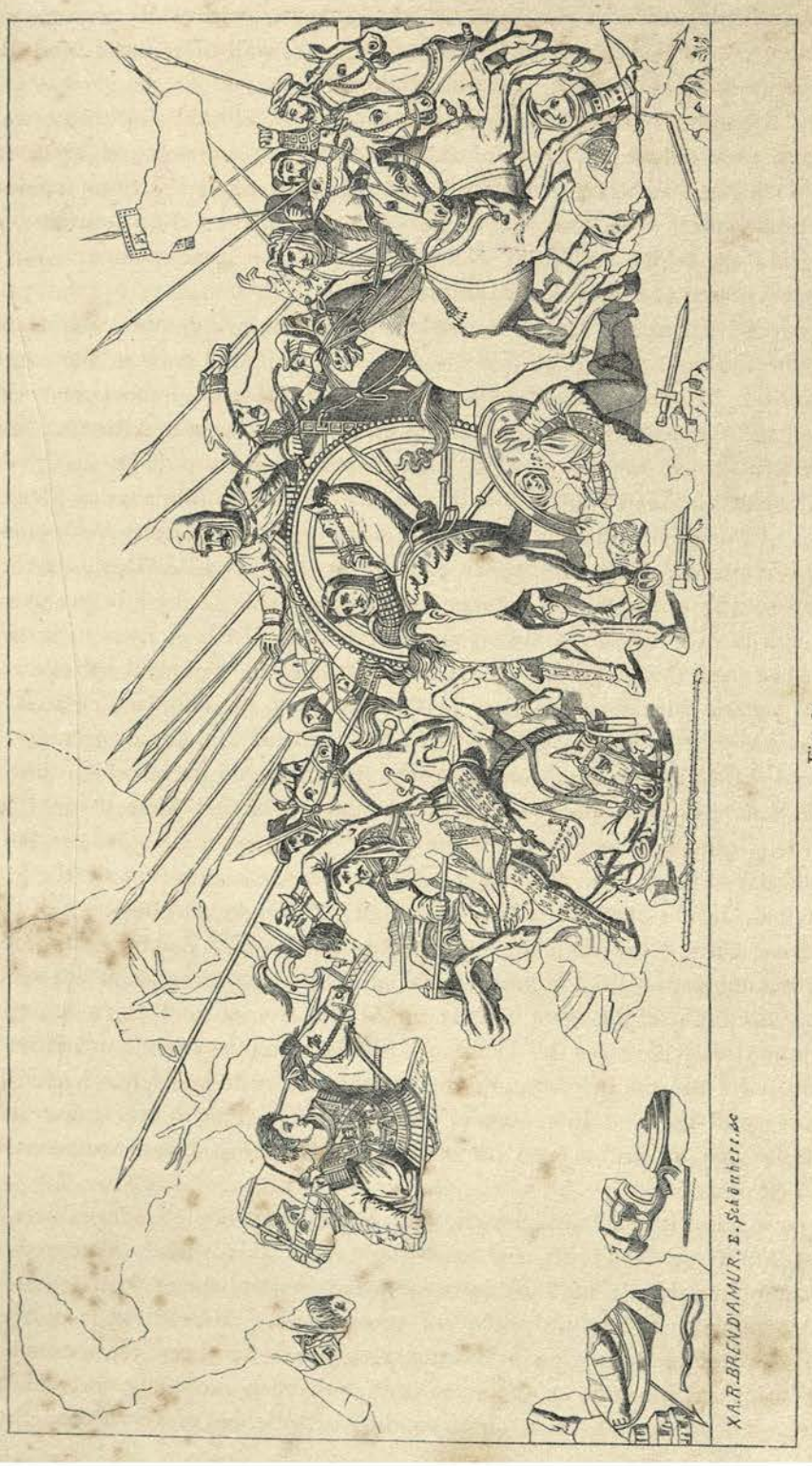

Fig. 24.

certain things, as the foreshortening of the horse seen in rear, do not appear to be perfectly correct. So far as we know, the heads—especially that of Darius, whose face, notwithstanding its look of anguish, is full of manly fire—are unsurpassed for emotional expression in any work of ancient painting. These high qualities explain the enthusiasm with which the discovery of the picture was greeted on all sides. Goethe in his old age spoke of it as a marvel of art, which forces us back, when we have done with critical examination, to a mood of simple and pure admiration. But we must take care not to allow our first enthusiasm to blind us to evident shortcomings such as that in the foreshortening of the horse above mentioned. These are faults, however, which we must ascribe only to the hand of the workman who copied the picture in mosaic, and not to its original designer. For the design repeated in this mosaic is possibly to be identified with that of a certain picture known in the history of ancient art; indeed, if our accounts are to be trusted, scarcely any other remaining monument can be identified with as much probability. The picture in question is that in which Helena, a lady painter already mentioned, depicted a battle fought during her own lifetime—the battle, namely, of Issos. This picture was removed by the Emperor Vespasian to Rome. Now our Pompeian mosaic must have been executed during or immediately after the time of Vespasian; and a border of Egyptian style which, though now separately preserved in another part of the Naples museum, undoubtedly forms part of that work, seems to point appropriately to the Egyptian birth of Helena. The accounts concerning Helena and her picture, however intrinsically improbable, seem thus to receive confirmation from the existence of this mosaic, which in spite of the stubbornness of the material employed will always hold a prominent place among all remains of Greco-Roman painting. Its colours are harmonious, though rather faded.

The largest of all antique pictures in this material is the Nile mosaic discovered at Palestrina, and still preserved there.[26] This work measures six metres by five, and exhibits in bird's-eye view an evidently Egyptian landscape,—in the background the desert, and in the foreground a town flooded by the Nile. In the desert, along with its more familiar denizens, are fabulous and strangely compounded monsters, of which the names are supplied in inscriptions, and a troup of negroes sally forth with bows and arrows to the chase. The inundated city looks like an archipelago, its straits alive with boats. The islands are covered with a number of splendid buildings, temples, dwelling-houses, arbours, tents, and poorer huts, shaded by palms and cypresses, and enlivened by figure incidents in great variety. Egyptians hunt the "Nile horse" or hippopotamus, while the sacred crocodile suns himself unmolested on the flowery banks. In a vine bower, through which waters flow, a company of revellers hold a merry meeting. (It has been proved that the original fragment containing this scene is at the Berlin museum, having been

replaced at Palestrina by a copy.) In front of a temple-like building a festal ceremony is conducted under an awning; a band of warriors in European, apparently Greek, dress, led by a crowned man in kingly garb, are greeted by a woman who seems either a priestess or a personification of Egypt. Many commentators have tried to give this scene a historical significance, but have not been able to agree as to what event is represented. Probably the artist only wished to give a general picture of Egypt, and does indeed render in a very vivid and striking way the character both of the landscape and of the life of Egypt in the Hellenistic age, and that at a characteristic season—the season, namely, of the annual inundations. There is no question of perspective in the picture as a whole, but only in particular details. The figures in the background are no smaller than those in the foreground. Still a kind of subordination of parts is preserved from an elevated point of sight and in the manner of a bird's-eye view. It is a kind of compromise between true perspective and the method of a map or ground-plan. The same mixed system is repeated in various small landscape mosaics.

Landscapes often occur in the mosaic pavements of Roman villas, conformably to the late period of antiquity to which such works belong; a whole series of this kind comes, for instance, from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli.[27] Most of these are preserved in the Vatican, but one, representing in a naturalistic and spirited manner a fight of two Centaurs against a lion, tiger, and panther, in the midst of a wild and rocky landscape, has found its way to the Antiquarium of the Berlin museum. The Guattani mosaic, with a view of a lonely lake and mountain at sunrise, is also interesting.[28] Lastly, we may mention two more mosaics found at Pompeii and distinguished for peculiar refinement of execution, whence, we may guess, it has happened that the artist thought it worth while to sign them with his name, Dioskurides of Samos. These represent stage-players; on one we see three masked women and a child, with tambourine, flutes, and castanets, leading a dance; while the corresponding piece shows a group of masked figures more in repose.

These and many other mosaics set before us valuable examples of the state of painting under the Roman empire, when the art ranged from the most trivial objects of still life to the most ambitious allegories, and when none of the problems of pictorial handling were any longer a secret. This particular craft, however, never loses a certain character of hardness and mechanical routine.

III. PAINTINGS ON STONE.—In connection with mosaic pictures fitted together in stone, it is proper to speak of another class of pictures, those executed in colours laid on a stone surface. We know that the Greeks held white marble to be a very favourable substance for carrying colour; that they ornamented their marble temples with a rich diversity of hues; and that they,

partially at least, tinted their marble statues. But we have now to do with actual drawings or paintings on a marble or other stone surface, and once more, as befits our purpose, only with the most important examples. These are doubly interesting, inasmuch as easel-pictures on wood or ivory do not exist, nor can pieces cut out of mural-paintings be counted as such; these painted slabs of stone are therefore the only real easel-paintings which have come down to us from classical antiquity.

To the earliest discoveries at Herculaneum belong four marble slabs adorned with outline drawings in red, and now in the museum at Naples.[29] On the finest of those a Greek, nay more, an Athenian artist, has signed his name, Alexandros. He is a master not otherwise known. The picture consists of a fine group of five women, whose names are also inscribed,—without, however, enabling us to explain the scene. The second of these tablets shows a naked hero, probably Theseus, engaged in victorious conflict with a Centaur. The third represents a scene which has been differently explained by almost every archæologist who has discussed it; the principal figure is certainly Seilenos, who sits drinking under a tree, while a female figure stands behind him, and another beside an ass in front. The fourth slab contains a scene from a play, with three figures wearing the tragic mask. The drawings on the first three of these slabs are among the finest that have been preserved from the ancient world. Though somewhat uncertain in the execution of the details, they exhibit motives of the highest beauty.

The vexed question whether these pictures are in their original condition and were therefore from the first designed as mere red outlines on a white ground, or whether they represent only the preparatory drawings which have stood while the general colours of the painting have perished, may now be looked upon as decided by the fact that a further marble slab was found at Pompeii in 1872, which shows within similar red outlines the perfectly distinct remains of a complete painting in colours. This beautiful work represents in a stately temple the punishment of Niobe, the daughter of Tantalos (Fig. 25). The overweening mother is seen in profile, and here, as in the famous Florentine group, she lifts her face towards heaven with an expression of mingled anguish and defiance; as in that group also, the youngest daughter has flown to her for refuge; while the old nurse stoops forward to sustain the elder daughter, who is fast sinking to the ground. The colours of this picture have nearly vanished in the few years that have passed since its excavation.[30]

Paintings on slabs of slate have also been found in Etruscan tombs; and a small slab of this kind with the bust and head of a charming female figure wearing a wreath, formerly believed to be a Muse, is preserved in the museum at Cortona. The head has touches of a Raphaelesque grace in form and expression. Its authenticity is not altogether beyond doubt; but it seems to us all the more probably genuine inasmuch as we cannot see in it the traces of any indi-

vidual and recognisable modern hand. The work is also interesting on account of the vehicle of which the artist has made use, if indeed this is rightly described as being a mixture of resin and wax.[31]

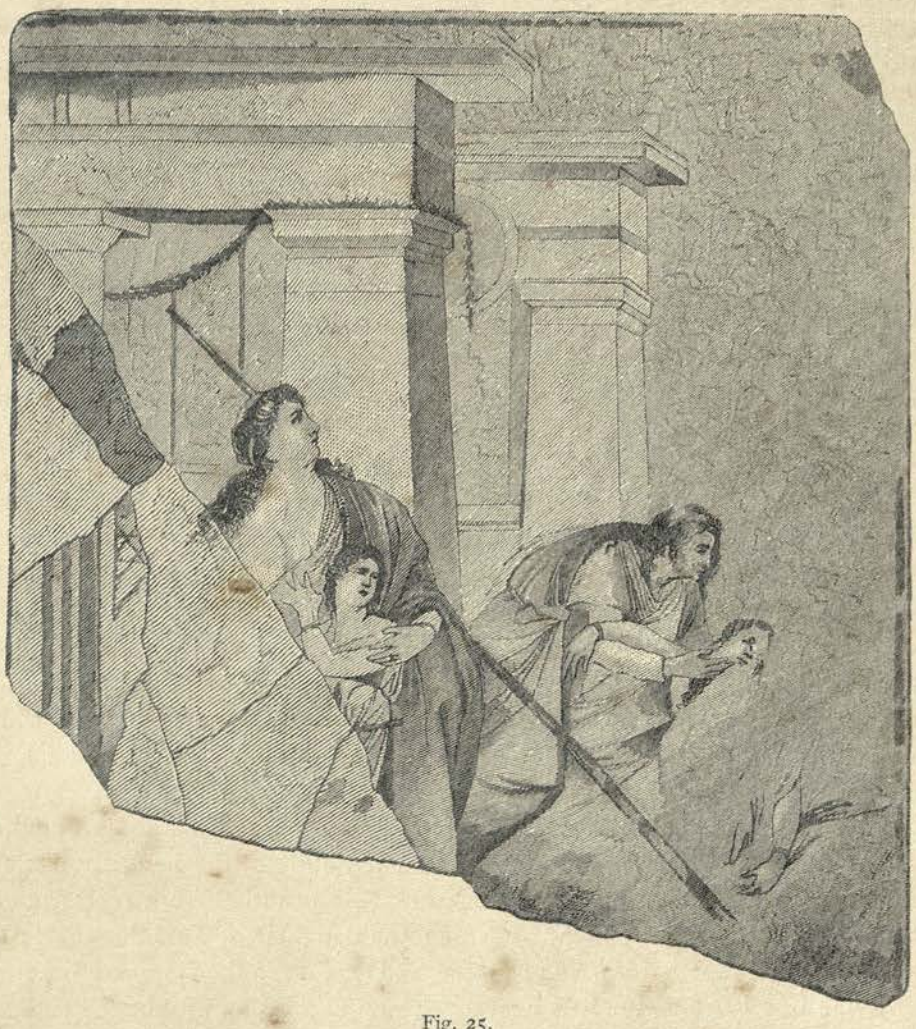

Fig. 25.

We must mention in this connection the splendid paintings on the four faces of a large alabaster sarcophagus found within the last ten years in a tomb at Corneto, and now in the museum at Florence. The subject is a fight of Amazons. On the finest of the longer faces of the sarcophagus the Amazons are charging in two four-horse chariots, one from either side, against the foe; on the opposite face, which is damaged, one Amazon at least fights on horseback; at the two ends they are shown fighting on foot. The compositions are of the severest kind; the centre of each picture first arresting the eye, and the groups being arranged on each side with complete symmetry. So little question is there of foreground

or background, that the several figures are kept almost clear of one another on the same plane, and their contours are only very occasionally allowed to cross or overlap. In spite of this, every group is instinct with fire and spirit, and the forms and expressions belong to a period of completely developed artistic freedom. That symmetrical formality of composition is evidently chosen deliberately, because it seemed suitable for the decorative purpose of the work. The colouring is of a corresponding character. The figures on the sides stand out on a lilac ground, those at the two ends on a ground of black; their colours are simple, but brilliant and of an enchanting harmony.[32]

The place of discovery of this sarcophagus, and the Etruscan character of its inscriptions, leave no doubt that it is a work of native art-industry. Although the influence of Greek feeling is perceptible in every line, there is scarcely any ground for ascribing the execution to a Greek hand. We may regard these pictures, which no one can look at without wonder and admiration, as the most perfect examples that have come down to us of Etruscan painting penetrated through and through by the Greek spirit. Their date may be set down as the third century B.C.

IV. MINIATURES.—Under the title of miniatures the history of art understands all illustrations of manuscripts. That this branch of art, so nearly related to caligraphy, is very ancient, we have learnt from the instance of Egyptian papyrus rolls already noticed. Similar illustrations to the text of manuscripts were known to the scribes of the Greco-Roman world. We know that doctors and architects were in the habit of adding explanatory illustrations to their scientific works, and that Marcus Varro, for instance, adorned his great biographical work, the *Imagines*, with seven hundred portraits of Greek and Roman celebrities.

The only classic miniatures which now exist have their origin in the decadence of Greco-Roman art. As this is not the place to speak of Christian manuscripts, even when they belong to the period and the artistic tradition with which we are properly concerned, we have only to mention briefly the most important existing illustrations of Greek and Roman poetical works.

The most purely classical forms and motives are those which we find in the set of fifty-eight miniatures cut from a lost manuscript of the Iliad, which probably dated from the fourth or fifth century A.D., and is preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.[33] The illustrations follow the text from the first book to the last. The compositions are feebly distributed amongst the landscape backgrounds, which are often wide and scattered. The single forms and the actions are also crude and awkward, but the draperies are still treated in a completely antique manner, and the broad full colouring shows the remains of true pictorial feeling.

Next to these examples may be placed those of an approximately contemporary period, the codex 3225 of Virgil in the Vatican containing fifty

pictures illustrating partly the Bucolics and Georgics and partly the Æneid. In some of these landscape bears the chief part. The figures are stunted, the heads expressionless with large staring eyes. The colouring is thickly laid on, and the high lights put in with gold. A much later manuscript of Virgil in the Vatican Library is another numbered 3867. It contains sixteen paintings which even in the costumes already betray influences of the Middle Age; the drawing is bad and devoid of character.[34]

On the other hand, the manuscript of Terence in the Vatican Library is famous. At the beginning of each play there is a painting of masks set up in rows under a portico sustained by two columns, but various scenes of the action are depicted in illustrations let into the text. The names are written over the personages. These pictures are considered to be imitations, done in the ninth century, of classical Roman originals. The Terence of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris is scarcely later.[35] But even the miniatures of a twelfth century manuscript of the same author in the Bodleian at Oxford still show repetitions of earlier motives with a touch of mediæval character. The miniatures of a Nicander preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* are held on the other hand to be copies after originals of the third and fourth centuries.[36]

Little as such works as these may satisfy the fastidious eye of a period rich in works of mature art, they have nevertheless a great historical interest as representing the last offshoots of the artistic practice of antiquity.

CHAPTER V.

EXISTING REMAINS CONCLUDED—MURAL PAINTINGS.

Mural paintings in general—ETRURIA—The archaic period—Contending native and Greek influences—Examples at Veii, Cære, Corneto, and Chiusi; extending probably from the sixth to the fourth Century B.C. —Free period; third Century B.C.—Native and Greek influences still in rivalry—Examples at Orvieto and Vulci—*Tomba dell' orco* at Corneto; its paintings both in the free and in the late or Etrusco-Roman style—Other examples of the Etrusco-Roman style—ROME AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD—Relative number and importance of wall-paintings found here—Account given of the art by Vitruvius—Fanciful style which he condemns prevalent in existing remains—Paintings which have perished since their discovery—Examples from tombs; from baths; from villas—Conclusions from them—Paintings still preserved in collections or *in situ*—The Lateran, Rospigliosi, and Albani collections—Vatican collections; the Aldobrandini Marriage and the Odyssey landscapes—Fragments in foreign museums—Roman wall-paintings *in situ*; villas—Landscapes attributed to Ludius at the *Villa ad Gallinas*—Paintings in the house of Livia on the Palatine—New discoveries in the Farnesina Gardens—General result—LOWER ITALY—Magna Græcia; Pæstum—The buried cities of Campania; wall-paintings *in situ* and in the Naples museum—Their abundance—Their decorative character and arrangement compared with the account of Vitruvius—Division according to decorative character and arrangement; first group—Second group—Third group—Fourth group—Fifth group—Division according to subject; rude devotional or ritual pieces—Mythology; tales of the gods—Mythology; tales of the heroes—Daily life; rude Romano-Campanian works—Daily life; refined Hellenistic works—Caricature—Landscape—Landscape with mythology—Still life—Questions concerning the painters of these Campanian wall-decorations—Their position—Their nationality—Their technical methods—Merit of their works as independent pictures—As examples of decorative composition—As examples of decorative colour.

AMONG pictures properly so called which have come down to us from antiquity, mural paintings hold beyond comparison the most important place. True, most of these are only the journeyman work of house-decorators; nevertheless they give us the most distinct idea of the progress made in the technical parts of painting by the ancients, and the great numbers in which they have been found testify clearly to the delight taken by those nations in the coloured ornamentation of their buildings. Inasmuch, however, as many of these paintings have perished soon after their excavation from the effects of the air, we must not confine ourselves exclusively to those which still exist, but must also occasionally consider some which, though found during the last few centuries, are now only known to us by engravings.

Scarcely any ancient wall-paintings of note have come to light elsewhere than on Italian ground; though a certain number of insignificant examples have been found at various western sites, more especially Trier (*Trèves*); perhaps the most interesting being a half-length of a girl, of a Bacchanalian

character, which has the appearance of being a portion cut out of a larger painting of Italian origin; this is now in private possession at Cologne.[37]

Italian wall-paintings fall naturally into three principal groups, according to the places of their discovery, namely, 1, Etruria, 2, Rome and Central Italy, 3, Lower Italy (especially Campania).

I.—ETRURIA.—To our own century belongs the re-discovery of the extensive cemeteries of the cities of ancient Etruria, comprising millions of sepulchral chambers, thousands of which, on being opened, have been found to be furnished with vases, mirrors, toilet-caskets and vessels of all kinds, and a certain number also to be decorated with wall-paintings. The same spirit which laid vases, implements, and ornaments in the vault with the dead, took thought also for the artistic decoration of the place of sepulture, which often consisted of several distinct chambers. It is only, however, a minority of the Etruscan tombs that are thus decorated with paintings; examples so decorated have been found in the necropolis of Tarquinii (near the Corneto of to-day), in that of Cære (now Cervetri), in Clusium (now Chiusi), in Vulci, Veii, and Orvieto.[38]

Few of these wall-paintings can give us unmixed delight now; but they are of great interest in the history of art as examples of the peculiar Etruscan style, strongly influenced by Greek precedents, yet determined by the current of national tendencies. Moreover, they are the only class of mural paintings which enable us to follow the art in an almost unbroken continuity from its most primitive attempts to the formlessness of the decline. The oldest examples are those in the so-called *Grotta Campana* at Veii. In four spaces, each about 51 inches wide by 32 to 38 inches high, and each surrounded with a border, we find on a yellowish-grey ground primitive pictures of men riding on long-legged parti-coloured horses, and behind them panthers seated, or the like. The subjects, as well as the ornamentation and the coarse decorative style, recall the early vases of the Orientalising type. The drawing is childish beyond belief, the colouring quite arbitrary, and restricted to brown, red, and yellow. These are the only wall-paintings to be found in Italy which probably date from before B.C. 500.

Next in antiquity follow some paintings on terra-cotta plaques found in a tomb at Cære.[39] They are examples of Etruscan archaism, which aims at literal truth to nature in scenes of daily life, but only attains it within the limits imposed by very scanty technical knowledge. The scenes are sometimes taken from the worship of the dead; as a burial, a sacrifice, a procession of men and women moving stiffly and awkwardly from either side towards a variegated altar of archaic outline in the midst. A winged dæmon sometimes carries the deceased in its arms. The composition is severely symmetrical, and like that of a bas-relief. The forms are all shown in profile, the eyes being still drawn without perspective, as if seen from in front; the proportions

are squat; the figures relieved in a few dull colours, as reddish brown, yellowish brown, yellow, and black, from the white ground. The women are painted lighter than the men. There is no question yet of modelling or shading. In these examples we thus find painting at about the same stage which the ancient writers describe as having preceded, in the history of Greek art also, the stage reached by Kimon of Kleonai. They probably belong to a period earlier than B.C. 500.

Placing these paintings of Veii and Cære in a separate class as the most ancient of all, we must next turn to a great family of pictures in Etruscan tombs which are marked in common by the characters of the cramped archaic style, but which subdivide themselves according to date and place into various minor groups. Among these groups, one is shown by its more developed style to be of later date than another; one shows more of the Greek, and another more of the native Etruscan influence. The chief examples of the entire family are furnished by the tombs of Corneto and Chiusi. On the whole, the native realism tends to prevail in the earlier, the Greek idealism in the later examples of this general class. The subjects belong in all cases to the same somewhat narrow cycle. In decorating the tomb, the artist has limited himself to what lay nearest at hand, and has dealt almost exclusively with the worship of the dead. The laying out of the body, sacrifices in honour of the departed, the games which form part of his funeral ceremonies—these are constantly recurring themes; and again feasts, and companies of men and women enjoying themselves in festal dances among verdant trees and flowers to the sound of lyre or flute,—subjects intended most likely to shadow forth the existence of the deceased in paradise.

There are at Corneto three tombs which exhibit the native archaic style in its most characteristic form. These are—(1). The *Grotta del Morto*:[40] here the corpse is depicted on one wall lying on the bier, while relations enshroud and weep over it. The other walls are adorned with scenes of mirth and dancing. The drawing is archaic but spirited, and the scale of colours does not go beyond red, black, grey, and white. (2). The *Grotta dell' Iscrizioni*:[41] the subjects here are hunting and dancing, with races, athletic games, and dice play, also lions, deer, and leopards: the colours are various and fanciful; a stag, for instance, appears striped like a harlequin, and of the lions' manes one is yellow and the other blue. Plain red posts stand for trees. The men wear only loin-cloths, and their movements are full of life. (3). The *Grotta del Barone*:[42] a simple frieze containing figures of divinities well designed on a large scale, and represented as distributing the prizes of victory. The colours are lively, and the trees have blue-green leaves attached to their red stems. The style is better than in the former instances, and full of individual life in spite of its archaic severity. On the whole, in the decoration of these tombs the art of painting presents itself still in a primitive stage. True, the artist

occasionally tries to vary the profile of his figures by introducing one in front view, and he everywhere strives after the characters of natural portraiture and living movement; but the conscientious strenuousness of the early style is still paramount.

To the same style belong essentially the decorations of (4) the *Grotta del Vecchio.*[43] The very beautiful paintings of (5) the so-called *Grotta dei Vasi Dipinti*[44] mark, on the other hand, the transition of a later group. On the one wall we see figures full of modesty and charm reclining like brother and sister at the meal, and on the other a dance beneath the myrtles. The details, such as the dog under the couch, are handled with affectionate care. The complete mastery of form and freedom of outline shown in this elegantly archaic style seems to point to a Greek influence.

In the next group of tombs at Corneto, in which the paintings illustrate a further change of transition from rigidity to freedom, the Greek influence is unmistakable, though the national realism of the Etruscans continues from time to time to react. The phases of this action and reaction between Greek example and native instinct are somewhat involved, so that it would be hazardous to base upon the evidences of style an exact chronological succession for the various tombs. While the forms are everywhere freer and nobler, the actions more measured, the draperies more richly folded, the system of colour is still uncertain. Nature and freshness on the whole gain ground. The lips are painted red, and in some cases even the redness of the cheek is indicated upon the lighter tint of the skins of women; the ground is usually white, but in one instance brown. In most of the pictures the personages wear garlands in the Greek fashion. If the former group of tombs probably belongs to the fifth century B.C., these may be ascribed to the fourth. The best of them illustrate that stage of art's progress which we are accustomed to associate with the name of Polygnotos. But if the advance of technical knowledge in Etruscan painting on the whole ran parallel with that of Greece, still we have every reason to suppose that the innovations of any one of the famous Greek masters would have taken at least half a century before it made its way into the practice of the decorators of the tombs of Etruria.

Our last group comprises the following principal tombs:—(1). the *Grotta del Citaredo,*[45] so called from the figure of a citharœdus, or lute-player, of singular beauty, which appears in a dancing scene upon its walls. The eyes are still painted without regard to perspective; the upper part of the thigh is still unnaturally strong; the gestures are still too vehement, but the figures have lost something of their Etruscan realism. The Greek ideal is making its way. (2). The *Grotta del Triclinio,*[46] on the side walls of which is a company of dancers, the men painted dark and the women light, who disport themselves in lively movements under trees of various kinds, upon which perch many-coloured birds. On the rear wall is painted a banquet. The colours are still in some degree

conventional, and being distributed in regular and equal interchange, give a decorative unity to the general effect. The treatment of the forms is exceptionally archaic, but the careful refinement and precision of the execution give to this group the most pleasing appearance among them all. (3). The *Grotta della Querciola.*[47] In one tier is represented a luxurious feast, in another a boar-hunt in a wood—the wood being indicated by a few sparse trees (Fig. 26). The conflict between the native art and the invading genius of Greece is thought to be especially exemplified in these works. (4). The *Grotta del Corso delle Bighe.*[48] Here are represented sports, dances, races, and junketings.

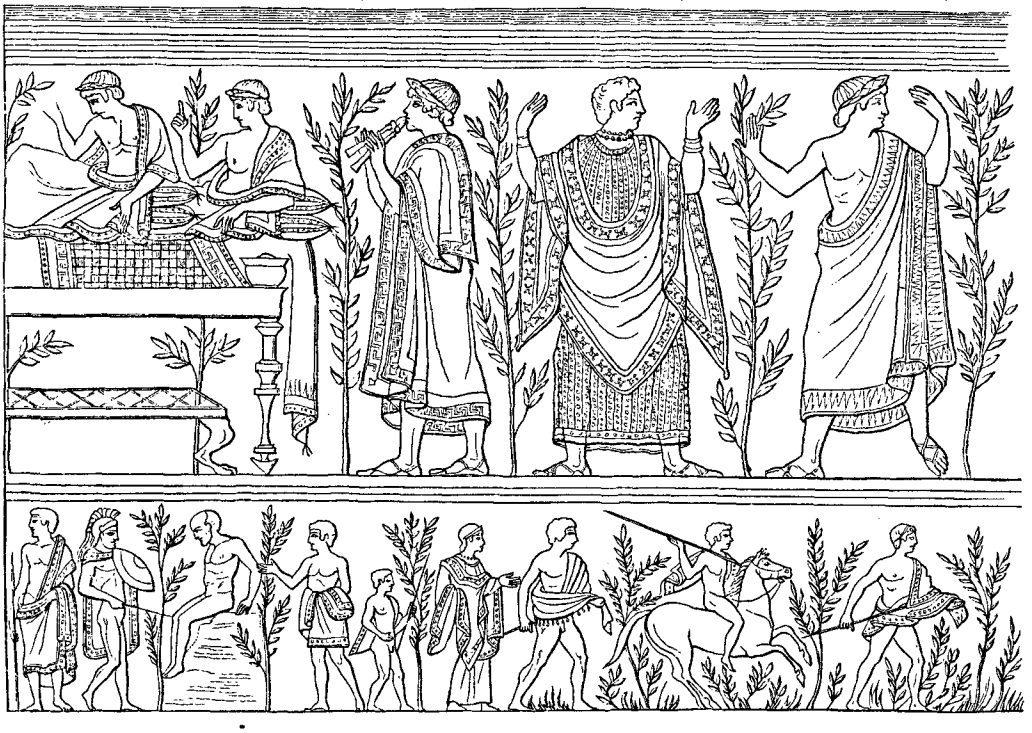

Fig. 26.

The chariots are drawn by pairs of horses of which the colours are blue or green, and red; the drawing is remarkably free; and the draughtsman seems to have deliberately adopted a treatment more archaic than was natural to him.

Thus the tombs of Corneto give us a good general view of the character of Etruscan tomb-decoration in the archaic period. Those of Chiusi illustrate the art in a somewhat different course of development;[49] since here we find one school which from the first loves to follow Greek models, and side by side with it, in different tombs, another school which maintains a decisively independent national character. Perhaps the earliest of all these paintings in which it is to be noted that the eye is rightly drawn in profile are those of the so-called "Tomb of 1833" at Chiusi, which belongs to the time of the disappearance of

archaism. But space fails us to discuss more fully the decorations of these and some kindred sepulchral chambers.

The love of adorning the walls of sepulchral chambers with paintings by no means ceased, however, in Etruria with the archaic period. Distinguished from all the examples above mentioned, we find at least as numerous a series belonging to the time of the fullest freedom of art, which in this country cannot certainly have begun before the third century B.C. In this period we find the native school—in which, with its inherent realism, freedom soon tends to degenerate into coarseness—holding its own on equal terms against a not less decisive current of Hellenistic tendency. The two opposing principles assert themselves sometimes in separate pictures wherein the one or the

Fig. 27.

other prevails exclusively; sometimes—and these are the most instructive instances—in one and the same picture. The works of this mixed character are in some sort akin to the creations of that Tuscan school of the Renascence which flourished on the same soil sixteen or seventeen centuries later, and which in like manner sought to bring its own realistic feeling for form into harmony with the results of its renewed study of classical antiquity. The sepulchral decorations of this free style are very clearly marked by the knowledge of the human form exhibited in them, by their command of all varieties of action, their ability to represent figures in the desired foreshortening, their reproduction of the true colours of nature, and often also their modelling in light and shade. It is particularly worthy of remark that, in accordance with the ever-growing Hellenism of the age, the creations of Greek mythology begin also at this time to find a place among the paintings of Etruscan tombs.

We can only call attention to a few of the most important examples.

Passing by the two sepulchral chambers opened by Conestabile at Orvieto in 1863,[50] the later of which shows clearly the work of two different hands, let us turn at once to the most interesting and characteristic works of the epoch in question. Several of the tombs of Vulci belong emphatically to this class, and in the first rank the great tomb, composed of seven different chambers, which was opened by François in 1857.[51] In several of the chambers we find pictures of various scenes of Greek mythology—the Rape of Kassandra, Polyneikes and Eteokles, Nestor and Phoinix. The most significant works, however, are those in the square chamber at the end of the tomb. On one side is represented a human sacrifice, such as was long customary in Etruria at funeral ceremonies. Naked and half-naked men of native Etruscan type, most of them bearded and with individual and often repulsive features, are seen stabbing with swords their victims, who writhe in gestures of terror and entreaty. On the other side, as in some sort the prototype and justification of the former scene, we see the legendary human sacrifices paid by Achilles before Troy to the shades of his friend Patroklos. Charon, armed according to the Etruscan conception with a hammer, stands ready to receive the sacrifice prepared for him. In this great group the types of face are more classical than those of the Etruscans on the other side. But the Etruscan language is used for the inscriptions, which specify the names of Agamemnon, Achilles, and the rest. Of all the existing works of antiquity, none reminds us so much as this of modern realistic art; we might imagine ourselves to be looking at a picture painted in the spirit of Andrea del Castagno. The expressions of the various faces, the trickling blood, the agonised movements, are rendered with a realism almost appalling. Since, nevertheless, the human forms are treated on a foundation of Greek principle, the result of these pictures is not only to make us shudder but also to hold us with a spell of power.

Among the tombs of Corneto, the most interesting example of this free period of art is one only excavated in 1868. This is the so-called *Tomba del Orco*;[52] it consists of three chambers, and all three must have been decorated by different artists. The first exhibits on one side one of the usual banquet scenes, and on the other side a sacrifice to the dead in preparation. The Etruscan Charon, the dæmon of the under world, is there with his attributes of wings and hammer; his flesh is greenish, his nose long and sharp, and he gnashes his teeth grinning. It is remarkable that in the banquet scene the figures are surrounded with a dark blue border, intended partly no doubt to relieve their light colouring from the sombre ground, but partly also to suggest the shadows of the kingdom of darkness. Although this chamber seems to be the earliest of the three, its paintings belong to the time of free art. The foreshortenings of both bodies and faces are skilfully treated, the brush-work has breadth and pictorial quality; the only thing wanting is completeness of chiaroscuro modelling, although the high lights are left to stand out in white.

Most important for their subjects are the paintings of the second chamber; they represent the whole kingdom of the dead, with Pluto and Persephone presiding on the northward wall, and besides them, on the same or other walls, the whole series of the dæmons and heroes who according to immemorial Greek tradition were the denizens of the realm of Hades. The treatment, at least that of the principal personages, bespeaks a brush working with perfect freedom and in complete command of chiaroscuro. The sepulchral paintings of Etruria can certainly not have reached the perfection which we here observe before the days of Apelles. The third chamber is evidently much later still. In a niche we see Ulysses in the act of boring out the eye of the Cyclops Polyphemos. The style is not only perfectly free, but lax even to caricature. We may refer it to the Roman time, especially since its treatment corresponds with that of a grim winged typhon painted in another tomb, the so-called *Grotta del Tifone,* discovered in 1832, which by its surroundings we know to be Etrusco-Roman.[53]

According to Helbig, there is a third sepulchral chamber which ought to be reckoned among this series—that, namely, lately opened by the Countess Bruschi. Tarquinii had become a Roman municipal town, and Etruscan art, as Brunn says, had undergone like Etruscan polity the influence of Rome. In the earliest days of the Empire, the Greco-Roman style of wall-painting, as we find it represented in innumerable examples at Rome and Pompeii, extended itself over the whole of Italy. The last-named group of Etruscan wall-paintings shows that the influence of the same style had penetrated to that branch of art also. The mural pictures of Etruria are thus the only class of remains in which we can trace the development of the art of painting continuously through all its phases. Nothing more need be said to prove their importance in the history of art.

II.—ROME AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.—The mural paintings of Rome offer to the student an interest almost exactly contrasted with that offered by the same class of monuments in Etruria. The characteristic of the Etruscan work is monotony of subject together with variety of style—that variety which results from continuous historical development. The paintings on the walls of Roman buildings, on the other hand, belong almost exclusively to a single period, namely the last days of the Republic and of the Empire; they illustrate only the completely Hellenised stage of Roman art; and their charm lies in the multifarious interest of their subjects and beauty of their motives.

The number of wall-paintings which have been excavated in or about Rome, from the days of Leo X. to our own, is very considerable. Some of them have been found in tombs, but the greater part on the walls of villas, palaces, and baths. The majority of the whole number have perished since their discovery, and their lineaments are only preserved in engravings. Most

of those which still remain have only been brought to light in the course of the present century. In comparison with the multitudes of similar paintings found at Herculaneum and Pompeii, those which belong to Rome itself possess, in the history of art, a value upon which enough stress is not usually laid.

The architect Vitruvius, who lived about the time of Augustus, gives us a short sketch of the history of mural decoration from the Alexandrian age.[54] He speaks with regret of a change which had come over the style of these paintings in his own time, that is, in the early days of the Empire. At first, he says, the custom of wall-painters had been to imitate marble incrustations, in combination sometimes with architectural members. Later, but still in the good old time, it had been the fashion to paint upon the walls imitation buildings, columns, and pediments; adorning, for instance, open chambers with backgrounds, corridors with landscapes, other places with mythological subjects; in a word, it had been usual to decorate walls with pictures corresponding to things really existing in nature. "But," continues Vitruvius, "the objects which the ancients took for their models from reality, are despised by the corrupted fashion of the present day. We now-a-days see upon our walls not so much copies of actual things as fantastic monstrosities; thus reeds take the place of columns in a design, ribboned and streamered ornaments, with curling leaves and spiral tendrils, take the place of pediments; diminutive temples are supported upon candelabra, vegetable shapes spring from the tops of pediments and send forth multitudes of delicate stems with twining tendrils and figures seated meaninglessly among them; nay, from the very flowers which the stalks sustain are made to issue demi-figures having the heads sometimes of human beings and sometimes of brutes."

The development of fashion in mural decoration thus described as having taken place in the Greco-Roman world, we are able to follow in the extant examples of the Campanian cities as well as in those of Rome. Most, indeed, of the paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii exhibit, as we should have expected from their date, the later grotesque style with which Vitruvius finds fault so bitterly. Along with these, however, we find isolated examples of the older, and some, indeed, which seem to correspond to the oldest, manner which his words describe. In Rome, on the other hand, we are enabled to trace clearly, and in very characteristic examples, a middle phase in the history of the art—a transition, that is, from the fashion of covering the space to be decorated with imitations of architectural masses and divisions, to the more modern fashions of fantastic patterns and devices. The latter, the grotesque system of decoration, was exemplified on the walls of the ruins of the Golden House of Nero, beneath the Baths of Titus. These decorations, which receive their name of "grotesque" from the grottoes or excavated chambers where they were found, were seen and copied by Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, who transplanted the method to the *loggie* of the Vatican Palace. The earlier and severer style, which depicted on the

wall architectural structures capable of real support and resistance, is illustrated in the painted pillars which divide the series of Odyssey landscapes discovered in 1848-50, on the Esquiline at Rome (see below, p. 115 *sqq.*); the mere subjects of this series show that it belongs to the first of the classes mentioned by Vitruvius. On the other hand, the pictures in the House of Livia, discovered in 1869 on the Palatine, belong to a mixed style between the naturalistic and the fantastic manner; while the painted pilasters of a mural decoration lately unearthed on the Quirinal present again a more strictly architectural effect.[55]

Pictures properly so called seldom occupy the whole surface of a wall, but usually form component parts of a scheme of decoration architecturally subdivided; and in the lightest kind of work such pictures are simply let in like framed vignettes. Their artistic value can only be estimated in connection with the scheme of which they form a part; but in this connection it is better to postpone their discussion until we come to the Pompeian examples, which are much more numerous than the Roman. For the present, then, let us limit ourselves to some of the most important wall-paintings in Rome and its neighbourhood, considered as pictures only, and without reference to their place in a larger decorative scheme.

For a review of the paintings recovered, but afterwards again lost, in and about Rome from the times of the Renascence to our own, the old publications on the subject furnish our only available materials. To deal with these materials in detail would be beyond our present scope. Besides, the figures given in the books in question are not always free from suspicion. Pietro Santo Bartoli, for instance, an antiquarian who did good service in the latter half of the seventeenth century in engraving and publishing the remains of early Roman paintings, has been suspected, not without reason, of having made his very numerous drawings (which were engraved and made public for the first time after his death) useless for the purposes of strict historical study by taking too great liberties in interpreting and adding to the originals. We must, nevertheless, pause long enough for a glance at the general results of this branch of exploration.[56]

Among places of sepulture where such paintings have been found, a special importance attaches to the Tomb of the Nasones, among the chief adornments of which may be mentioned a great Judgment of Paris in an extensive landscape, a tiger hunt, a boar hunt, and a stag hunt; and the pyramid of Sestius, in which were some very graceful single figures of girls, one reading, one playing the double flute, one dancing to the tambourine, and so forth. Among great public buildings, the Baths are those which have yielded the principal remains of this kind. In the baths of Titus great and small paintings of all sorts have been found, and several dozens of them published. Among these are scenes of Greek mythology, as Dionysos accompanied by Muses, the parting of Hippolytos and Phaidra, and Ares with Aphroditê, as well

as scenes which were rightly or wrongly referred to Roman history, as Mars appearing to Rhea Silvia, and Coriolanus taking leave of his mother. But more numerous than either of these classes were incidents of daily life, as birth and marriage, vintaging and the harvest wain, youths going out to and coming back from war, sacrifices, and single figures of all sorts. The Baths of Trajan, again, are said to have yielded at least one of the five large and interesting pictures first published in 1840 from drawings in the Campana collection; in these we might seem to have before us great compositions of the sixteenth century, of the school, say, of Raphael.[57]

To the class of lost Roman paintings belong also those of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, from which drawings were made at the beginning of the present century by Marco Carloni. These were ten large and somewhat loosely composed designs from Greek and Roman mythology, the action in each case passing in the foreground of a spacious landscape. Again, the large and interesting landscape excavated beneath the palace of Palestrina, and published in 1676 by Holstenius under the title of "Nymphæum," had perished by the time of Winckelmann.[58]

It is thus clear that if all the mural paintings were still preserved which have been found, and perished again, in Rome since the Renascence, they would supply us with rich stores for the history of painting in the last days of antiquity. As it is, we must content ourselves with inferring thus much from our knowledge of what has disappeared,—that throughout the ages of the Roman Empire mural painting held a leading place in the adornment of all kinds of buildings,—that its range of subjects was almost unlimited, inasmuch as it turned to artistic account whatever was suggested by mythology and history, by landscape, by the daily life of humanity, or the airy sport of wandering fancy,—but that in this extensive range the class of subjects created by Greek invention prevailed, just as the Greek feeling for form, although in deterioration and decay, prevailed in their embodiment.

The paintings which still remain form a separate class, and their character confirms and vivifies the impression already gathered from the accounts of those we have lost. In 1764 Winckelmann was acquainted, from personal inspection, with only twelve examples of Roman mural painting, the most famous of which were the so-called Aldobrandini Marriage and the life-sized pictures of Rome enthroned and Venus reclining, in the Barberini Palace. This state of things has been completely altered by the excavations carried on in the course of the last and present generations, and there are now a considerable number of ancient wall-paintings to be seen in and about Rome. Of these, some have been left upon the walls where they were found; some, with the plaster ground upon which they were painted, have been removed from the wall and placed in museums.

Among Roman collections, that of the Lateran contains pictures of the period of decadence, removed from tombs at Ostia; of these we may take as an

Fig. 28.

example of a mythological subject, a picture of the under world, with Orpheus and Eurydice, Pluto and Persephone, Oknos with the rope-eating she-ass,[59] as well as the door-keeper (*janitor*), designed with the severe symmetry of a relief; and as an example of carefully executed still life, the picture of a partridge sitting on two apples. The Rospigliosi Palace also contains wall-paintings, and among them some from the Baths of Constantine, which were reproduced in the early publications. In the Villa Albani is preserved the charming idyllic landscape found in 1764 on the Via Appia, and published and discussed by Winckelmann.

But the most interesting series of pictures removed from the wall is that contained in one of the halls of the Vatican gallery. The figures of heroines famous for their strange loves, among them Pasiphaë with her bull, Phaidra, Myrrha, Kanakê, and Skylla, are identified by inscriptions. These figures are distinguished by thoughtfulness of expression, but otherwise do not belong to the choicest remains of ancient painting. But the often-described Aldobrandini Marriage (Fig. 28) must be specially mentioned in this place.[60] This

is a long picture, containing ten figures composed like a relief, indeed almost like a frieze, before a very simple background. The groups divide naturally into three. In the middle the veiled bride is seated upon the nuptial couch with her head modestly bent down. A woman half-draped and garlanded sits beside her; a third holds ointment and a bowl in readiness. The bridegroom, also garlanded, and with the upper part of his body bare, waits on a threshold at the head of the couch—no doubt the threshold of the nuptial chamber. In the further room, on the left of the spectator, are women preparing the bath; and in the ante-room on the right, three more performing a sacrifice with songs and lute-playing. This painting, which was discovered in 1606 near the Arch of Gallienus, and named after its first possessor, Cardinal Aldobrandini, may well be a copy of a better original. The version before us is composed, not pictorially, but yet with taste; it exhibits several individual motives of much beauty, soft harmonious colouring, and is instinct with that placid and serious charm which belongs only to the antique. In technical execution, however, the work is insignificant, and in no way rises above the slightness which marks the ordinary handling of the Roman house-decorators in similar subjects.

The most interesting pictures in the Vatican Library are without doubt the large and famous Odyssey landscapes excavated on the Esquiline in 1848-1850.[61] These consist of six complete pictures and the half of a seventh, with portions of another unfortunately quite dilapidated. The figure-episodes in these paintings are of great interest as illustrating almost exactly the Homeric text. The first three, with the contiguous half of the fourth, represent the adventure of the Laestrygones. The tale of Kirkê extended from the middle of the fourth probably to the end of the dilapidated sixth, and next came the seventh and the sole remaining half of the eighth, with an illustration of the Nekyia, or visit of Ulysses to the under world (Fig. 29). The whole series, as it now stands, illustrates a continuous section of the poem (from *Od.* x. 80 to xi. 600). Most of the figures are identified, even to superfluity, by Greek inscriptions. A further interest attaches to these pictures if they are looked upon as part of a once homogeneous scheme of decoration which ran round the lower part of the walls of a large room in a kind of frieze or dado, divided by painted pilasters in bright red. But the several landscapes are not terminated at the pilasters; on the contrary, both lines and colours may be clearly traced as running on from picture to picture, so that, except for the break caused by the pilasters, we should be led from one subject to another by unperceived transitions. The predominant colours in the pictures themselves are yellowish brown and greenish blue, and from these the brilliant red pilasters, which bring the whole into decorative unity, stand out with telling effect. But the special value of these works lies in their character as landscapes. The country of the Laestrygones, bordered with its jutting yellow crags, the wide blue inlet of the sea, from the mountains overhanging which the

giants hurl destruction upon the Greek ships ; the court of Kirkê's Palace, shown

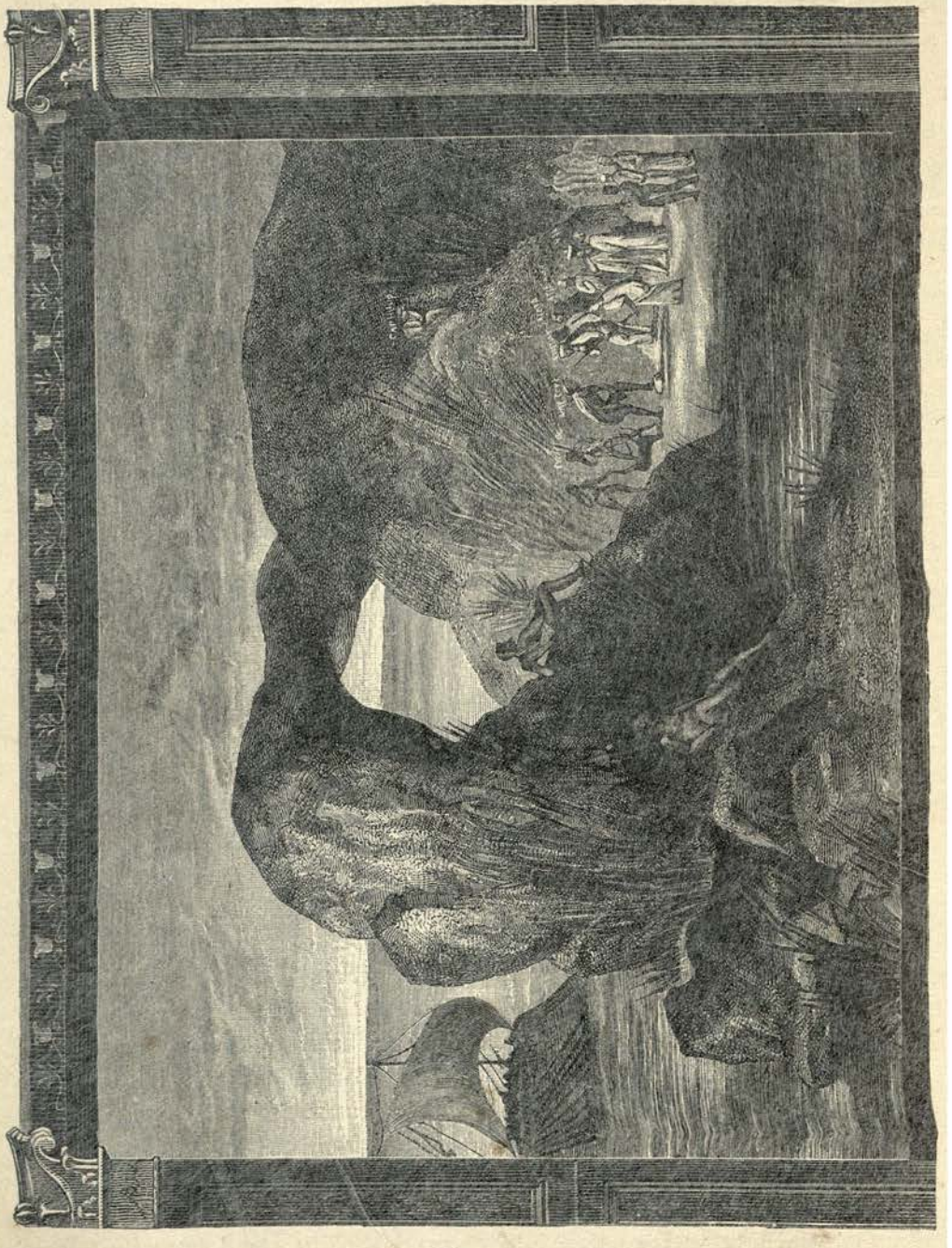

Fig. 29.

to be the central picture of the series by the perspective treatment of the dividing pillars ; lastly, the mighty opening in the rocks on the sea-shore,

which proclaims itself the entrance to the nether world, and with vivid pictorial effect lets a broad ray of light stream into the dark and thickly-peopled kingdom of shadows, — all these furnish examples of completed landscape painting, for which, up to the time of their discovery, we should not have given any age of antiquity credit. Vitruvius, as we have already seen, reckons Odyssey-landscapes of this kind among the class of subjects with which corridors used to be decorated in the good old times, before the introduction of the corrupt grotesque. Hence we may attribute the invention of the designs before us to the Hellenistic period ; but the masonry of the walls they decorated shows that the execution of these particular examples belongs to the last days of the Republic or the first of the Empire. Though the conception of nature is entirely decorative, and though the system of colour, which even renders the main facts of aerial perspective in a broad conventional way, is rather arbitrarily selected to enforce the required sentiment than carefully copied from the individual truths of nature, still this decorative conception is both grandiose and agreeable, and by no means wanting in poetry. These paintings stand alone among all the works of antiquity which still exist. Other fragments of Roman wall-painting are to be found scattered among various collections ; for instance the beautiful figures with Greek inscriptions of a tomb in the Campagna, from among which the Aphroditê and Myrtilos have lately been published.[62] Several others are in the Louvre.

But besides the examples thus collected in public museums, there are also in and about Rome a series of paintings preserved where they were originally found, and on the very walls upon which they were painted. First, a few of the tombs in the neighbourhood of Rome have retained their painted decorations. The so-called "second" tomb of the Via Latina contains in its first chamber the remains of a large mountain landscape with wild beasts, in its principal chamber a rich ceiling, with a mixed decoration of plaster-work and painting, in which eight small and beautiful landscape pieces are interesting from their peculiar treatment of perspective. This tomb is ascribed to the time of the Antonines.[63] A later date must be assigned to the small paintings, discovered in 1838, which are arranged in tiers in the Columbarium of the Villa Pamfili. Every imaginable scene of mythology, ritual, daily life, and landscape, is here thrown in a slight sketchy manner upon a white ground, bearing witness to the ease and certainty with which the brush was managed by even the journeymen of the late time, in accordance with the hereditary traditions of their craft. Among the ancient villas in the neighbourhood of Rome, a chamber in the so-called *Villa ad Gallinas* of Livia, excavated in 1863, is remarkable for an important example, which may be considered as representing to perfection the whole class to which it belongs. This is a great picture of a luxuriant garden, covering all four walls of the room, so that the spectator seems to himself standing, as it were, in the midst of a fine pleasure-ground. The aim here—in direct

opposition to that of the Odyssey landscapes—is realistic as well as decorative. Immediately above the wainscot, a narrow strip of grass is painted as a foreground to the whole, enclosed by a railing. Between the rails birds like hens walk about, grass and herbs sprout, and gaily-coloured flowers bloom; in curved recesses of the fence stand the principal trees of the picture, dark vigorous pines, and at one side an oak, with a bird's nest charmingly placed in the midst of its branches. The whole background is filled with a thick and pleasant grove of palms and fruit-trees of all kinds, which are quite characteristically drawn, and spring from an undergrowth of rose bushes and other flowering shrubs; in the farthest distance are cypresses. The horizon is indicated by a green stripe behind this rich and blossoming thicket, above it rises the blue sky. Human personages do not occur, but numbers of bright-coloured birds fill the grove with life and movement. The execution, though broad and flowing, is naturalistic, careful, and exact. It is not impossible, as Brunn has already observed, that these decorations may be original works of the painter Ludius (if that was his real name), since according to Pliny he was the inventor of this style, and since, at the time when he lived, the building in which they occur was the property of the Imperial family. They would, in that case, have a quite peculiar interest as the only existing paintings from the hand of an artist known to us through the ancient writers. But the conjecture cannot be proved.

Within the city of Rome itself the great Baths preserve few remains of their original paintings; the chief fragments, passing over a few less noteworthy, are those found in the imperial palaces on the Palatine, excavated for the first time at the instance of Napoleon III. Not to dwell on those of a building on this site which has been longer known, the Baths of Livia, and still less on some little pictures found in the palace of Caligula,—the House of Livia above all exhibits in its various chambers some well-preserved and remarkable paintings.[64] The largest room, the *tablinum*, contains two mythological subjects. One is Io watched by Argos and set free by Hermes (the treatment may possibly be derived from the ancient painting by Nikias, the contemporary of Alexander, see above, p. 57). The other is conceived in the true Hellenistic spirit, and has the effect of a vast mythological landscape; it depicts the story of the loves of Polyphemos and his beautiful sea-nymph Galateia. The monstrous giant, bridled by Eros, stands breast-high in the water between cliffs; Galateia looks round at him mockingly as she rides away on a sea-horse. At a little distance two of her companions start up in surprise from the water. A third tall-shaped picture shows a Roman street with high many-storied houses, and a variety of personages appearing on balconies and loggie. A woman and child walk in the street below. Smaller pictures in the same room represent every-day scenes from the life of women. In the Triclinium or dining-room, on the other hand, we find two large fantastic landscapes, the

central points of which are composed by small temples standing amid their sacred trees on steep cliffs. Another chamber in the House of Livia shows a long low landscape-frieze, which is of the highest interest, though treated almost in monochrome, with brown shadows and white lights on a yellow ground ; it represents more vividly than the description of any writer the animated street-life of an ancient provincial town. In quite recent years, again, various wall-paintings have been brought to light in different parts of Rome, among which

Fig. 30.

the most interesting seem to be representations of old Italian myths from a tomb on the Esquiline.[65]

[In the course of the excavations in the garden of the Farnesina Palace, necessitated by the new embankment of the Tiber, a set of chambers and corridors has within the last few months been brought to light, of which the painted decorations seem to surpass everything hitherto found in Rome.[66] We hear of a corridor with its walls parted off by greenish pilasters, and in the panels between them, traces of delicate figures and landscapes on a white ground ; of a small richly decorated chamber parallel with this corridor, containing on its left-hand wall a slightly executed Toilet of Venus, said to be

of extraordinary beauty, with nuptial and festival scenes in compartments above, and figures of divinities on bright red fields at the sides :—of another chamber opening out of this last, with a highly-finished Nurture of Bacchus, and on either side a figure holding up a picture of a woman playing a lyre, and Victories above :—of a third with figures of divinities on red grounds, and other subjects, including a beautiful figure of a young girl seated on a table, on black grounds :—and again of a larger hall, with landscapes divided by a fanciful architecture of slender columns, friezes, and festoons. In connection with one of these sets of pictures appears the signature of a painter, Seleukos.]

The study of Roman wall-paintings thus at once yields an illustration of the accounts of ancient writers, totally different from any we were able to obtain from the minor classes of artistic production before discussed. We have here to do with an art developed to complete freedom ; an art which applies the laws of conscious and scientific perspective, indeed, only to the drawing of architectural objects in front-view, but in more complicated cases works with an intuitive sense of perspective which generally proves sufficient ; an art which had full mastery over the rules of modelling and of light and shade, and was quite as much at home in large and crowded compositions as in daintily ornamental single figures. And if about all these paintings there seems to cling a certain superficiality and slightness of routine workmanship, we must remember that they are not the masterpieces of famous artists, but only examples more or less skilful, and always anonymous, of a flourishing art-industry. Although a considerable number of vase-painters considered themselves of sufficient importance to put their names to their paintings, we find no mural painter either in Rome or Pompeii [except the above-named Seleukos] who has done as much. But what models must these excellent decorators have had at their command—what traditions must have been cherished in their workshops—what wealth of individual artistic instinct must have survived in them —when the best of their works, among which mechanical duplicates are never found, have for us even now such a living charm, and when it was not till the latter centuries of the Empire, long after all the famous artists were no more, that a final decadence set in, and this art of mural painting relapsed like all others into primitive rudeness !

III.—Lower Italy.—A true Hellenic life had made its home in the great towns founded by Greek colonists on the coasts of Lower Italy, long before either the Romans themselves had become fully imbued with Hellenism, or all the rest of Italy had submitted to conquering Rome. In these towns the Greek language, Greek art, and Greek manners were scarcely less cherished than in Greece itself. For this reason we see noble remains of real Greek temples standing down to our own day, not only in Sicily but also on the mainland, especially at Paestum, the ancient Poseidonia ; and many a noble specimen of Greek sculpture has been recovered in the same localities.

Painting, however, is the most perishable of arts; and even in the towns of Magna Græcia proper, very scanty remains of mural paintings have been discovered. But we must pause over some which were unearthed at Paestum, and are now preserved in the museum at Naples (Fig. 31). Scenes simple but full of subject are depicted in lively colours on a white ground; warriors returning from the field; women receiving them and offering them refreshment; countrymen who, having remained at home and welcomed back the conquerors with rejoicings, are now returning to their work. Among the warriors we are struck by a bearded standard-bearer; among the unarmed horsemen, by a youth who rides joyfully along on a fiery horse. That this is

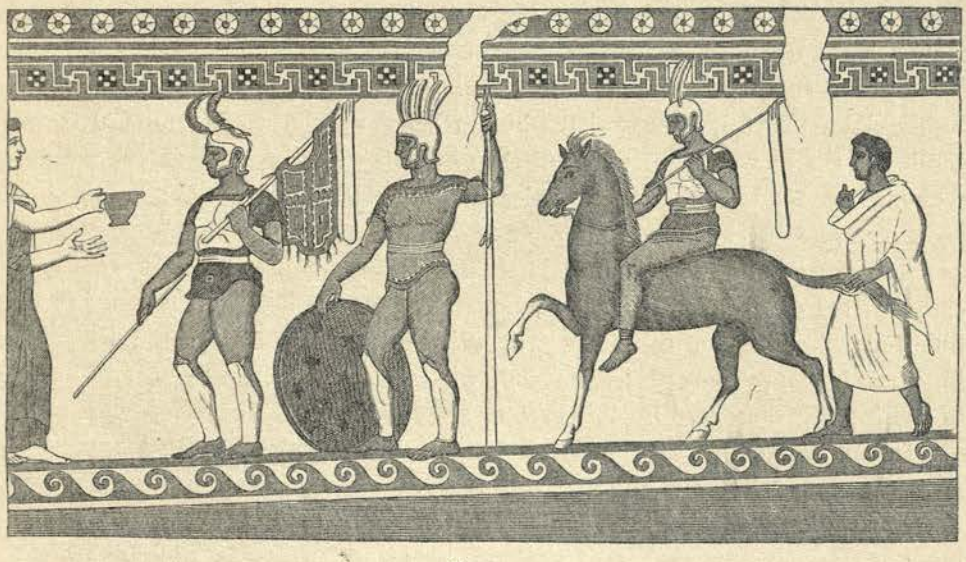

Fig. 31.

Greek art, though it cannot be proved, seems probable. Paestum lost its independence as a Hellenic community when the Lucanians conquered it in the fourth century B.C.; the costumes in the work before us are therefore Lucanian and not Greek; the profiles too are not pure, or at least not ideal Greek, but show something of national individuality. Yet the style of these paintings, which stands on the threshold of complete freedom, may on the whole be pronounced more strictly Greek than that of any other existing wall-paintings. Neither is there anything to prevent us from supposing them to be the production of a Greek artist in the pay of one of the Lucanian conquerors. They are marked by that grace of inward life, combined with outward repose, which belongs to the work of no other people.[67]

Leaving these interesting examples of early painting in Lower Italy, we approach a somewhat uniform but extraordinarily rich and extensive range of materials, in the shape of mural paintings of the Campanian cities of Stabiæ,

Herculaneum, and Pompeii, which were destroyed by an eruption of Vesuvius, A.D. 79. These paintings, which have been gradually restored to light since the middle of the last century, are partly to be found removed from their original walls and preserved in the museum at Naples—in the ground-floor of which they fill whole galleries—and partly on the same walls for which they were originally painted. At Stabiæ, where the excavations have been long abandoned, there remain no paintings to be studied on the spot; and few at Herculaneum, where the most important finds were made at first, but where the excavations are carried on but slowly now. In Pompeii, on the other hand, where, from the favourable nature of the ground, the excavations have since the beginning of the present century assumed the chief importance, the great majority of the wall-paintings still adorn the very walls to which the decorator first applied them.

In the catalogue of the mural paintings of Campania completed by Dr. Helbig in 1867, that distinguished scholar, who has rendered signal service in the classification and criticism of this class of ancient monuments, reckoned the total number of examples at almost two thousand.[68] Among these, however, were not included innumerable small pictures of minor importance,—as for instance hundreds of small landscape pieces; and the diggings energetically carried on during the last ten years have yet further increased by several hundreds the number of pieces worthy of being counted in the list. Our business, in the present place, can only be to bring out certain general aspects of the interest presented by this vast mass of material.

It cannot, in the first place, be too much insisted upon that this whole class of work is merely so much ordinary chamber decoration. And decoration of this kind was a matter which the Greeks had from of old had much at heart. For our knowledge of the art, however, as it was practised in the days before Alexander, we are left almost entirely to conjecture, as no examples remain and as the remarks of Vitruvius do not go back so far. The examples actually accessible to study between Rome, Herculaneum, and Pompeii, numerous as they are, do not represent any style earlier than that of the Hellenistic age of the Diadochi. Dazzled by their immense abundance and variety, it was impossible for students at first to distinguish among them various phases of development. All seemed free fancy, humour, and caprice. It is only lately that, assisted by the remarks of Vitruvius on the history of the art since the Diadochi, it has become possible to distinguish, especially in the Pompeian work, differences of style corresponding to successive epochs.[69]

For the various ways of dividing off the decorated surface of a wall, in use before the reed-like pilaster objected to by Vitruvius came into fashion, let the reader be referred to p. 67 above. But even within this later system of lightly-fanciful decoration, which is the system principally prevailing at Pompeii, successive variations can be discerned. First, in place of the regular and stable

painted half-columns and pilasters of the earlier style, are substituted the incapable reed-like or candelabrum-like supports of which we have spoken. But the form and limits of the general design are not yet violated. Next, the new system of slender supports is developed until the whole architectural composition becomes transformed into something as fantastic and airily light as a modern structure in glass and iron. But regular divisions of wall-space are still left free within this fanciful framework. Lastly, the framework intrudes upon

Fig. 32.

the wall-spaces it is designed to enclose, and the whole surface is overrun with arbitrary combinations of slender and impossible architecture. We can hardly venture, however, to claim a regular chronological succession for all these variations. The great bulk of the examples which especially concern us, because they consist in part of real figure or landscape pictures, preserve in all cases the twofold structural division of the wall; its horizontal division into a dado, generally coloured dark, an upper frieze, generally light, and not unfrequently white, and a broad brightly-coloured band between the two; and its vertical division by means of fancifully painted stripes in place of the old pilasters, of which the effect is to divide the middle band or main course into several panel-shaped compartments somewhat higher than they are wide.

The prevailing colours of these panels are red, yellow, black, and white, more rarely blue and green. In many houses the decoration does not go beyond this division of the walls into parti-coloured fields, with the addition of patterned borders and little ornaments of figures or plants occupying the centres of the several panels. More interesting and characteristic, however, are those architectural designs with their tall reed-like columns, their cornices incapable of support, their ribboned ornaments where the pediments should be; painted structures of which the perspective has neither beginning nor end, and which cover the whole surface of a wall, except the smaller or greater panelled spaces purposely left free, with what is rather a great net-work of ornament than any true architectural design. The whole style bears the same relation to what Vitruvius calls the good old style, as the Rococo does to the true Renascence; and though we may think there is some truth in this verdict of the Roman architect and critic, we cannot help being strongly attracted by the exuberant and never identical fancy, the dazzling colouring, the imperishable charm of these Pompeian decorations.

Fig. 33.

The properly pictorial part of the ornament, which is our main concern, occurs in the most various relations to the general scheme of which it forms, as the case may be, a larger or smaller part. According to the nature of these relations the pictures may be divided into different groups. As the first group we may take those which cover all four walls, or one entire wall, of any given room, and, in so doing, often supersede altogether the customary division of dado, frieze, and intervening course. It is only landscapes which are so treated, and especially great park scenes, such as those of the *Villa ad Gallinas*, and of not a few chambers in Pompeian houses. These park views form a characteristic ornament for the cooling rooms in baths; they are also favourite subjects upon garden walls, where they are painted evidently to give an enlarged impression of space, to do away by a pleasing illusion with the sense of wall, and to give a feeling of the open country amid the cramped dwelling-places of the town.

A second group is formed of mural paintings which, though large, only occupy parts of whole walls, being separated by pilasters, so that several can find their place side by side on the same wall. These pictures do not aim at illusion in the same degree as those of the first group. Only in such cases as the before-mentioned *Triclinium* of the Roman house on the Palatine, where the object was to imitate real views seen through open windows in the wall—only in such cases are the pictures calculated to produce an effect of illusion on the person within. In this second group landscape subjects still predominate. In it we find especially those "coast towns in the open, most cheaply done, and most charming to the view," which Pliny mentions as an invention of the Roman Ludius; also hunting scenes; and desolate mountain scenery with wild beasts; and mythological scenes with spacious backgrounds, as the Polyphemus and Galatea in the so-called *Casa della caccia antica*, Diana and Actaeon in the *Casa di Sallustio*, and the wounded Adonis in the house called after him.

As a third group we may regard those wall-paintings which, as Helbig has shown, imitate panel-pictures let into the walls. They are of moderate size, surrounded with a well-marked frame, and are generally placed in the centre of the main decorative compartment of the wall. They owed their origin, no doubt, to the imitation of panel-pictures. In earlier times the famous panels of great masters had really been inserted in chamber walls. In Pompeii marks have in some cases actually been discovered showing that these panel-shaped frescoes have been cut out of one wall and re-inserted in another. But as a general rule it was thought sufficient, at the time when it was the fashion to ornament spaces with a homogeneous scheme of pictorial decoration, to introduce imitations of this kind in the places where really good panel-pictures might have been inserted. In reality the imitations thus introduced were superficial and often capriciously altered copies of masterpieces known in other places. Hence they so often contain those mythological subjects, the frequency of which give their main interest to the whole class of Campanian mural paintings.

A fourth group is constituted by pictures having a very inferior claim to an independent rank as works of art. These only pretend to be accessory elements in decoration, and inseparable from it; they belong directly to those flimsy painted semblances of architectural structures into which they are let, in the shape of little panels or vignettes, without adding anything beyond a merely ornamental effect. Sometimes they appear as suspended between high, slender, painted columns; sometimes as if they were placed in front of the balustrades of the basement; sometimes raised upon the cornice, and again suspended under the little pediment of the painted structure. The subjects they represent have no independent importance. They are little views from nature, still life, etc. But we must also include in this group those real friezes

on a larger scale in which caricatured representations of Egyptian life predominate, and which occur not unfrequently.

As a fifth group we may reckon all pictures inserted by themselves, without framing or connected background of their own, into any scheme of decoration. To these belong all the human figures which, like the little vignettes above mentioned, serve merely as ornaments or ornamental personages enlivening an architectural design. Such figures sometimes look out over a balustrade, sometimes balance themselves in the most impossible positions on a tendril, sometimes wander like sleep-walkers high up on a jutting cornice. Anon they open a door into the empty space of the coloured wall behind, and anon they crouch meditatively on a staircase of the imaginary pleasure-house. Strange and quaint is often their effect, but always ornamental and pleasing. But it is not only amid this framework of counterfeit architecture that we find such unconnected figures or little groups. We also find them hovering quite detached upon spaces which the framework encloses—slim floating forms with light flowing draperies, or spirited outlines of the nude, slight, but firm and full of skill. Figures and small groups of this kind are found in great numbers at Pompeii. It is often difficult to assign names to these shapes of youth and maiden; but some of them may be identified as Seasons, Muses, Hours, and Graces, or else as Satyrs and Bacchants. In these designs, in which there is unlimited play for the fancy, we also find Centaurs, Tritons, and demi-brutes. What is striking is that even landscapes also, without enclosure or completeness of background, and without sky, though not without an attempt at perspective, appear painted on the red, yellow, black, or white ground of the wall which everywhere shows through them.

This immense variety in the ornamental or decorative position held by the several classes of Campanian wall-paintings implies a no less variety of subject. Here also we may affirm as a rule that everything was treated that fancy could invent or legend hand down; everything that daily life could bring before the eye, or that nature herself with all her delights could offer. A distinctive character, however, can be assigned to all this material; and it is not to be supposed that the choice was made at haphazard.

The least interesting of all the pictures in this class are the ritual pictures proper, the devotional paintings which, like many of the Catholic effigies of saints, were painted for street corners and such-like places, and like them too generally by inexperienced hands. Such were those assemblies of which one example, at a street corner in Pompeii, includes all the twelve Olympians; or single divinities, among whom Mercury naturally plays an important part in a mercantile town like Pompeii. Jupiter, Minerva, Venus, and Mars were, till lately, found each represented only once in this manner, while Mercury occurred twelve times. To this class belong further the pictures of Lares, Penates, and Genii, placed over real or painted altars, or in little

shrines erected in private dwellings for household worship. The genii of the place were often symbolised by snakes taking refuge at the altar. As all these pictures were painted purely on religious and not at all on artistic grounds, they possess in point of fact no merit as works of art, and may be neglected

Fig. 34.

in comparison with the mass of others which, although conceived and executed by house decorators, were works of real if not indeed of high art.

The most important, in many respects, of all the Campanian wall-paintings are those which represent on a somewhat large scale, generally in the form of counterfeit panel-pictures, some scene from mythology or history. It is curious that strictly historical pictures, like the Issos mosaic, appear never, or as good as never, among wall-paintings. The picture in which Scipio and Sophonisba are supposed to be recognised is an isolated case, and for that very reason may

well be otherwise explained.[70] Though Pompeii was inhabited by Romans, and although by the time when most of the Pompeian paintings were executed the Roman historical myth of Æneas had been worked out and made familiar by Virgil, still the number of those paintings in which subjects from the Æneid can be recognised is altogether insignificant. Helbig counts but five such in his catalogue, and even these are not all identified with certainty. All the other subject-pictures of the Campanian wall-paintings (and they may be counted by hundreds) illustrate Greek mythology, partly the history of the gods, partly the tales of the heroes. The cycles of nearly all the greater gods are represented. The most famous example from the cycle of Zeus is the picture of his solemn marriage, found in the *Casa del Poeta* at Pompeii, and preserved in the museum at Naples.[71] Very few of the wall-paintings of Lower Italy breathe such a spirit of quiet majesty or holy solemnity as this does. On the contrary, an effeminate and sensual character generally predominates in them, corresponding to the levity of the time and place. So we find in the remaining pictures from the myths of Zeus, that his love-passages are the favourite theme; or else it is the heroines whom the father of the gods made happy with his love that we find represented, as Danäe, Leda, Europa, or Io under the spell of her doom. In accordance with the same tendency, those among the other gods were especially preferred who embodied life's cheerfulness and enjoyment: Apollo, Aphroditê, Bacchus. Apollo appears almost always as the Citharœdus, occasionally also in his prophetic character, and a large number of pictures are occupied with the love-adventures of this god. Aphroditê, the goddess of love, who was even honoured and painted in a special form as tutelar goddess of this love-stricken city, under the name of Venus Pompeiana, plays likewise an important part. At one time she appears decking herself, at another sailing, child of the foam, upon her shell, or upon the back of some sea-monster over the blue surface of the waves. Her marriage with Ares is portrayed in nearly two dozen paintings, and her adventure with Adonis nearly as often. Eros himself, the little-winged god, the son and playfellow of Aphroditê, is represented innumerably often. In the mind of the post-Alexandrian age, this god had already been multiplied for good into endless Erôtes or *Amoretti*. Little love-gods of this kind were constantly represented in humorous and malicious positions. A painting of a Market of Loves found at Stabiæ, and now in the museum at Naples, attracted very justly much attention at the time of its discovery; as did also the Nest of Loves found at Pompeii (Fig. 35). Bacchus appears exclusively in his later and youthful form. His bringing home of the forsaken Ariadne from Naxos is a favourite subject, but the figures of his *thiasos*, of Sileni, Satyrs, Bacchants, appear of course in all possible forms, situations, and predicaments, sensual and burlesque as well as occasionally more serious. Of the secondary deities, according to the same spirit, Sêlenê and Endymion, Polyphemos and Galateia,

are the favourites. Among motives suggested by foreign forms of belief, a series of Egyptian subjects is remarkable. The Egyptian goddess Isis had

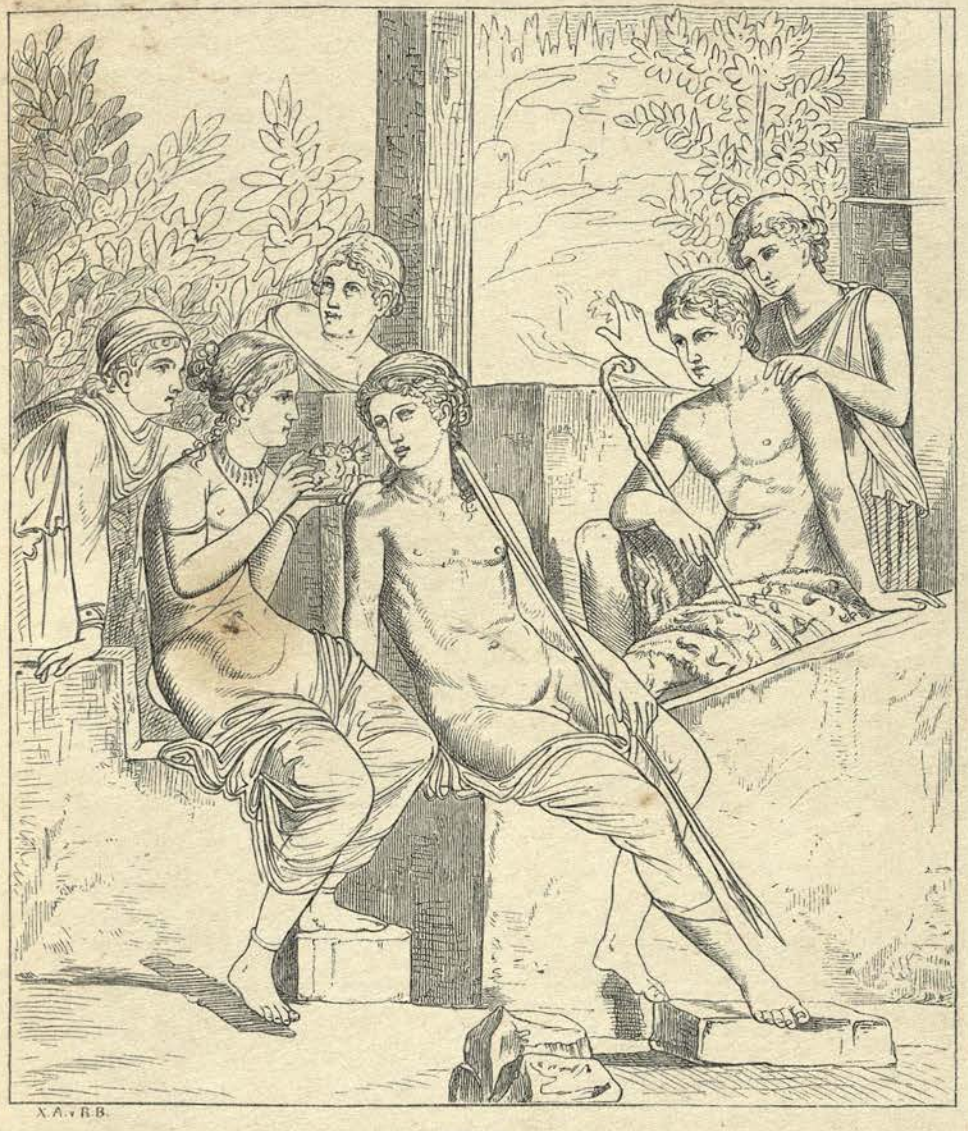

Fig. 35.

a temple of her own at Pompeii, and her worship had strongly impressed the imagination of the time.

The same considerations which determined this school in its choice among the myths of the gods, held good also as to the tales of the heroes. From the epic cycle, scarcely any pictures occur of the sanguinary scenes before Troy. The Judgment of Paris (Fig. 36), on the other hand, appears constantly in

various treatments. Achilles is oftenest represented in youth; several examples of his education by the centaur Cheiron, probably copied from a group in marble, and his discovery on the island of Skyros, among the daughters of Lycomedes, appear even more frequently. The release of Chryseïs, the rape

Fig. 36.

of Briseïs, and the sacrifice of Iphigeneia, all occur in the very same house with the above-mentioned Marriage of Zeus. From the striking dignity and beauty of these great compositions, the house in which they were found received the name of the Poet's House (*casa del poeta*). A Death of Laokoon (Fig. 37) has also been recently discovered. Among other heroes Herakles was much too

popular to be left out. Several of his exploits have been immortalised in these paintings. Many other subjects have evidently been taken from tragedy: to this class belong representations of Medeia in the act of slaying her children, Phaidra and Hippolytos, the punishment of Dirkê, Niobê, and others. With these may be classed Phrixos and Hellê riding his ram in the midst of the sea,

Fig. 37.

and Narcissus falling in love with his own reflection was naturally a subject quite after the hearts of these painters.

Turning to the class of pictures which take their subjects from daily life, these, as we should expect, exhibit the same light and cheerful spirit. We may, with Helbig, divide such *genre* pictures into two principal groups, of which one may be called the Hellenistic, and the other the Romano-Campanian group. The latter hold to the former the same technical relation as is held by the rude devotional subjects to the rest in the mythologic or poetic

class of work. Most of them are roughly painted, and with direct reference to the spaces they are practically intended to fill, so that here and there they look almost like inn or shop signs, and cannot be counted as works even of higher craftsmanship, much less of real art. Thus we find scenes of tavern jollity, fullers at work in their factories, and grossnesses of the brothel. The costumes are those of real life. The ideal nude of Greek art never occurs. The artisan element prevails in the choice of subjects; mechanics at their several occupations, men riding and driving, incidents of the market, bakers, fishmongers, porters, rope-dancers, all conceived in a rough realistic style and executed for the most part without grace or distinction. To this class belong those pictures of the brutal gladiatorial life which occur particularly on the *podium* of the amphitheatre, but also in various other places, at Pompeii.

Quite different are the *genre* pictures of what we have called the Hellenistic class. These include many of the most delightful of all the Campanian wall-pictures. Their materials are not so much taken from real life as from life as it appeared to the fancy of the artist. A certain idealism governs their treatment, which, far removed from the coarseness of many Dutch *genre*-painters of the seventeenth century, turns away from the more unpleasing accidents of literal fact. Ideal principles of composition and form, including the introduction of the nude in cases in which it would not appear in real life, invest these scenes with a rare and lofty charm. They are full of a fresh and simple beauty, which must have lent incomparable magic to the lost originals of which they are but feebler reproductions. The scenes are chiefly from the life of women, youths, and children. But characteristically enough, we miss altogether those groups of youths stripped for the exercises of the gymnasium and the wrestling-school, which occur so constantly on Greek vases. A softer and more effeminate age is reflected here. A woman, for instance, sits lost in love-dreams, with Eros leaning at her side; or two women are engaged in friendly dialogue; or a girl sits at her painting or her music. Scenes of the toilet, too, are not forgotten. Then there are youths and maidens assembled at festive gatherings; or explicit love scenes of more or less levity; as well as groups of poets and actors, and occasionally actual stage scenes, especially one lovely concert piece which breathes the purest spirit of Greek art. To the same division, lastly, belong many of those small groups or single figures which are among the most beautiful examples of Campanian painting.

The ancients had always been alive to caricature, and practised it in vase painting and drawing; nor is it absent from their wall-paintings. It usually takes the form of comically significant scenes from animal life. Among these is a well-known caricature of Æneas escaping from Troy with his son Ascanius holding his hand, and his father Anchises on his shoulder (Fig. 38). Monkeys often stand for legendary heroes.

We have already learned from the ancient writers that from the time of

Alexander painting by no means limited itself to figure-pieces only. Accordingly we find among the Campanian wall-pictures, in contrast with the subjects hitherto described, a great number of landscapes, animal paintings, and subjects of still life. As regards landscapes, their number is so great that Winckelmann could in his time declare that most of the Herculaneum paintings represented landscapes, "harbours, summer-houses, woods, fisheries, and views;" and though we may not be able now to say that landscapes compose the majority, still they compose a very considerable part, of the whole stock. This we have already observed to be the case at Rome, where the park scenes of the *Prima Porta* and Odyssey landscapes from the Esquiline are among the most important

Fig. 38.

wall-paintings that exist; and it is the case with regard to mosaic pictures as well. Instead of assuming, then, as used to be done, that the ancients did not trouble themselves about landscape, we are in a position to prove that, at least in the early days of the Empire, this was a favourite branch of art. Although the motives which we find in this class of Campanian picture are extraordinarily varied, still we discover running through them all a distinct general character of lightness, cheerfulness, and charm. It is not the wild, lonely, or grandiose aspect of nature that we find here; with the exception of a few deserts tenanted only by wild beasts, and selected for their sake, these landscapes always bear distinct traces of human activity. Country shrines and sanctuaries, from the simple sacred tree hung with dedicatory offerings to the great temple before which the cowherd feeds his flocks, are represented with a sentiment full of

idyllic peace. Village scenes, with broad and peopled streets adorned with statues, occur alternately with vistas of city architecture. Views of towns are generally taken from the water-side, and from the crowded quays we see har-

Fig. 39.

bour works built out into the sea, which is alive with every variety of large and small craft. The villas, built close to the shore round the beautiful Bay of Naples, come out in these pictures with all their peculiar charm. The garden landscapes before mentioned were so much the fashion that at one time, according to these views, everyone seems to have had the garden wall of his villa

decorated in this way. Over all these scenes alike is spread the same pure blue vault of sky. Clouds and special effects of light are avoided, but the light and shadow sides of individual objects are sharply distinguished, and cast shadows distinctly rendered. It cannot be proved that particular localities are faithfully reproduced. This is probably the case, however, in one view of the square in front of the amphitheatre of Pompeii, which bears evidence of a rough hand little troubled by any Greek instinct of linear arrangement, and was certainly not invented for the sake of mere pictorial effect. The scenery of Lower Italy finds, however, on the whole a just, though a somewhat broad and conventional, reflection in these works; especially the coast scenery with all the monuments which human industry, love of splendour, and religious devotion had erected,—with these, and with the whole bright range of out-door activities which we still see carried on in the same enchanted regions.

Here, as at Rome, the most beautiful and interesting landscapes are those which contain mythological episodes. The myths most commonly used to give animation to landscapes were the Judgment of Paris, the Rescue of Andromedê, the Fall of Ikaros, the Punishment of Dirkê, and others—all, of course, myths in the poetical invention of which a landscape background is from the first conceived as playing an essential part. When the incidents of the myth pointed to a given locality, the painter, who could scarcely ever have seen it, of course invented a landscape according to his own fancy, generally one appropriate to the action, but not unfrequently, misled by his decorative purpose, one which fails to be appropriate.

Lastly, among pictures of still life, we find every object that has been treated by the modern painters of the seventeenth century—kitchen utensils of all sorts, fish and flesh, dead and live fowl, lobsters, crabs, mussels, fruit in the richest variety, flowers and foliage, vessels and ware of every shape, transparent glasses (the rendering of which is recorded as an achievement of later Greek painting), cans, pots, and the like. But we also find objects peculiar to antiquity, as toilet caskets, rolls of manuscript, and all kinds of writing materials, masks, sacrificial implements, and so forth. It is impossible to determine which of these things were painted for their own sakes, and which with a purely ornamental purpose.

If, now, we inquire what position in the history of art is held by this whole mass of most various and most interesting work, we must first determine the time of their execution. As a lower limit we can fix with certainty the date of the destruction of the three cities by the fatal eruption of Vesuvius, namely A.D. 79. None of these Campanian wall-paintings can be of later date than that. For those at Pompeii we may also fix a higher limit with some confidence. The most ancient wall decorations may belong to about B.C. 78; but the majority must be of much later date, for in A.D. 63, fifteen years before the complete destruction of the city, it had already suffered very disastrous injury

from an earthquake. Therefore it is probable that the greater part of the existing wall-paintings of Pompeii belong to the rebuilt city, that is, to the years between A.D. 63 and 79. This of course gives no clue for the paintings of Herculaneum and Stabiæ. Special research into their style and manner may make it possible to assign something like a certain date to these also; but for the present such research has not been carried far enough to yield any positive results.

The painters of these works were Campanian handicraftsmen, who did not consider themselves artists in the higher sense of the word, as we can tell by the fact that, as, with one exception at Rome, so here, none of them has ventured to put his signature to his work. Nevertheless, some were extremely skilful decorators, and their works fall very little short of the quality of true fine art. But most were no better than indifferent workmen; and others never got beyond the merest daubing. It is by mistake that some students have been disposed to recognise in the paintings of Pompeii no more than three or four different hands in all.

Whether these craftsman were of Greek, Roman, or Oscan origin, it is impossible to say. On some few pictures Greek inscriptions have been found. In any case the spirit of the work is certainly Hellenistic. The best paintings must be considered as imitations of Greek originals; but as it has only been possible in a very few cases to refer them back with any probability to recorded prototypes by known masters, in like manner it has scarcely been made probable that such prototypes belonged to an earlier time than that of Alexander. The subjects and designs of most of the paintings have far rather the character of the Hellenistic age of his successors. When, for instance, a painting like that of Io guarded by Argos and rescued by Hermes is found not in Pompeii only, but also in Rome, it is evident that the painters of both have followed a common original. But even within the Campanian towns themselves we find many repetitions of the same picture, always with more or less variation, and this shows that the painter had no great respect for the original, which, indeed, he may sometimes have scarcely seen for himself, so that he dealt with its composition according to his own humour and the exigencies of his particular decorative task. We may perhaps even conjecture that the designs have sometimes been supplied by pattern books and models passed from hand to hand in the workshop.

Moreover, those figures and little panels which form an inherent part of the painted architectural design, then the latest style of decoration, belong also according to their place of discovery to the time of the Empire; and the landscapes, among which repetitions are scarcely ever found, can be only generically, and that only in part, copies of the Hellenistic models. That the specific views, both large and small, of this class were designed in Campania is proved by their close resemblance to the coast scenery of that country.

It is possible that the trade of house decoration in Rome and Lower Italy was generally conducted by Greeks. But in any case, the great mass of decorative paintings and single pictures which show Hellenistic influence, stand, both in conception and form, in such striking contrast to those rude devotional pieces and pieces from every day life which we have described as Romano-Campanian *genre*-paintings,—and no less to views of places like the amphitheatre view,—that on the ground of such contrast alone a clear distinction may be established between native painting and Hellenistic work.

By what technical method these paintings, which have withstood the ravages of nearly two thousand years, were fixed upon the walls, is a much vexed question. It has been debated over and over again whether they were done in fresco, with wax, resin, or distemper, or by some mixed mode of treatment. Recent researches have to some extent cleared up the matter, and at any rate disposed for good of the claims both of resin and wax. One careful inquirer, Donner, holds that the medium is almost exclusively *buon fresco*, both in the ground and in the work which is painted on it with so much thickness of impasto, and which sometimes breaks separately away. But as artists themselves have held and still hold, as the result of personal inspection, different opinions on the nature of the processes employed, a decision is difficult to arrive at. Our own view is that fresco holds by far the first place in the execution of these wall-paintings, but not the exclusive place claimed for it by Donner. With reference to the portions painted in solid impasto, which, when they break away, disclose intact the coloured preparation beneath them, it seems more likely that they were laid on the prepared ground after it was already dry, and by means of a different vehicle.

When we are told of the great durability shown by these paintings, we must remember that most of them, in Pompeii at least, were probably painted only a short time before the destruction of the city; that a great many have been found in a very bad condition at the time of their excavation; and that, after being deprived of their earthy protection, they usually fade and disappear very quickly unless special precautions are taken to protect them. Lastly, if we are asked what, judged by the standard of modern critical opinion, is the artistic merit of all these pictures, we have virtually given the answer in our repeated assertion that they do not rise above the level of skilful decorative handicraft, and that even within these limits the quality of their execution is very unequal. We shall find the most unmixed satisfaction in the single, often floating, figures and groups which stand out without definite background from the coloured surfaces of the wall. Pure forms and pleasing motives are here free to affect us without the presence of any disturbing element. The ancient genius, which was inclined by nature rather to the plastic than to the pictorial, had here only to make its own, up to a certain point, the technical acquisitions of the period between Apollodoros and Apelles. In the pictures

having definite backgrounds and a complete pictorial purpose, the evident blunders in perspective, the false foreshortenings, rudely managed distances, and inefficient conduct of light and shade, are often very disturbing. The skill of the craftsman did not reach far enough to give to these larger compositions the necessary qualities of recession and pictorial relief. Nevertheless, with all their shortcomings, these comparatively humble works enable us to infer that the mastery attained in the higher branches of painting over the technical secrets of the art must have been very considerable, more considerable than we should perhaps feel justified in asserting if we drew our opinions only from ancient writings.

If, taking another point of view, we regard these remains of mural painting in the light in which alone they were meant to be regarded, as inherent parts of larger schemes of coloured decoration, we shall begin to enjoy them in a more unprejudiced spirit, and estimate at their true value many apparent conventionalisms in their composition and colouring.

First—as to composition, we must observe the important part played by the principle of balance, whereby the paintings of the several walls of an apartment are designed as pendants to one another. Not unfrequently, and especially in the best houses, pieces of about the same size, and placed in the same position on the several walls, are characterised as pendants by their subjects; inasmuch as they depict various scenes of one myth, or kindred scenes from different though analogous myths, or groups which repeat the same idea in another shape, according to a practice common to the art of all times and races. But very much oftener the choice of two works as pendants rests on purely decorative grounds, such as the external similarity of their composition, the correspondence of linear arrangement in their landscape, the resemblance of their figures in number, position, or costume; so severely did the ancients require balance and symmetry in pictures intended in the first instance for wall decorations.[72] Indeed, to satisfy this decorative instinct, scenes which called for no landscape background were often provided with one nevertheless, or figures were added to or taken away from familiar subjects, merely for the sake of making two pendants balance one another. We can appreciate the ancient wall-paintings more intelligently since it has been shown that the deviations which we frequently find in their treatment of one and the same subject—deviations which had hitherto been set down to arbitrary whim or ignorance of the decorator—are thus governed by a definite principle.

Next, as to colour. Here also the principal object of the painter was to produce a harmonious unity. Each detail was subordinated to the general effect. Hence it was above all things necessary that each separate picture should harmonise with the colour of the wall from which it stood out. To do justice to a real masterpiece of independent painting, the colour of the wall upon which it was hung, or into which it was inserted, would, as a matter

of course, be arranged to suit it. But where the picture is only a part of the decoration of the wall, the reverse would naturally take place. As the ground of the particular wall was red, yellow, blue, green, black, or white, the colouring of the picture, if it was to keep its place at all, would have to be arranged accordingly. On a black or white ground, the purest natural colours would of course predominate. And on coloured grounds it is striking to notice how skilfully, sometimes with an instinctive observation of optical laws which have been discovered and formulated by modern science, the artist has known how to give his picture the right tone and scheme of colour. The backgrounds especially were kept very simple in obedience to this principle. A picture often seems as if it were painted almost in monochrome, grey on grey, blue on blue, or brown on brown. Just as often it may be really in monochrome, but taken in connection with the general tone of the wall may nevertheless produce an effect of various colour. Whether, then, with Vitruvius, we condemn this whole style of trivial chamber decoration, or whether we bring an impartial eye to its charm and its richness of colour, we cannot at any rate deny that, whatever the value of the separate pictures in themselves, they are introduced into the general scheme with a very high degree of decorative skill.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION.

General result of a comparison of existing remains with ancient writings—Standard of perfection in painting—Not approached by Oriental races—But attained by the Greeks in the period between Polygnotos and Apelles—Greek deficiencies in the science of perspective—And in atmosphere—Attainments of Greeks in comparison with those of modern painting—Decline of the art.

IF we endeavour, in conclusion, to harmonise the conclusions derived from an examination of the existing remains of Greco-Roman painting with the written statements of antiquity on the subject, we shall find ourselves in presence of a general result of the richest and most brilliant kind. The achievement of the Greeks in painting, as in all other arts, was one, as we have already said, which it is almost impossible to over-rate; and their deserts come out in the clearest manner if we compare their works with those of the Oriental nations.

As a measure of the degree of perfection attained at any given time by painting,—apart from the higher intellectual characteristics which that art and sculpture in their accomplished forms possess in common,—we have all along taken the amount of correctness with which the painter succeeds in representing upon a flat surface a portion of the actual visible world as it really seems. Colours and forms have, according to this standard, to be expressed with equal completeness, just as they are in fact reproduced with equal distinctness on the retina of the normal human eye. The laws of linear, as well as those of atmospheric or colour perspective, must be observed with conscious and deliberate accuracy. The utmost beauty of nature as she is or might be must confront us, from within the narrow limits of the coloured and illuminated surface, with a power to impress and to delight us equal to her own.

Painting in this complete sense of the word has never been known to the Oriental races. They have, according to their natural gifts, both founded and rightly applied the arts of architecture and sculpture. But in painting they have been mere gropers, and have never arrived at an inward and outward unity of representation, or to one which reproduced a portion of the visible world on wall or panel in correct perspective and colour. Along this road it was reserved for the genius of Greece to lead the way.

Ancient writings as well as existing remains bear witness that Greek painting too had its childish and primitive beginnings, in outlines without colour, and with no forecast of the dormant powers it possessed. But little by little these powers

were awakened. One discovery after another was made, one difficulty after another overcome. Even Polygnotos had reached a point in his art at which no master of any other race had ever stood. Among Oriental nations, fine art had never separated itself from common handicraft, and masters died nameless. It was in free Greece that artists first grew to world-wide fame and world-wide power of giving delight. Polygnotos was the earliest painter who stood upon this pinnacle, though his, in truth, was as yet no unshackled art, and though perspective, light-and-shade, and the natural treatment of colour were still quite undeveloped. But soon after Polygnotos these secrets were mastered and changed the character of painting. One problem after another was solved; Apelles reached the highest point of technical knowledge attainable by the Greeks; and if we compare the ancient texts with the most accomplished of the existing mural paintings, humble examples of daily handicraft as these are, we shall have no doubt that Greek painting had at last fully acquired the power to produce adequate semblances of living fact and nature.

It is indeed probable that the more complicated problems of scientific perspective, such as were discovered in the fifteenth century, were not yet fully solved by the Greeks. But artists chose motives in which these difficulties were not much noticed, and intuition in many cases supplied the want of science. If we find even in slight repetitions of ancient pictures that the perspective, though never perfectly correct, very often approaches correctness, we may well believe that the artistic instinct of Apelles and his contemporaries sufficed where their knowledge may have failed.

It is moreover obvious, as Helbig has already insisted, that the Greeks never fully acquired that feeling for the vitality and charm of atmosphere which often plays a principal part in modern painting. The different moods which depend on different densities of the atmosphere, on rain-clouds mounting up the sky, on the position of the sun, on the manifold changing effects of light —these moods which we are at first inclined to identify with our own varying moods of sentiment, the Greeks took in with less closeness of observation, or at any rate with less sympathy, than ourselves. As a rule, they placed their horizon abnormally high according to our ideas, and distributed the various objects over an ample space, in clear and equable light. At Pompeii, we may no doubt point to some pictures with a sunset glow, but we must be careful, in these exceptional cases, not to mistake for an atmospheric motive that which is in truth only a decorative motive in the sense we have already mentioned. And after all, this deficiency or limitation could only be much felt in landscape, and would not tell one way or another upon great figure compositions.

As for the relation of ancient Greek painting to modern painting as it has been practised since the sixteenth century,—we may be sure, after what has been said, that if it were granted us to look upon some great series of masterpieces by a Greek artist, we should not be struck by any technical shortcomings in

his work, but should place it without hesitation by the side of the most finished performances of all times or races. It is true that in certain orders of work we might perhaps perceive errors of perspective and weaknesses of colouring; and if the old Greek masters could see some of the most accomplished modern pictures, they would doubtless themselves acknowledge that, though we may not have attained the noble style and feeling for beauty which their choicer works possess, we have still made advances and opened fields unknown to them in the pictorial grasp of nature, and in the mode of reproducing her aspects with technical correctness on a plane surface. The high renown of having been the first to create a true art of painting, will, however, not in future be denied to the Greeks. This art owes them, indeed, more even than the other arts, in which their productions did not so much exemplify anything new in itself as the best that could be done upon foundations already laid.

But the attainments of the mighty art of Greece fell away gradually and were forgotten. Painting petrified or stiffened into routine. More than fifteen hundred years had to pass over the world before a second age of painting should come round like its first great age in Greece; and the highest achievements of this later time owed no small part of their glory and perfection to the renewed study of those of antiquity.

APPENDIX.

1. For a discussion of the primitive textile industries of the East, and their relation to the general history of art, see Böttiger, *Archäologie der Malerei;* and more particularly, Semper, *Der Stil*, 2d ed.

2. The foundations of a connected history of Greek painters were laid by Brunn in his *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, vol. ii. A new edition of Prof. Brunn's work is understood to be in preparation; in the meantime a large number of monographs have added to our knowledge of the subject. The original sources from ancient literature (of which the most important is Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, b. xxxv.) have been collected by Prof. Overbeck in his *Antike Schriftquellen*, Leipzig, 1868.

3. For instance: Goethe, *Polygnot's Gemälde* (in vol. 28 of Hempel's ed.); Riepenhausen, *Peintures de Polygnote*, etc., Rome, 1826; Otto Jahn, *Die Gemälde des Polygnotos*, Leipzig, 1841; F. G. Welcker, *Composition der Polygnotischen Gemälde*, Berlin, 1848; W. Gebhardt, *Die Composition der Gemälde des Polygnot*, Göttingen, 1872. Naturally, the critical student will find himself unable to place implicit confidence in any of the reconstructions which have so long afforded a tempting occupation to archæologists. Neither are we sufficiently informed concerning the technical method of those early Greek mural decorations, which may either have been painted direct upon the wall or upon movable panels subsequently let in.

4. For a further discussion of the position of Agatharchos in the history of art, see particularly Brunn, ii. 81 *sqq.;* also Woermann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der antiken Völker.*

5. J. A. Letronne, *Lettres d'un antiquaire à un artiste*, Paris, 1836-1840; Raoul Rochette, *Peintures antiques*, 1836; *Lettres archéologiques*, 1840.

6. To Prof. Brunn the student is peculiarly indebted for the manner in which he has enabled us to realise the artistic character of Zeuxis, *Gesch. der griech. Künstler*, ii. 75-97.

7. Compare Brunn, ii. 126; Helbig, *Untersuchungen über die Campanische Wandmalerei*, pp. 65, 80, 81, 326-39. And see *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1869, Pl. 14, for a mosaic of this subject found in Catalonia, which seems more nearly related than the Pompeian example to the original of Timanthes.

8. Compare Brunn, ii. 130-158, 289-293; Urlichs, *Rheinisches Museum*, xvi. 1861; Wustmann, *ibid.* xxiii. 1868; Michaelis, C. T., *Arch. Zeitung*, N.F. viii. 1868, pp. 31 *sqq.*

9. Byblis, according to the suggestion of Dilthey; but Urlichs understands the whole passage differently. See *Rhein. Mus.*, 1870, pp. 151, 507; 1871, pp. 283, 590.

10. See Engelmann, *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1871, p. 37, Pl. xxx.; Helbig, *Untersuchungen*, p. 141 *sqq.*

11. See Brunn, ii. 202 *sqq.*, and in Meyer's *Künstler-Lexikon*, *sub voce* Apelles; G. Wustmann, *Apelles Leben und Werke*, Leipzig, 1870; Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la commission imp. d'archéologie de St. Pétersbourg*, 1870 and 1871; and Benndorf, *Mittheilungen des deutsch. Arch. Inst. zu Athen*, i. 51.

12. Petronius, *Satyr.* 84.

13. For a special study on the position of this art in antiquity, see Woermann, *Die Landschaft in der Kunst der antiken Völker*, 1876.

14. Compare Urlichs: *Die Malerei in Rom vor Cæsar's Dictatur*, Würzburg, 1876.

15. Among the multifarious and interesting literature connected with the "Picture-galleries" of the Philostrati, we may especially mention the following:—Goethe, vol. xxviii. (ed. Hempel), p. 269 *sqq.;* Friedrichs, *Die Philostratischen Bilder*, Erlangen, 1860; with supplementary observations in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 1863, p. 179 *sqq.;* and Brunn's rejoinders in the same periodical, 1861 and 1871; F. Matz, *De Philostratorum in describend. imagg. fide*, Bonn, 1867; also in *Philologus*, xxxi. 585 *sqq.*

16. The literature of Greek vases and vase-painting is very extensive. Among the most important works may be mentioned:—Millingen, *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs*, Rome, 1813; Lenormant and de Witte, *Elite de monuments céramographiques*, Paris, 1844-1861; Gerhard, *Auserlesene griech-*

ische Vasenbilder, Berlin, 1840-1854; Id. *Etruskische und campanische Vasenbilder des k. Museums zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1843; Id. *Griechische und Etruskische Trinkschalen*, Berlin, 1843; Id. *Apulische Vasenbilder*, etc., Berlin, 1845; Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*, Leipzig, 1862; Benndorf, *Griechische und Sicilische Vasenbilder*, 1869 ff.; Heydemann, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, 1870. Besides these comprehensive publications, a vast number of vases have from time to time been figured in the *Monumenti* of the Roman Archæological Institute, as well as in various monographs. The best connected history of the art, even though in one or two points superseded by recent research, is the introduction to Otto Jahn's *Catalogue* of the Munich collection of vases. See also Dr. Birch's *History of Ancient Pottery*, 2d ed. An excellent work on the system of forms and decorations in Greek ceramic art is Lau, Th., *Die griechischen Vasen, ihr Formen und Decorations-System*, Leipzig; with an introduction by Brunn.

17. See Conze, *Zur Geschichte der Anfänge griechischer Kunst;* and Hirschfeld, in *Annali dell' Instituto*, 1872.

18. See Brunn, *Probleme in der Geschichte der Vasenmalerei*, 1871. To this treatise reference is frequently made in the text.

19. See Flasch, *Die Polychromie der griechischen Vasenbilder*, Würzburg, 1875.

20. See Dumont, in *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association des études grecques*, 1873; and in *Gazette archéologique*, 1875 and 1876.

21. The best general account of these works is that given by Schöne, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1866, p. 150 *sqq.*

22. Compare Emil Braun, *Die ficoronische Cista*, 1848; and Otto Jahn, *Die ficoronische Cista*, 1852.

23. Consult the comprehensive illustrated publication of Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel:* also the same author, *Ueber die Metallspiegel der Etrusker*, 1838 and 1859.

24. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 184.

25. See Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, 460-476; Zahn, *Die schönsten Ornamente*, etc., N.F., Pl. 91-93; and compare Overbeck, *Pompei*, 2d ed., p. 225 *sqq.*

26. Published by Pieralisi, Rome, 1858; and compare Engelmann, *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1875, and Woermann in the work *supr. cit.*, p. 304 *sqq.*

27. See Penna: *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana*, Rome, 1826.

28. See *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1838.

29. See Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, Pl. 170b, 1241, 1405, 1464; and *Antichità d'Ercolano*, 1757, Pl. 1, 2, 3, 4; and compare Semper, *Der Stil*, i. 470.

30. Published by Gaedechens in *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei*, N.S., 1872, ii. Pl. 9.

31. See Cavalleri, *Sopra un' antica pittura*, etc., Cortona, 1852, and Lenormant in *Gazette archéologique*, 1877, p. 41 *sqq.* Lenormant holds to the old belief that the picture has been painted with a vehicle of resin and wax; but both the technical method and the authenticity of the work have been much disputed. [The most recent contribution to the literature of the Muse of Cortona is that of Heydemann, *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in ober-und Mittel-Italien*, Halle, 1879, p. 110: the author decisively rejects the work as modern, but on critical and historical grounds which to the present editor do not seem quite convincing, and on the technical ground of the supposed use (which has yet to be verified by analysis) of an oil medium.]

32. Published by Klügmann, *Mon. dell' Inst.*, 1873, Pl. 60.

33. Mai, *Iliados fragmenta antiquissima*, Milan, 1819; Id., *Homeri Iliados picturæ*, etc., Rome, 1835.

34. The pictures of both MSS. are given together in Mai, *Virgilii picturæ antiquæ*, Rome, 1835; and compare Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *History of Painting in Italy*, i. 40.

35. See Gregorovius, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, ii. 2, 346.

36. On the last two MSS. consult Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler im Paris*, p. 260; and Id., *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, iii. 68.

37. Published by its owner, Dr. Carl Bone, in the *Festschrift der xxii. Sammlung Versammlung deutscher Philologen zu Wiesbaden*, Bonn, 1877.

38. The chief publications of Etruscan mural paintings are those which have from time to time appeared in the *Mon. dell' Inst.* For accounts of their history, see Brunn, *Ann. dell' Inst.*, 1859 and 1866, and Helbig, *ibid.*, 1863 and 1870.

39. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vi. Pl. 30.
40. *Museum Gregorianum*, i. Pl. 99.
41. *Ibid.* i. Pl. 103.
42. *Ibid.* i. Pl. 100.
43. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, 1870, ix. Pl. 14, 1.
44. *Ibid.* 1870, ix. Pl. 13.
45. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, 1863, xi. vii. Pl. 79.
46. *Ibid.* 1831, i. Pl. 32.
47. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, 1831, i. Pl. 33.
48. *Mu. Greg.*, i. Pl. 101.
49. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, 1850, v. Pl. 14-16, 33-34.
50. Conestabile, *Pitture murali*, etc., 1865
51. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, 1859, Pl. 31, 32.
52. *Ibid.* 1870, ix. 14, 2, and 15.
53. *Ibid.* 1834, ii. Pl. 4.
54. Vitruvius, vii. 5.

55. See *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica communale di Roma*, 1877; Pl. 1, 2, 3.

56. The most important and most easily accessible publications are the following:—Bartoli, P.S. and F., *Le pitture antiche delle Grotte di Roma e del Sepolcro de' Nasoni*, with text by Bellori and De la Chausse, Rome, 1706; Bartoli, P.S., *Gli antichi sepolcri ovvero Mausolei Romani*, Rome, 1727; Ponce, N., *Collection des tableaux et arabesques antiques trouvés à Rome dans les thermes de Titus;* Penna, A., *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana di Tivoli*, 1826.

57. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, iii., Pl. 9, 10, 11, 21, 22.

58. Holstenius, L., *Vetus pictum Nymphæum exhibens*, Rome, 1676.

59. [This subject of a man twisting a rope of straw, and a she-ass eating it as fast as he twists it, had been originally painted by Polygnotos, and was supposed to be an allegory of bad housewifery. See Pausanias, x. 29, 2; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 33; Diod. Sicul. i. 97.]

60. See Böttiger, *Die Aldrobandinische Hochzeit*, Dresden, 1810.

61. Published in chromolithography, with comments, by Woermann, *Die Odysee-landschaften vom Esquilin.*

62. By E. de Chanot in *Gazette archéologique*, 1875, Pl. 5, 6.

63. See *Mon. dell' Inst.*, vi. Pl. 49-53.

64. See *Revue archéologique*, xxi. (May 1870). A collection of photographs taken from drawings after these pictures is sold under the title *Plan et peintures de la maison paternelle de Tibère César.*

65. *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1876, pp. 5, 6 *sqq.*

66. [See F. Barnabei, *The Academy*, N.I. No. 370 (July 26, 1879).]

67. *Mon. dell' Inst.*, viii. Pl. 21.

68. See Helbig, W., *Die Wandgemälde Campaniens, nebst einer Untersuchung über deren Technik von* Otto Donner, Leipzig, 1868; and Id., *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei*, Leipzig, 1873. Early publications on the subject, including the great illustrated works, are very numerous; the following are among the most important: *Le antichità d'Ercolano*, Naples, 1757-1792, vols. i. ii. iii. iv. vii.; Zahn, W., *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculanum, und Stabiae*, Berlin, 1838-1852; Ternite, *Wandgemälde aus Herculanum und Pompeji;* Raoul Rochette, *Choix de peintures de Pompei*, Paris, 1844 *sqq.; Museo Borbonico*, from vol. i., 1824 to vol. xvi., 1857; Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompeii*, 1854 *sqq.;* Gell, W., *Pompeiana*, London, 1824 and 1832: *Giornale degli Scavi di Pompei*, a periodical in progress since 1868; Presuhn, E., *Pompejanische Wanddecorationen*, Leipzig, 1877.

69. Students are principally indebted for these results to the judicious researches of A. Mau; see *Giornale degli Scavi*, ii. pp. 386-395, 439-456, and *Bull. dell' Inst.*, 1874, p. 141.

70. See Helbig, *Catalogue*, No. 1385.

71. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, No. 114; *Museo Borbonico*, ii. 59.

72. This important principle in the Pompeian wall-decorations has been ascertained and illustrated by Ad. Trendelenburg, in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1876, p. 1 *sqq.*, 79 *sqq.*

PART II.

PAINTING IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN, MEDIÆVAL, AND MODERN WORLDS.

BY

ALFRED WOLTMANN.

BOOK I.

EARLY CHRISTIAN PAINTING.

CHAPTER I.

PAINTING IN THE CATACOMBS.

Attitude of the early Christians towards art—Early Christian art to be best studied at Rome and in tombs—Origin of the name catacombs—Purpose and history of the catacombs; their re-discovery—Some more important than others for the history of painting—Their construction—Their furniture—Their painted decorations—Introduction of Christian symbolism—Pictorial and unpictorial symbols—Christian significance given to Pagan motives—Types of Christ—Type of the Virgin—Types of the Apostles—Costume—Choice of subjects from the Old and New Testaments—Ritual or sacramental pictures—Figures of grave-diggers and other personages—Decorative distribution and setting of the pictures—Works in S. Domitilla; S. Agnes; S. Lucina—Arrangement according to decorative rather than according to mystical or symbolical correspondence—Condition, merits, and style of the catacomb paintings—Their cheerfulness of spirit—Drawings on gilt glass—Recapitulation; painting in the catacombs as compared with contemporary Pagan work—General decline.

EARLY Christian art does not differ in its beginnings from the art of antiquity. The technical means, the conception of nature, the feeling for form, are the same. The only perceptible differences are those differences of subject which betoken the fact that art has now to embody a changed order of religious ideas; and even from this point of view, the classical connection is but gradually and at first imperfectly severed. Christianity, however, occupied a different position in regard to art from that which classical antiquity had occupied. The image-worship of the ancient religions was essentially opposed to the spirit of the new; and it was only through Pagan influences that such worship by degrees found its way into Christianity. At the outset Christianity, as was inevitable from its Jewish origin, had no need for art. In many quarters the aversion to works of material imagery expressed by a father of the church like Tertullian—the antagonism to the idolatries of antiquity—remained long unabated. Yet when Christianity, far outstepping the narrow circle of Judaism, had been taken up by classically educated Greeks and Romans, the prejudice against works of art could not continue to be general, nor could Christendom escape the craving for art which is common to civilised mankind. The dislike of images used as objects of worship did not include mere chamber decorations, and while independent sculpture found no footing in the Christian world, or at least was applied only to secular and not to religious uses, painting, on the other hand, found encouragement for purely decorative purposes, in the execution of which a characteristically Christian element began to assert itself by degrees.

The domain of Early Christian art extended over the whole Roman

Empire wherever Christian communities arose, especially in the large towns where art-industries in general had long been carried on, and where the Christian communities contained a greater number than elsewhere of members belonging to the upper ranks of society, and therefore possessed of cultivation and a love for art. Provincial and local differences are at first lost in the uniform general character of the work produced; since all over the Roman Empire there reigned the same principles of design, though the power of execution might be greater in one place and less in another. First, of course, stood Rome herself, the capital of the Empire, the inheritor of the culture of three quarters of the globe. While ancient art at Rome was still, though in decadence, creating splendid monuments, public buildings of immense extent and magnificence, sumptuous memorials and statues, Christian art was already stirring, though at first quietly beneath the ground, in those early and humble activities which in our own day can only be connectedly studied at Rome. Of this as well as of all foregoing ages of art, tombs give us the most faithful and complete idea; in them has lain hidden and preserved that which on the surface of the earth has perished.

The name "catacombs" for the underground cemeteries or burial-places of the ancient Christians was, in the first instance, merely local; one particular burial-ground at Rome, that of S. Sebastian, was called *Coemeterium ad catacumbas*, and from this the name later became general.[1]

Even in times when the religion of the Christians no longer shared the protection which Judaism enjoyed in the Roman Empire, but was suspected and persecuted, the burial-places of the sect still profited by the full legal protection assured to tombs of all kinds by the pious sentiments of the Romans towards the dead. Cemeteries, which were the property of private Christian families, or of particular burial societies formed upon the model of the Roman funeral colleges, could be laid out without concealment, and within them neither interments nor the celebration of anniversaries was prohibited. Inside the circuit of the ancient walls of Servius Tullius burial was illegal; the Christians had therefore to establish their cemeteries outside this circuit, and as they did not, according to the prevalent practice of the Romans, burn their dead, but buried them like the Jews, they took advantage of the condition of the soil in the neighbourhood of Rome, and selected these underground places of burial; over which, however, they erected chapels to which they built handsome entrances, so that these were in no way withdrawn from public view. It was not until an edict of Valerian (A.D. 257) prohibited religious meetings in these places, and until persecution did not always pause at their thresholds, that the necessity for concealment arose. After the recognition of Christianity by Constantine the old cemeteries fell more and more into disuse, but for centuries they still continued to be places of pilgrimage and reverential regard. From the ninth century, however, after the passion for relics had occasioned their wholesale

spoliation, the catacombs were neglected and forgotten, until at last, at the end of the sixteenth century, the re-discovery of "subterranean Rome" began. The researches of Bosio at that date, the studies of Seroux d'Agincourt at the end of the last century—studies directed especially to the history of painting—and in our own day the methodical investigations of De Rossi, have finally disclosed to us their secrets. These cemeteries are the only places in which we find remains of Christian paintings of earlier date than the close of the fourth century, and it is only the examples which belong to this early period which can claim our attention here. The additions made in later ages may be passed over, inasmuch as those ages can be better judged by the monuments they have left above ground.

For the history of painting the most important Christian cemeteries of the first centuries are those of Priscilla on the Via Salaria, of Domitilla or SS. Nereus and Achilles on the Via Ardeatina, and of Prætextatus on the Via Appia. The largest of all the catacombs is that of S. Callixtus, founded at the end of the second century, and situated opposite that of Prætextatus. Near these lie the catacombs of S. Sebastian already mentioned. Finally, the cemetery of S. Agnes at the opposite end of the city, on the Via Nomentana, is especially noteworthy. In regions remote from Rome the catacombs of S. Januarius at Naples and those in Alexandria should be mentioned.[2]

The narrow and intricate passages of these subterranean cemeteries, regular in the earlier but narrower and more winding in the later examples, are conducted one above another at various levels, and have their rows of *loculi* or recesses for receiving the dead in either wall. Now and again they open out into sepulchral chambers of an approximately square shape cut out of the tufa (*cubicula*), of which two are often placed opposite each other, or several are collected in close proximity. These furnish the occasion for painted decorations.

In Christian graves we are used to find all kinds of household ware, personal and toilet ornaments, coins, toys, and the like, given, quite in the spirit of antiquity, to the dead person to take with him from this life into the next; and in just the same spirit these subterranean chambers of sepulture are also adorned with a system of painted decoration intended to make them resemble the apartments of an earthly house.

It is precisely in the earliest cemeteries that a purely decorative style of painting is often found, which is undistinguishable from the usual work of antique house decorators. Graceful vine branches with Cupids adorn a ceiling in the oldest part of the Tomb of Domitilla, and in the same place remains of landscape have been found playing a part in wall-decoration. In the so-called Crypta Quadrata of the cemetery of Prætextatus, which is not quarried out of the stone but regularly vaulted, and of great antiquity, the four compartments of the ceiling contain only roses, asters, grapes, and laurel branches alive with birds—plants, that is, which probably symbolise the four seasons; and in the

lower zones corresponding subjects of daily life—flower-gathering, reapers at their work, vintage, and olive-gathering. The ante-chamber of the first catacomb at Naples contains, with a charming decorative division of the ceiling space, two fluttering doves with an olive branch in the central medallion, and round about this slender gazelles, panthers in the act of springing, little sea-horses, vases with roses, and birds balancing themselves on twigs. In the sequel, too, not only dolphins, birds, and masks, remain as regular elements of decoration, but even motives from classical mythology, as Tritons and little winged genii, are introduced frankly among the leaf ornaments. Along with these, however, shapes and images of Christian signification begin by degrees to make their appearance.

With the first Christian symbols as they appear incised, painted, or raised in relief on tombstones, vessels, and sarcophagi,—as the monogram of Christ , the T which was the oldest form of the cross, the ship as an emblem of the church, the fish, which, by a play upon the letters composing the word ἰχθύς, was intended to symbolise Christ,—with all these a history of painting has naturally nothing to do. They constituted no more than a kind of picture-writing, understood by the members of the community, and recalling to them the fundamental doctrines of their religion. But when the dove is turned into an emblem of the Christian soul, the lamb with the banner of victory into a symbol of Christ, when a flock of lambs is taken to represent the Apostles or a Christian community, the peacock immortality, the hart at the water-brooks the longing of the Christian for holiness, then the decorative and artistic point of view is involved as well as the religious. The ancient love of depicting animal life survives in these symbolic representations; for indeed such pictures of animals were customary in classical precedent before it pleased the Christian mind to discern in them symbols of special significance.

Besides these we soon find other symbols of religion which have assumed true pictorial form, and are designed with a true painter's motive. At first these are taken over direct from classical antiquity; particularly the two ever-recurring incidents of Orpheus and of the Good Shepherd, which appear as emblematical representations of Christ. Orpheus, in antique garb and wearing the Phrygian cap, sits on a rock and strikes his lute while tame or wild animals, especially lions, lie submissive at his feet, and thus stands as a symbol of the controlling power of the Christian doctrine (Fig. 43).[8] The subject of the shepherd carrying the lamb on his shoulders is painted with an allusion to Christ's parable of the Good Shepherd, but has its immediate precedent in the antique; namely, in those figures of every-day shepherds which we find both in Pompeian mural paintings and elsewhere, and in the statues of Hermes *Kriophoros*, *i.e.* Hermes carrying a ram on his shoulders as the protecting god of flocks and herds. One of the supposed Christian statues in

the Lateran is really an original Hermes of this kind. But in this instance only the formal part of the antique conception is respected, and no mythological connection is kept up between the Christian subject and its prototype. The shepherd appears in such Christian pictures as a youth of pleasant aspect in

Fig. 40.

country dress, generally with the attribute of the syrinx or shepherd's pipe, and at his feet the crook, besides milk-jars, and sometimes also lambs (Fig. 40). The constant repetition of such subjects was no doubt due to their agreeable character and peculiar fitness for decorative purposes. Again, just as banqueting scenes appear in antique tombs and on sarcophagi, so also we find like subjects depicted on the walls of Christian sepulchral chambers, with a symbolic refer-

ence to the happiness of the heavenly love-feast. A subject taken straight from real life is that of the fisher, with an allusion to Christ's similitude of the Apostles as fishers of men.

But besides these we find figures which belong exclusively to Christianity, and especially the figure of its Founder, which is brought before us not only in symbolic but in actual lineaments. However much some of the early Fathers might hold to the opinion that Christ had walked the earth as a servant, without form or comeliness, art was still too much imbued with the classical spirit of beauty to be at home in the treatment of such a conception. As no historical portrait of Christ was known, so artists did not endeavour to construct one, but set themselves to realise his divine nature, and accordingly created an ideal of a beardless, youthful Saviour, which approaches closely to the kindred types of the classical gods and heroes. In this likeness, and with short hair, Christ appears at the raising of Lazarus and other miracles. A rather different type, which is afterwards handed down through the art of the Middle Ages, appears on the gilt glasses found in the catacombs (of which we shall speak by and by), though not on their mural paintings; in this Christ appears in like manner youthful and bearded, but with long hair, which flows over the shoulders behind, and is cut in front in a smooth, straight line across the forehead. The bearded type becomes common in later times, but this we shall be able to study above ground, in the earliest mosaics, better and in a more original shape than in the catacombs.

Mary appears in the catacomb pictures as a Roman matron, generally praying with uplifted hands (*Orans, Adorante*). A similar figure with lambs at her feet, so as to form a kind of counterpart to the Good Shepherd, may however be equally well taken for a personification of the Church. Mary is also represented later as sitting with the Child in her lap, but even then she sometimes has her hands raised in prayer, without holding the Child, as in a picture in the cemetery of S. Agnes.

The Apostles, especially Peter and Paul, appear as ancient philosophers, without special attributes; but for these two are soon developed types which present a certain contrast to each other. Ecclesiastical writers on art have from this fact conjectured the existence of a tradition as to their personal appearance founded upon real portraits. An examination of the monuments shows us, on the contrary, whence the types in truth originate. The famous bronze statue of S. Peter, in his great church at Rome, the object of such veneration that in the course of centuries the foot has been worn away by the kisses of the faithful, is in fact an antique statue of a consul, which has been transformed into a Peter; it has curling hair and a thick, closely-cut beard, characteristics which have accordingly been retained ever since in figures of Peter, while to Paul, simply for the sake of contrast, has been assigned smooth hair and a long beard. The prophets were in like manner depicted after the type of ancient philosophers, with scrolls of writing.

The dress of the sacred personages in these paintings is the Roman tunic with the pallium thrown over it, and sandals on the naked feet. The simpler philosopher's habit consisting of the pallium only, which leaves the upper part of the body bare on one side, appears only occasionally in early pictures. The nimbus or glory round the head, for which also there exists antique precedent, as it had been in use for divinities since Alexander, and afterwards for human potentates,[4] appears round the head of Christ for the first time in the fourth century, and later round those of Saints also; after which a cross comes to be generally drawn for distinction upon the nimbus of the Saviour.

The choice of scenes from the Old and New Testament, in which the figures of Christian tradition appear, is as yet but limited. The properly pictorial motives in Scripture are not yet discovered. Painting is not yet epic, but only symbolic; it does not seek to set forth actions or events, but only to draw the Christian mind to the contemplation of certain doctrinal conceptions, certain fundamental religious ideas, and especially to the virtues of the sacraments. The Passion of Christ, which in later times becomes the dominant theme of Christian art, is not represented here, and it is particularly to be remarked that no picture of the Crucifixion appears before the seventh century. The shrinking of Early Christian art from subjects of martyrdom is an after-note of classical feeling, to which it was repugnant to exhibit a deity in the moment of humiliation and of capital punishment in its most shameful form. Christ is depicted in his supernatural power, in his ministry on earth, and especially in the performance of his miracles. So the man sick of the palsy, who takes up his bed and walks, bears testimony to the purifying power of baptism; the raising of Lazarus, to redemption and the victory over death; the multiplication of loaves, or the miracle at the marriage of Cana, to the sacrament of the Eucharist. Subjects from the Old Testament also are chosen with symbolic reference to the Christian doctrines. The fall of Adam and Eve testifies to the sinfulness of man. The story of Noah is not exhibited in regular pictures, but he is represented standing half out of an ark (which is only conventionally indicated by a small chest open at the top), and holding in his hands an olive branch and dove symbolical of the divine peace insured by baptism. The same sacrament is typified by Moses striking water from the rock (Fig. 41), or again by Peter in the same position as leader of the new Israel. Moses loosing his shoes from off his feet before the bush seems to shadow forth the holy fear inspired by the Christian mysteries. The prophet Jonah, cast forth by a dragon-like fish, is the oft-recurring type of the Resurrection of Christ. Jonah is also often shown resting under the gourd and waiting in vain for the destruction of Nineveh, probably as a warning symbol to those who murmur against the dispensations of God. The events from the story of Jonah are sometimes depicted in a connected cycle. Abraham in the act of offering up Isaac typifies the death of Christ. David as conqueror is also a type of Christ. Daniel naked in the lion's den, and the three young

men in the fiery furnace, are symbols of trust in the divine help in time of need.

Christianity has also a class of ritual or devotional pictures of its own no less than Pagan antiquity. The efficacy of the sacraments is extolled not only by means of Scripture stories, but by illustrations of the liturgical actions

Fig. 41.

themselves; for instance, the imposition of hands by the priest, or the consecration of the bread, with the emblematic fish lying beside it on the table.

The every-day personage of the grave-digger, *fossor*, occasionally occurs; sometimes in a modestly subordinate character; sometimes standing above his own grave with lamp and pick-axe in his hand, like the grave-digger Diogenes of our illustration (Fig. 42). For the rest, it had been, as we know, the custom of antiquity to indicate the rank and position of the deceased on his tomb, and by pictures of implements the craft which he plied. Finally, although the sufferings of martyrs were not represented, we seem to recognise, in a picture

in the catacombs of S. Callixtus, a member of the Christian confession before the tribunal.

In the division of the space to be decorated, the extravagantly fanciful kind of pseudo-architectural device which we found in the Pompeian wall-paintings has no place in the Catacombs. The pictures are enclosed and the space laid out in compartments and with borders of the simplest design, as stripes or astragalus or leaf-patterns. But the general aspect of an ordinary

Fig. 42.

chamber is kept up in the decoration of these Christian just as much as in that of the earlier Pagan tombs. The *arcosolia*, or niched recesses vaulted with a semicircular arch, in which the sarcophagi are ranged on either wall, the ceilings, the wall-surfaces themselves when they are not too much broken up by openings made to receive the dead, combine to form a properly related whole; and the ceiling in especial affords opportunity for a complete harmonious design. Such designs are composed about a centre, with a strictly architectural division of the parts. Thus, on a ceiling in the cemetery of Domitilla (Fig. 43), Orpheus appears in an octagonal central panel, and the eight compartments which surround this octagon, and of which the outer margins form so many sections of a circle, contain the following subjects:—David with the sling, Moses striking the rock, Daniel in the lion's den, the raising of Lazarus, and alter-

nately with these Scripture scenes are four compartments with figures of animals, namely oxen and rams. The ceiling from the cemetery of S. Agnes, the central picture of which is the Good Shepherd of our previous illustration (Fig. 40), contains, in four rectangular compartments surrounding an *Orans*, or Virgin in prayer, the Fall of Man, Moses striking the rock, and Jonah sleeping under the gourd; in the angles there are, in separate compartments, birds perching on branches, tall vases rise next to these, and light leaf ornaments as well as doves symmetrically balancing each other form a circle round the

Fig. 43.

centre-piece. The antechamber of the second catacomb at Naples shows in the centre an octagon, with a hovering Victory holding a palm-branch. The skilfully divided outer compartments contain winged genii with banderoles, female figures winged and hovering, masks, vases of flowers, vines, griffins, lions, gazelles, sea-horses, and in three larger pictures, the Fall of Man, then (as it seems) the Sower of the parable, and finally a representation, as yet unexplained, of three damsels building a tower. The second-century ceiling of S. Lucina, reproduced by De Rossi (Fig. 44), contained in the centre a picture, now almost destroyed, representing probably the Good Shepherd, and surrounded alternately with two other pictures of the Good Shepherd, and two of the Virgin in prayer; but besides these, within exquisitely designed compart-

ments, we see branches with leaves and flowers, birds, masks, and floating genii, such as appear on the walls of Pompeii. The element of Christian doctrine insinuates itself here but very discreetly, and indeed in a manner hardly perceptible to the uninitiated.

Hitherto it has been generally thought that in the selection and composition of separate scenes the symbolical principle was uppermost, and that each cycle

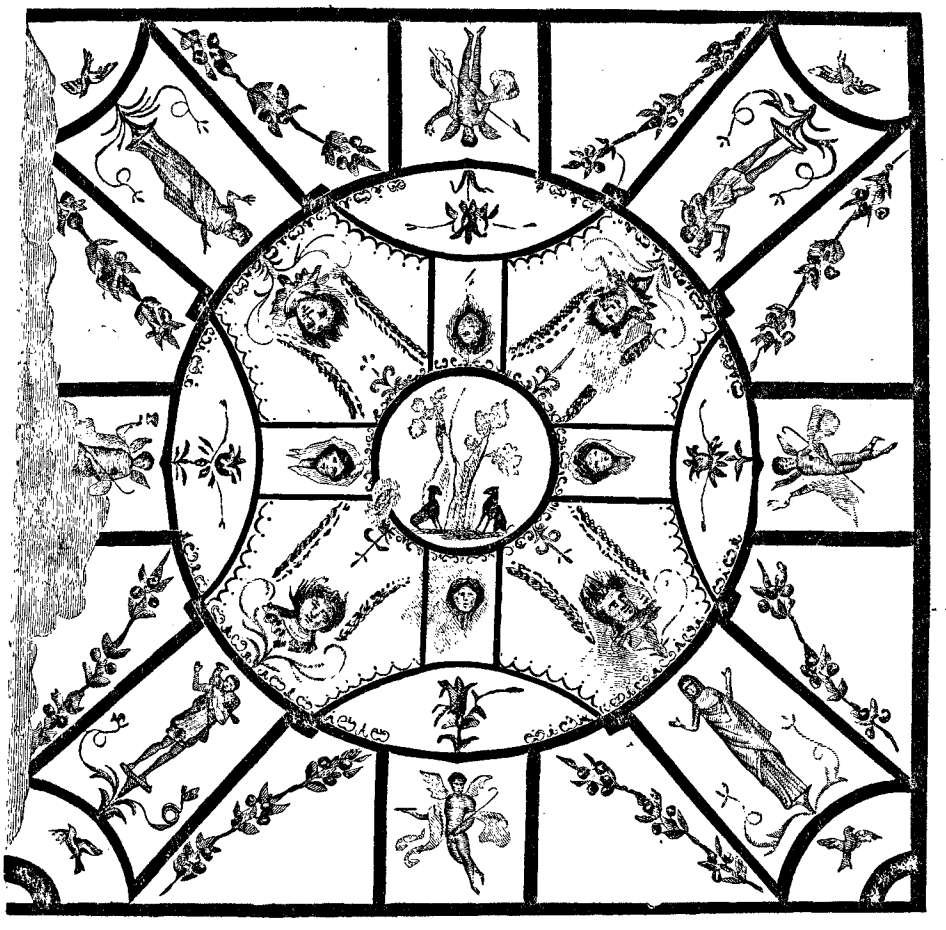

Fig. 44.

of pictures formed a kind of religious puzzle, or sermon skilfully composed in the characters of art. But a comparison of these with other antique wall-paintings goes far to qualify this supposition, and leads to the conclusion that here also the purely decorative purpose counted for a good deal. Recent studies have established the existence in ancient wall-paintings of a principle of formal symmetry according to which subjects are often placed together without reference to any inward correspondence of meaning between them, but simply because by their external correspondence they serve to balance each other in the composition

(see above, p. 138). This principle we find still at work in the catacombs. The commentators have hitherto searched for some mystic inner connection between the Raising of Lazarus and Moses striking the rock. The reader, however, has only to look at the illustration (Fig. 43) to perceive how the correspondence of the two motives—in each case a draped figure with the right arm similarly raised in the act of miracle—was of itself enough to determine the choice of the irrelative positions. There is just the same sort of correspondence between the nude figure of Daniel and the heroic youthful David. Neither is it necessary to look for any symbolic intention in the animal subjects of this same ceiling; it may rather be taken for granted that the bull and the ram, which appear each of them once standing and once reposing, form simply part of a scheme of landscape and figure decoration without ulterior meaning. Again, with regard to the correspondence of the subjects of Jonah and the Fall, on the second ceiling which we have described, there is at least the coincidence that both involve the representations of naked figures under a tree. When we find Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the furnace continually balanced with the Adoration of the Magi, we must seek the reason in the fact that in each case the personages are three in number and wear the same kind of Asiatic costume —Phrygian caps, short tunics, and trousers. It is true that the object of spiritual teaching was not forgotten, but within this general scope the decorative artist was allowed greater freedom at this early period of Christian art than afterwards.

The paintings of the catacombs have suffered sorely. Many have been destroyed in the attempt to remove them; what remains is perishing more and more, and can be seen in no sufficient light. Such as they are, however, these paintings possess a significance and a charm which it is impossible not to feel. The men who worked in the catacombs were not artists; they were simple handicraftsman, but the artistic tradition of antiquity still lingered in their practice. The same men would probably have used more care and finish in work done above ground. In these sepulchral chambers, lighted but dimly by occasional shafts or lamps, they did not employ the finished Greco-Roman method of painting on a carefully laid preparation, but contented themselves with a rapid mode of execution on a dry ground (*al secco*). They never thought of making special studies for the task at any given time before them, or of going back to nature, but worked quickly with an assured routine, a broad and bold conduct of the outlines, and a vague handling which did not pause over details. But in this decorative style they still wrought with some of the old skill. They still possessed some of the true antique feeling for the human form; their proportions are generally good, and even their treatment of the nude is often competent enough, witness many of their figures of Daniel; Moses putting off his shoes beside the burning bush often bears a lingering resemblance to the ancient statues of Hermes fastening his sandal; even Jonah as he lies or crouches naked under his gourd is often a figure, however imperfectly carried

through, yet quite naturally and flowingly designed. Many figures of *Adoranti* retain a classic charm in their carriage, gesture, and inclination of the head. In spite of conventionalised detail, not a few draped figures, like the Moses of Fig. 41, are marked by a real nobility of style. Simple situations, for which the artists often recur to ancient models, are constantly repeated, and exhibit attitudes and movements of agreeable liveliness and artistic freedom. With a happy linear arrangement, and much skill in adapting the composition to the space to be filled, we find in the earlier period comparatively few serious faults in foreshortening, perspective, and the like. The elements of the composition, it is true, are extremely restricted, and all the harder problems of the art, all complication of background and representation of retreating planes, are avoided. A traditional feeling for light and shade enables the workman to model his figure sufficiently if not powerfully; his animal forms are still fairly well understood; the trees, which, together with the ground on which the figures stand, are introduced to indicate an open-air scene of action, are treated in a somewhat generic but still natural manner. The execution is proportioned to the conditions of the task, and it is only later that rudeness of handling and uncouthness of form prevail. The colouring is clear and harmonious upon a uniform light ground.

The chief, the essential charm of the decorations of these sepulchral chambers, consists in their blithe serenity; they are as cheerful as if they had been designed for living households. Death is thought of here with no admixture of terror, no touch of gloom or self-abasement; and this is specifically a note not of the Christian but of the classic genius. If there is allusion to the mysteries of redemption, it is an allusion that comes gently upon the spirit in comforting and poetic symbols.

Besides the art of mural painting, there is another variety of graphic art which it is proper in this place to mention briefly. Among the most valuable objects found in the catacombs are those of gilt glass (*pondi d'oro*), usually bottoms of goblets, dating from the third or fourth century. These are figured with subjects of the simplest kind—heads or single figures of Apostles, Peter and Paul as a pair, Scriptural scenes like those of the wall-paintings, figures of deceased persons, above whom the Saviour holds the crown of Life, and also profane subjects such as hunting scenes or a victor on his chariot.[5] Glass paintings properly so called these are not, but drawings scratched with a point on a leaf of thin gold laid upon a round of glass, and then covered with another round which is fused by heat into a single substance with the first.

To sum up our observations on the paintings of the catacombs: they contain no trace of any artistic tendency that can be called specifically or distinctively Christian. We cannot even assent to the opinion that in these works it is possible to discern a superiority of Christian over contemporary Pagan art, a superiority resting on the difference between the Christian and

Pagan conceptions of the universe ; still less that in the Christian representations the pictorial element and the perspective element play a greater part than in the others.[6] Our conclusion rather remains that only in the nature of the subjects with which the painter had to deal does a new element, a specifically Christian element, enter in ; while into his practical mode of embodying them there enters no such element, and with all its imperfections the style of these early Christian paintings does not break through or depart from the circle of classic art.

But the earliest of these paintings are the best, and they deteriorate with the general deterioration of classic culture. Early Christian painting, like the contemporary art of the Empire in general, is the art of a decadence, and it shares the general history of that decadence. For this the presence of Christianity is not responsible ; the break-up of the old world was rather a break-up from within. The inheritance of Greek culture was an external possession ; upon its inward secret the Roman world had lost its hold. The tradition of art was handed on more and more superficially ; each generation loosened more and more its hold upon antiquity's true grasp of nature, which was no longer kept up by the habit of study at first hand in contact with the sources of reality. The trick of reproducing forms from mere memory is followed by indifference to structural truth, next perishes the knowledge of the forms themselves, next goes soundness of workmanship and the dexterous practice of the hand. The neglect of nature was indeed a habit which Christianity, though it did not introduce, encouraged, because it was of the essence of Christianity to lay more stress upon the meaning of the symbol than upon its form. We are now approaching the point when all the conquests made by Greece in the kingdom of painting, its style and its conditions, through centuries of development, had been thrown away little by little, and when a posterity which knew not of those conquests had brought back the art to its infancy.

CHAPTER II.

MOSAICS.

ROME BEFORE A.D. 550—Practice of mosaic derived by Early Christian from Pagan art; examples in the catacombs—Mosaic applied to the interior decoration of churches—Mosaic designed and executed by different hands—Purely ornamental character of Christian mosaic till after the time of Constantine—Introduction of doctrinal representations; S. Nilus—Fine example in the Church of S. Pudentiana—Type of Christ in mosaic pictures—Temporary revival of art under Constantine and his successors—Mosaics at S. Sabina—Decline of the classic spirit in Christian art—Mosaics in *Santa Maria Maggiore*—In the basilica of S. Paul—Calamities of the fifth century; temporary return of prosperity under the Ostrogothic rule—Mosaics of SS. Cosmas and Damian—Influence of antique sculpture—Symmetry of design; approach of formalism—Other examples of mosaic in Milan and Naples, and especially at RAVENNA—Rome the true centre of the art; but the Ravenna mosaics the more connected and the better preserved—*San Giovanni in fonte*—SS. Nazarus and Celsus—No sign of Arian heresy in mosaics of Arian baptistery (*Santa Maria in Cosmedin*)—*San Apollinare Nuovo;* mosaics both of the Arian and the orthodox period—S. Vitalis; portrait groups; Bible pictures—A falling off from earlier work—Influences of barbarism and monachism—Growing monotony and rigidity—Nothing specifically Byzantine in the work of this age in Italy—BYZANTIUM; influences of the court and of classical models—S. George of Thessalonica—Monastery of Mount Sinai—Lost mosaics of secular and historical subjects—Mosaics of purely ornamental design; their increasing frequency after the iconoclastic schism—ITALY AFTER JUSTINIAN—Mosaics of *San Apollinare in Classe* at Ravenna—Mosaics of this period at Rome—*San Lorenzo fuor le mura*—S. Theodore—S. Agnes—Oratory of S. Venantius.

ROME BEFORE A.D. 550.—Ancient Christian art possessed no perfection which was not handed down to it from classical antiquity, and from antiquity also it derived the technical knowledge of mosaic.[7] Though most of the ancient mosaics that exist were pavements or floor decorations, still this art had been occasionally employed for wall decorations as well, even in Pagan antiquity; and its employment in this manner became far more frequent in Early Christian art, which could not shake off the increased tone of material splendour characteristic of the decline of the Roman period. Even in the catacombs a number of ornamental pavements in a purely classic style have been found, and besides these, isolated instances of real mosaic pictures, such as the medallions with the portrait busts of Flavius Julius Julianus and his wife Maria Simplicia from the cemetery of S. Cyriacus. These bear the true character of Roman fourth-century portraiture; they are now in the Chigi Library.

At this time the art of mosaic was developed for use above ground also, and obtained a new importance as an architectural decoration. The ancient temple with its outer steps and colonnades had given open welcome to the approach of men. Not so the new Christian house of God, which stands close-walled and

silent, and only when you are within begins to reveal pomp and splendour. The upper walls of its nave are carried upon marble columns, taken in many instances from antique monuments; all spans not vaulted are covered with a coffered roofing enriched with bronze and gilding; the floor and wainscoting are inlaid with marble mosaic in large patterns symmetrically worked out (*opus tesselatum* and *opus sectile*), while the upper wall-surfaces are decorated with figure designs executed in another method of mosaic, by laying together minute cubes of stone or glass. This completes the rich effect of the interior. In the circular form of church, these mosaic decorations cover alike the central dome and the vaultings of the surrounding gallery and of the niches. In the basilica form, they spread over the inner side of the entrance wall; they range down the long parallels of the side walls above the nave arcades, between and above the windows; they climb, if the basilica has a transept, above the transept arch; they gleam upon the arch of the tribune, and lastly find their goal and termination in the semi-dome of the apse. The same kind of decoration sometimes occurs on the external face of the building also.

Mosaic, though it may constitute a monumental and almost unalterable form of decoration, is of course no art directly practised by the hand of the creative artist, but only a laborious industry which, by fitting together innumerable minute blocks, produces a copy of an artist's original design or coloured cartoon. Still the quality of the work is less slight and common here than in the paintings of the catacombs. The mosaic workers may proceed mechanically, but not so flimsily and carelessly as the decorative painters; the choice and arrangement of the pattern is not left to them; they work rather under strict artistic control, and from models which represent the best skill of their time.

At first there prevails a purely ornamental character in the style of the classic wall-paintings, as we may see in the Roman monuments of the time of Constantine or his immediate successors. In the Baptistery of the Lateran, an apse of the former entrance-hall shows golden tendrils beautifully designed, and amidst them doves and other Christian symbols on a dark blue ground.[8] In the Baptistery outside the Porta Pia, which afterwards became the memorial chapel of Constantia the daughter of Constantine (*d.* A.D. 354), the vaulted roof of the gallery is decorated to imitate a pleasant vine-arbour at vintage-time, with little winged genii sporting about, loading wains or pressing fruit; there are also birds, busts, a figure of Psychê, and side by side with all these appear such unmistakable Christian symbols as the lamb with the milk-jars and the cross. The mosaic in the dome too, which has long ago perished, was decoratively divided by Caryatids, which formed in a manner the ribs of the dome, and from which classical ornaments ascended; between these were Scriptural or symbolical representations, and as a lower border, a strip of sea with fish, water-fowl, and genii sailing in boats and throwing nets.[9]

This decorative style, with its playful symbolism, did not in the long run suit the seriousness of the Christian spirit. When S. Nilus (A.D. 450) was consulted about the decoration of a church, he rejected as childish and unworthy the intended design of plants, birds, animals, and a number of crosses, and desired the interior to be adorned with pictures from the Old and New Testament, with the same motive that Gregory II. expressed afterwards in the following words:—"Painting is employed in churches for this reason, that those who are ignorant of the Scriptures may at least see on the walls what they are unable to read in books."[10] From this time accordingly church pictures become no longer purely decorative; they serve for edification, for instruction, for devotion. With this object Christian art makes the great step from mere symbolic suggestion to real representation.

Pictures of this kind appear in the Roman basilicas from the end of the fourth century, which is the earliest date that can be assigned to the most beautiful of all the mosaics in Rome, that namely, in the apse of S. Pudentiana, on the Esquiline. In other such cases a verbose inscription in verse usually names the donor, and makes certain of the date; this is wanting here, but we know that a restoration of the church was effected under Pope Siricius (*d.* A.D. 398). In the centre of the mosaic a bearded Christ sits enthroned, his right hand lifted in the act of teaching, an open book in his left; a little lower down sit the Apostles in a semicircle (now only ten in number, since a restoration of the church in A.D. 1588); their gestures and features are full of expression, as if they were moved and inspired by the words of Christ. The two women standing behind them with wreaths in their hands evidently stand for the Church of the Gentiles and the Church of the Jews, and have reference to Peter and Paul, who sit next to the Saviour.[11] The figures in this composition are distinguished by felicitous arrangement, by the union of freedom with severe symmetry, by a vital pictorial interdependence of the several figures; while a background is provided in the shape of an open semicircular hall or court, above which rise stately buildings. On a hill immediately above the figure of the Saviour rises a huge cross ornamented with precious stones; and in the air float the symbols of the Evangelists (Fig. 45).

The bearded type of Christ is here particularly noticeable, as this is one of the earliest instances where it occurs. The origin of this new conception, which takes its place side by side with the beardless ideal type, is not ascertained. It is impossible not to recognise that there were points of resemblance between the antique conception of Zeus and the Christian idea of the Deity; and these will not have failed to influence the embodiments of art. Still, any direct transference of the type of Zeus to Christ must be considered quite exceptional. Witness the legend (referred to A.D. 462) of a painter whose hands withered away because he gave the features of Jupiter to a picture of Christ.[12] In looking at a picture like this of Christ in the character of teacher, we

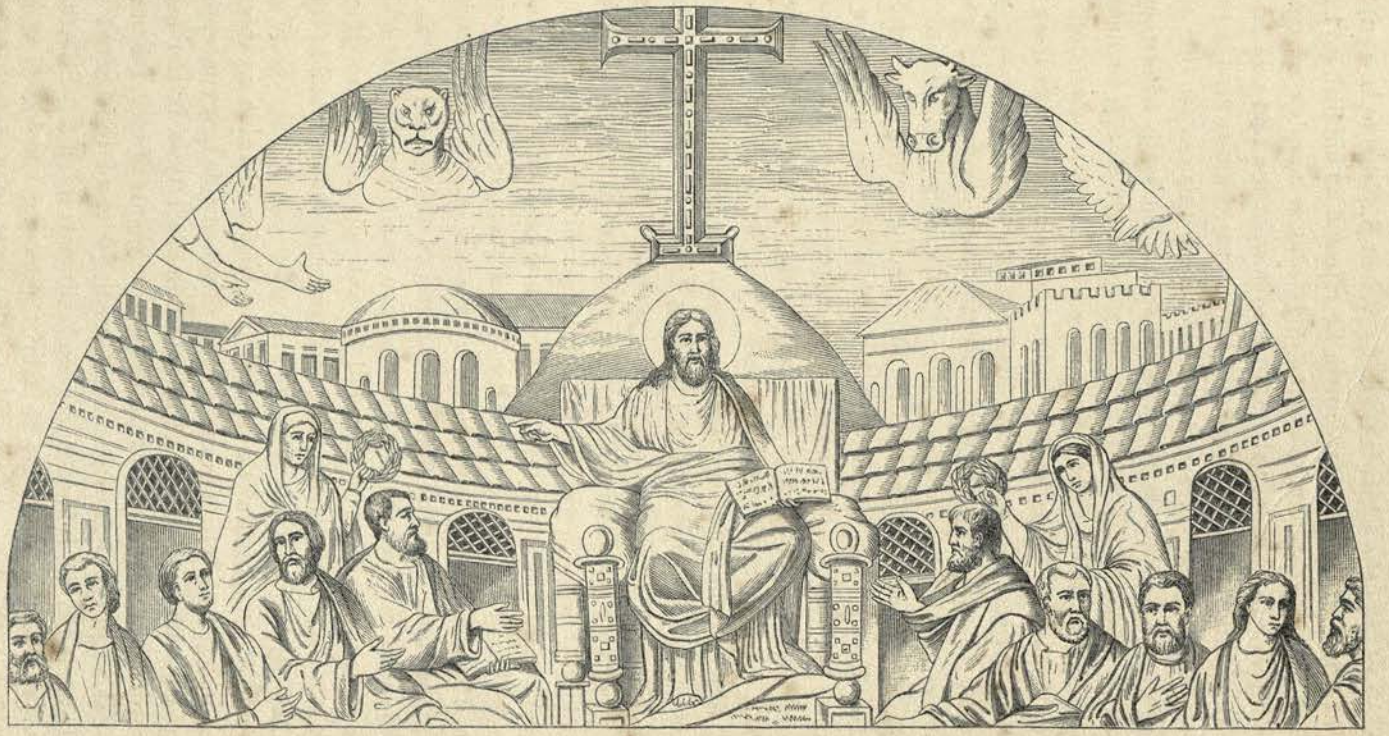

Fig. 45.

rather feel that some type of an ancient philosopher has been taken for a model. The bearded Christ occurs more frequently in the fifth century; but the representation continues to fluctuate until at last the classic cast of features disappears, and a severe and solemn type, with lofty forehead, short parted beard, and long hair, becomes established for good and all. He is still represented sometimes with light hair, and sometimes with dark. The latter mode was founded on a description of Christ's person in the letter of Lentulus, a forgery of the Middle Age. The head in S. Pudentiana has, however, but little in common with this type. It is just as classical as the style, the drawing, the cast of drapery especially, and all the other features of this mosaic.

In presence of a creation like this mosaic we cannot but perceive, not only that the decadence of antique art since the time of Constantine has come to a temporary halt, but even that a certain new impulse has made itself felt. This was indeed no mere matter of chance, but the consequence of conscious care and encouragement. The increased activity of architecture, more especially its activity in raising structures destined for the service of the new religion, had aroused a demand for better-trained powers. Libanius relates how in his time the young men forsook the schools of the rhetoricians and philosophers at Antioch, and streamed in crowds to the studios of the painters.[13] Laws were enacted by Constantine (A.D. 334 and 337) to promote the training of architects, and to grant them specific exemptions, as well as to painters, sculptors, and workers in mosaic. In A.D. 375 the Emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian promulgated an edict granting important privileges to "professors of painting."[14] The schools of art now once more encouraged the observance of traditions; strictness of discipline and academical training were the objects kept in view; and the student was taught to work not independently by study from nature, but according to the precedent of the best classical models. The mosaic of S. Pudentiana illustrates the result of all this renewed activity. As the remains we have of classic painting are merely subordinate and decorative, we cannot precisely tell what relation a work like this mosaic bore to the best paintings of the later classic period. We may perhaps assume that it had some advantage over these from the sincerity and conviction with which the artist had grasped the spiritual meaning of his subject. It reminds the modern spectator of the best works of the Renascence.

Next in chronological order come the mosaics of the great basilica of S. Sabina on the Aventine. These belong to the time of Pope Celestine I. (A.D. 422-433); the only portions preserved consist of the marble incrustations above the nave arcades, and a mosaic on the inside of the entrance-hall, consisting of a large dedicatory inscription in gold on a blue ground, enclosed between two female figures of fine proportions and draped with classical dignity on a gold ground; these are personifications (as the inscription states) of the Church of the Jews and the Church of the Gentiles.

Immediately after this time the classical style began to lose its purity. During the gradual decline of Rome and the ever-increasing decay of antique culture, the mastery over form diminishes, but at the same time the Christian spirit grows more at home in its own characteristic range of ideas, and the circle of subjects embodied by Christian art becomes more extended. Thus narrative pictures from history begin to make their appearance, though as yet they only occupy a modest position compared with those which merely exhibit types and personages without action, and which we shall therefore call, by way of distinction, exhibitive pictures,—a position, namely, by themselves in a frieze over the upper windows of the nave.

In the basilica of *Santa Maria Maggiore* this cycle of narrative scenes above the windows dates (except for some few subjects introduced later) as far back as the time of Sixtus III. (A.D. 432-440). On one side we have the history of our first parents, on the other that of Moses and Joshua. The treatment still has echoes of an antique feeling, akin to that of the reliefs on the column of Trajan, but the work is without coherence in the composition, and on too small a scale for proper effect. The pictures of the arch of the tribune are enclosed in like manner in small separate compartments, arranged in four rows. The throne of God, the symbol of his omnipotence, occupies the centre over the crown of the arch between Peter and Paul; then follow scenes from the infancy of Christ, beginning with the Annunciation to the Virgin, which balances that to Zachariah; lastly, underneath, the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem represented by groups of walls and buildings.[15]

Next in point of date should come the transept arch in the great basilica of S. Paul, which, according to the inscription, received its mosaic decorations under Pope Leo I. (about A.D. 440) through the instrumentality of Galla Placidia, sister of the Emperor Honorius. The impression this work produces in its present condition is highly barbaric for such a date. It was, no doubt, much restored after the great fire of 1823, but even in reproductions made before that it seems to show a character unusual at that early period. It consists of a single composition from the Apocalypse; in the centre is a colossal bust of Christ encircled by a rainbow; at each side are the symbols of the Evangelists, and under them the four-and-twenty elders holding out their crowns; and last and lowest, Peter and Paul.[16] The personage of Christ, represented with a beard, a low forehead, eyes sloping down at an angle towards the nose, heavy upper lip and moustache growing too high, is intended to have a leonine majesty, but to our eyes borders on the ogreish. The gigantic scale of the picture is designed to supply the spiritual greatness which has been missed. The bowed figures are stiff, the colouring monotonous, and the gold ground unusual for this period, though it appears again in the vaulting of the little chapel of S. John the Evangelist in the Baptistery of the Lateran, which received under Pope Hilarius (A.D. 461-468) a purely decorative mosaic ornament of the earlier kind, with flowers, fruits, birds, and the Lamb of God in the centre.[17]

During the fifth century, while state and city declined more and more, while the prosperity of the few perished with that of the many, and Rome herself had twice undergone the horrors of plunder at the hands of Visigoths and Vandals, one power held out hard against the storms—the Church. Her wealth, especially in landed property, was increased by the gifts of the faithful, and she was able to bind faster than ever to her service whatever remained of declining artistic talent in Rome. When presently, after repeated devastations of Italy, after the fall of the Western Empire and a period of complete disorganisation, peaceful and orderly conditions returned, coupled with a deliberate pursuit of classic culture, under the rule of the Ostrogothic kings, the art of Rome revived also. Thus it came to pass that under Pope Felix III. (A.D. 526-530) a work could be produced such as the mosaics of the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian in the Forum.[18] In the arch of the tribune appear the Lamb of the Apocalypse on the throne between the seven candlesticks, angels, the symbols of the Evangelists, and fragmentary figures of the elders. The Apocalypse is at this time the favourite source for representations of the Church triumphant, a subject in which the cycle of mosaic pictures generally culminated at this point of the building. The picture in the apse follows that of the tribune-arch, forming the quiet close of the series, and generally taking the shape of a simple dedicatory picture, in which were figured, besides the Redeemer, who remains the principal personage, the patron saint and the founder of the church. In the present case Christ appears not, as at S. Pudentiana, enthroned, but uplifted on clouds. His gesture is full of power, and he alone wears the nimbus. To his feet draw near Peter and Paul, leading forward Cosmas and Damian; and at the extremity of the composition, on either side the founder, Pope Felix (this figure has been restored) and S. Theodore, behind whom rises a palm-tree. On one of the trees sits a phœnix crowned with a star, a symbol of immortality borrowed by Christian art from antiquity. A frieze-like border under the principal picture contains the Lamb of God standing on a rocky ground above the four rivers of Paradise, and approached by twelve lambs, symbolising the Apostles, who draw near from the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem (Fig. 46). The ground is blue with a slight indication of clouds, and a golden glory at the top. The importance of the principal figure is symbolically enhanced by the large scale on which it is drawn. Cosmas and Damian on their parts are somewhat smaller than the Apostles, to whom they are to be regarded as subordinate. The bearded figure of Christ already bears the stamp of the later type, and no longer shows the free classical character which gives us pleasure in the mosaic of S. Pudentiana. The types of the other figures, too, are severe, reserved, and almost gloomy. The attitudes, with all their fixed solemnity, are still expressive and not devoid of freedom, the draperies antique, excepting that of the two saints of date then recent, who wear a contemporary costume overladen with

ornament and without nobility of cast. A careful study of nature is still apparent in the lambs of the lower border. But what we miss in this picture, if we compare it with that of S. Pudentiana, is the true pictorial arrangement, the vital connection of the single figures with one another in the composition, the appropriate relations of the figures to their background.

The antique models in use at this time were evidently chiefly works of sculpture. According to Cassiodorus, there were still existing in Rome, in the

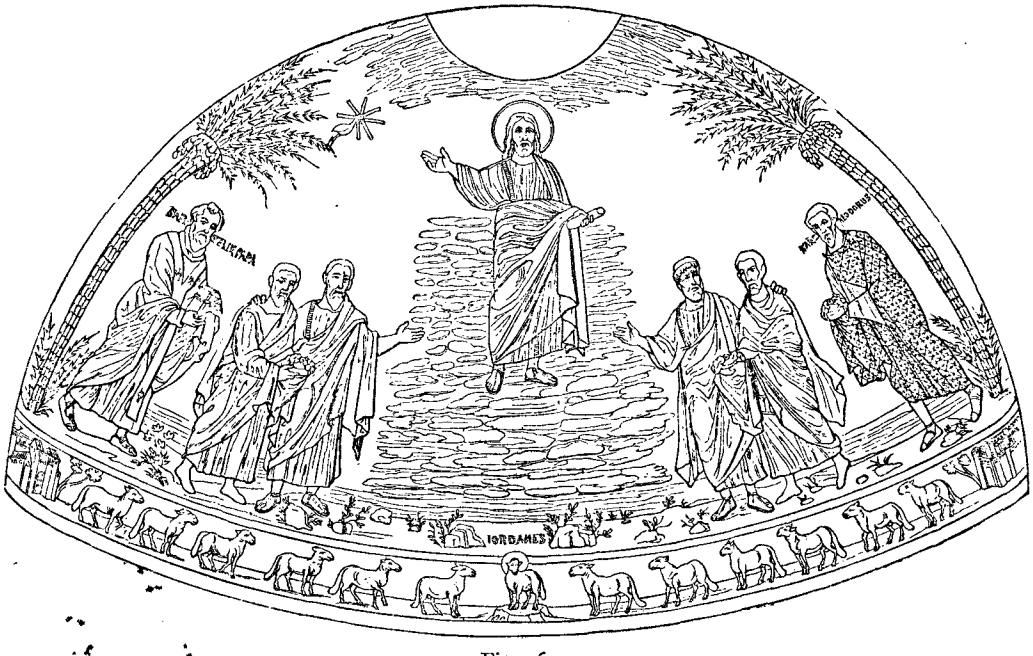

Fig. 46.

time of Theodoric, a whole population of statues. Antique statues of gods, orators, and consuls have been the favourite models preferred for these Christian figures, in motives, attitudes, and gestures, as well as in drapery. An exclusively statuesque style gradually develops itself in mosaic design; the drawing and modelling of single figures are still excellent, but the instinct for perspective arrangement disappears, and with it the sense of the characteristic differences between sculpture and painting. It had taken centuries of development for Greek art to find its way to the formation of a complete pictorial style; and this conquest was destined now to be lost in the hands of a race still governed by classical traditions. Nearly a thousand years had to pass away before the art of Christendom was to be in a position to win back again what had been thus lost; and in order to do so, it had to begin once more at the very beginning, and again repeat all the stages of a primitive practice.

In the basilica of SS. Cosmas and Damian, and in the monuments of the period immediately following, we find single figures of much power arranged in strict

symmetry and exactly balanced. No community of action, nothing but a community of meaning and nature, connects the figures; they stand merely exhibiting themselves severally before us, and seem to be conscious that the eyes of the community, nay, of all Christendom, are upon them. Architectural or landscape backgrounds, such as were formerly customary, are to be found no longer. It is only when the beauties of Paradise are to be expressly symbolised that we see a meadow studded with flowers, graceful palm-trees rising symmetrically aloft, and four springs issuing from the ground in the centre to typify the four rivers. The characteristic aim of the designer is, however, to let his figures appear without any surroundings either on a dark blue ground, as in the present case, or on a gold ground, as in S. Pudentiana. But with the full development of this style the danger of stiffening into formalism is already at hand. Among Roman mosaics, that in SS. Cosmas and Damian is the last of real artistic value; immediately after this begins the distinct decline of Early Christian art.

II.—RAVENNA.—Mosaics of the classical period of Early Christian art are also preserved in other Italian towns. In Milan the chapel of S. Satirus off the church of S. Ambrose, and of S. Aquilinus off that of S. Lawrence, contain noteworthy mosaics of the fifth century.[19] In Naples the stunted dome of the small square Baptistery of *San Giovanni in fonte*, close to the cathedral, though spoilt by restoration, deserves notice for its rich decorations; it belongs to the time of Bishop Vincentius, the latter half of the sixth century. Festoons of fruit, rich ornaments, and birds, form the border of the figure composition, a small part of which only is preserved.[20] Lastly, Ravenna became a distinguished seat of Italian art after Honorius, on the invasion of the Visigoths, had transferred thither the Imperial residence (A.D. 404). In no other place can we now find such a complete and connected illustration of the Christian art of this period.[21]

The Ravenna mosaics produce such a powerful impression that those at Rome are often depreciated in comparison with them. Nevertheless, Rome was always the chief centre of this art in Italy, and it was from Rome that Ravenna received her first impulse to artistic activity; so that the development as well as the decadence of the art are subject in both places to the same conditions. The opinion expressed by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, that Ravenna exhibits a superiority due to its closer connection with the Greek world, is neither confirmed by an examination of the monuments, nor sufficiently established by history. But Ravenna is important for this reason, that its monuments were neither so much devastated in later times, nor so spoilt by showy restorations, as were those of the Imperial city. The mosaics of Ravenna are for the most part better preserved, and they form a more connected series, than those at Rome.

Thus at the outset we find in the Baptistery of the orthodox, *San Giovanni in fonte*, what we should rarely seek for in Rome,—a well-preserved example of a complete scheme of interior decoration on a large scale.[22] This dome-rooofed octagonal structure (of the time of Bishop Neo, about A.D. 425-430) contains in the spandrils of its lower arcades some vine ornamentation of complete beauty, and in each division an oval with an excellent draped figure of a Saint, very greatly superior to similar draped figures in plaster which stand between the arcades of the upper story. On the border at the spring of the dome, the mosaic begins again, first with a frieze containing a series of views of colonnaded churches, each with a nave and two aisles, which are intended as symbols of the church itself; then on the vaulting, the twelve Apostles in a circle, who, with crowns in their hands, close in towards one another in a solemn ring. Over their heads hang draperies, and between them spring up conventionalised flowers to indicate that the scene is laid in Paradise; their heads have the individual character of Roman portraits. The round in the middle is occupied with the baptism of Christ. In the figure of John the Baptist, the knowledge of the human form and the nobility and expressiveness of gesture are astonishing. The Jordan is personified in antique fashion as a river-god.

The mosaics in the church of SS. Nazarus and Celsus are of equal artistic value; this church had been a sepulchral chapel of the Empress-Regent Galla Placidia (*d.* A.D. 450), who had erected it during her own lifetime.[23] The dome over the intersection of nave and transept contains a cross and the symbols of the four Evangelists; the transepts themselves are decorated with figures of Apostles. The field of the arch over the end wall of the choir is divided by a window, on the right side of which is S. Lawrence walking towards the glowing stake and bearing a cross on his shoulder; the representation of the actual martyrdom is thus avoided; on the left side is a shrine with the four Evangelists. The finest picture is that which fills the arch over the entrance. The Good Shepherd, clad in golden tunic and purple mantle, sits reposing amid a rocky coast-landscape, the left hand raised to hold the golden cross-surmounted staff, the right stretched with a kindly gesture across the bosom to caress a lamb. The animals are more inadequately treated than in SS. Cosmas and Damian in Rome, but the principal figure still exhibits an antique sweep and flow of line (Fig. 47). Here the Good Shepherd is represented not only as a symbol of redemption, but as the personal Christ himself; as is shown by his nimbus, cross, and solemn attitude, in contrast to the every-day aspect which he wears in the catacombs. The ground is blue throughout; vine branches, garlands, and meander ornaments form the border.

The vigorous artistic activity of Ravenna continued after the city had become the capital of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy (A.D. 493). Theodoric not only strove to prolong the culture and to protect the monuments of antiquity,

Fig. 47.

but also to patronise and encourage the art which he found already existing among the native inhabitants; and although the Goths were Arians, the tolerance of the king nevertheless established a good understanding with the Roman Church, until Pope John yielded to the instigations which reached him from Byzantium against those heretics (A.D. 523). We are therefore not aware of any subject in the mosaics of the Ostrogothic period at Ravenna which points to a peculiarity of doctrine, or of any divergence in their style compared with the Roman mosaics, except such as naturally follows from their later origin. The mosaic in the dome of the Arian Baptistery (*Santa Maria in Cosmedin*) corresponds in subject altogether with that in the orthodox Baptistery, but the style is already much farther removed from classical tradition.[24] In the scene of the baptism, the motive of the S. John is lamer, his attitude awkward, and the Jordan is figured, as often happens in the representation of river-gods, with cray-fish claws attached to his head. The drapery of the Apostles, who fill the circle which surrounds the centre picture, is treated in a more conventional manner; palm-trees rise between the single figures, which advance from both sides towards a magnificent throne, the symbol of the divine judgment.

The basilica of *San Apollinare Nuovo*, formerly known by the name of *S. Martinus in coelo aureo*, which was the Royal Chapel of Theodoric and is contiguous to his palace, has lost its ancient apse, but still possesses a complete mosaic decoration in the nave.[25] Of the series of pictures ornamenting the side walls, let us consider first the middle and upper courses, which belong to the Arian time. Beside and between the windows stand thirty full-face figures of dignified Apostles and Saints in niches; in the character of the heads and of the drapery they are nearer to the best period than the pictures in the Arian baptistery.

Above the windows on both sides runs a frieze of narrative pictures, separated by the heads of some niches below, in the shape of small semi-domes divided by pairs of doves, and containing figures of Saints. Each side contains thirteen compositions; on the north we find the works and miracles of Christ, which are interrupted in the fourth space by a picture of Christ, not in action, but stationary, between the sheep and the goats. This is especially good in style, in the others the treatment is cramped by the circumstance that the conception is too much imbued with the spirit of sculpture, as is also the case in mosaics of the same period in Rome; the principal figure seems to address itself separately to the spectator, instead of taking a part in the action. There are only a few figures in the design, the crowd of disciples being generally indicated by one who is their leader. The Christ is of the youthful type, beardless, and with long hair. The more symbolic than dramatic treatment of the catacomb pictures is still apparent here, but their soft flow of line is lost.

In the pictures opposite these the type of Christ is entirely different. He

is older and bearded, but fair; his expression is dignified, and his superiority over the other personages is at once shown by the fact that he stands half a head taller than most of them. The story of the Passion is here set forth, beginning with the Last Supper, at which all the figures are reclining round an S-shaped triclinium, and a fish is used as a symbol of Christ instead of the bread and wine. Not only the crucifixion itself, but the scenes of persecution, the scourging and mocking, are missing in this series; immediately after the Bearing of the Cross follow in order the Maries at the tomb, the walk to Emmaus, the risen Christ among the Apostles.

According to the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna, Bishop Agnellus (about A.D. 553-556), under whom the church became Catholic, caused to be executed not only the mosaics of the tribune now destroyed, but also those on the side walls of the nave, with the procession of Martyrs and Virgins. The later origin of this series of pictures, the lowest immediately over the arcades, is confirmed by their style. On the north advances a long train of female, and on the south of male, Saints, all in white robes, and with crowns on their veiled heads, the women with golden mantles. They are proceeding from the city of Ravenna, which is indicated by a view of the royal palace and the harbour, and directing their steps in the one case towards Mary, and in the other towards Christ, who sit enthroned opposite each other between four angels. The whole is designed under the influence of antique bas-reliefs; the balance of the two sides is strictly maintained; on each there is the same tranquil advance, the same regular distribution of figures in the space, the same uniform height for seated and for standing figures. But though the general impression may be solemn and noble, yet the motives of the single figures are timid, the drawing of the heads feeble, and the modelling inadequate.

The two periods to which the pictures in *San Apollinare Nuovo* belong are thus sharply defined, however closely they may approach one another. Here, as in Rome, the classical period of Early Christian art passed away with the close of the Ostrogothic rule and the assumption of power by the Byzantines. The period immediately following that in which the Catholic creed had gained undisputed ascendancy was a highly productive period in Ravenna, and the works which we must next examine are, for the most part, anterior to the frieze just described. The oldest of the mosaics in the private chapel of the archbishop's palace, especially the busts on the arches, date as far back as the time of Bishop Maximian, as is testified by the appearance on them of his monogram.[26] The four angels carrying a shield with the monogram of Christ, in the vaulting of the vestibule, show a motive which we find repeated with greater beauty in the church of S. Vitalis. The rest is patchwork of a later date. The mosaics obtained for the Berlin Museum from the dismantled church of *San Michele in Affricisco* (consecrated A.D. 543) are not yet on view. According to published reproductions, the arch of the tribune contained a

bearded Christ between angels with trumpets, and the apse a Christ beardless, bearing the attribute of the book and surrounded by angels.[27]

Lastly, the most important creation of this period is the large and well-preserved series of pictures in the choir of S. Vitalis.[28] This church was begun A.D. 526, under Bishop Ecclesius, and completed A.D. 547, under Bishop Maximian (Fig. 48). In the semi-dome of the apse (1) appears Christ enthroned on a gold ground above the sacred rivers of Paradise, attended by two angels, by S. Vitalis, to whom he gives a crown, and by the founder, Bishop Ecclesius, who carries a model of the church. The latter is a true Roman portrait for individuality of character; Christ still appears under the ideal type, which has naturally become by this time more and more formal, of a beardless youth. This dedicatory picture is better, because founded on better models, than the two corresponding ceremonial pictures on the lower wall of the apse at each side of the windows; these represent the Emperor Justinian with Bishop Maximian, and the Empress Theodora; the Emperor and Empress advance to meet each other in magnificent court costume, and followed by a numerous suite (Fig. 49). Justinian never was in person in Ravenna, but he appears

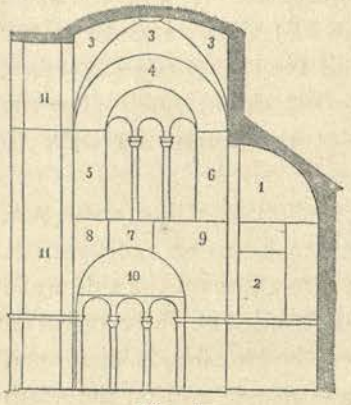

Fig. 48.

Fig. 49.

here with his wife in the character of donor because of his rich gifts to the church. His features bear distinctly the portrait character which Early Christian art was able long to maintain under the influence of Roman traditions, and

quite coincide with those of the bust preserved in a side chapel of the church of S. Apollinaris as being a fragment of the original mosaics of the entrance wall. They equally agree with the effigy on his coins. The features of the successive Emperors were well known in all parts of the Empire, as their effigies were sent broadcast through the lands immediately after their accession. The features of the Bishop are also highly characteristic. The costumes are quite as strongly marked as the figures themselves, and as in representing these sumptuous court dresses antique models of drapery could be of no use, so their treatment is petty and dry. The several groups, too, in each picture, are not clearly enough developed, the figures are monotonous in attitude and carriage of head, and bear the stamp of a ceremonial formality.[29]

In the adjacent altar-sanctuary the mosaic of the vaulting (3), which is essentially decorative, surpasses all the rest. Four wreaths of fruit, each surmounting a peacock standing on a globe, divide the vault into as many compartments, in each of which stand four angels in noble and expressive attitudes, supporting the central medallion in which is figured the Lamb of God. The mosaics on the walls to right and left balance each other in a strictly symmetrical arrangement. The face of the upper arch (4) is only filled with ornaments; the spaces to right and left of the upper window (5, 6) contain figures of the Evangelists as old men, with their symbols. Over the crown of the lower arcade (7) float two angels in the air with the cross. The adjacent spandrils show, on the side next the body of the church (8), a figure of the prophet Jeremiah, and opposite, that of Isaiah; on a broader field next the apse appears Moses on Mount Sinai, a beardless ideal figure raised above a group of common people, which by its rudeness proves how unskilful was the art of this age as soon as it was thrown without precedent upon reality. Opposite this group is Moses loosing his sandals from off his feet before the burning bush, and underneath Moses in the character of a shepherd among his sheep. Lastly, the great arched space over the arcades (10) contains certain scenes from the old Testament which the Epistle to the Hebrews designates as types of the death of Christ; on one wall is Abraham entertaining the three angels, as well as Abraham about to sacrifice Isaac; on the opposite wall Abel with the lamb and Melchisedek with the bread-offering on either side of an altar. Busts of Saints and Apostles, and originally one of Christ also, on the broad arch leading to the space under the dome, bring the whole series to a conclusion.

However grand the effect which this series always produces as a whole, it nevertheless stands on a lower artistic level than the earlier work. The figures and motives are at their best when the artist has been able to make use of older and more perfect models—as in the design of Christ and the angels in the apse, Abraham offering up Isaac, and Moses loosening his sandals over the altar; and at their worst when he has been thrown more strictly on his own resources, as in the sorry figure of Abraham ministering to the angels. The drapery is gener-

ally very careful, but already begins to be stiff, and the outlines are heavy. In the scenes of sacrifice for instance, the dogmatic purpose stifles the pictorial representation of the action. Much space is given to landscape, but it is a landscape which fails to satisfy from its total want of true perspective. Moreover the mass of green, taken together with the prevailing white of the draperies, renders the tone of colour very monotonous.

The age when Justinian, being Emperor of the East (A.D. 527-565), had also brought back the West into subjection, is an important period in the history of art, as it was then that the continuous living influence of antique culture was extinguished. The barbarians, who had been held in check for a time by the powerful rule of the Ostrogoths, now broke irresistibly forth. Uncivilised Lombards established themselves firmly in Italy. The ideal spirit of early Christendom disappears beneath dogmatic formalism. Superstition, Saint-worship, relic-worship—polytheism, in fact, under another form—become naturalised. Monachism becomes a regular institution of the Church. Asceticism lays hold of the souls of men, searing instead of ennobling their natural impulses. As in the domain of law, to which its highest achievements belong, the age of Justinian made an end of free and constructive activity by a process of codification, co-ordination, and settlement, so in art the age was content to reproduce what had been handed down without exhibiting any original creative impulse. Forms, design, and drapery, conform more and more to a set system, and rigidity, stiffness, and constraint predominate more and more in composition. Movements seem no longer inspired by an active will, emotional life expresses itself no longer in the features. As the characters, so also the gestures become typical merely; their language becomes of the narrowest range. Ever the same is the action of an advancing foot, the turn of a head, the uplifted hand of a speaker. The habit of an independent study of nature had long been given up, but now the power of understanding and selecting among artistic precedents begins to disappear also. The nude is more and more avoided in consequence of a rigid and prudish modesty which here comes in to second the growing incapacity of art.

The *dramatis personæ* of Christianity, among whom the artist has to take his subjects, are of a nature to encourage the monotony of expression towards which this period gradually feels its way. Within their limits austere dignity and solemn holiness prevail, as in the persons of Christ, the Apostles, and Mary, who is always represented not as a young girl but as a matron. Pure beauty can scarcely find a place here, or at least only in the ideal forms of angels, noble youthful beings who appear with soft flowing draperies and unshod feet. The classical feeling for form has often, both at this time and later, life enough yet to make amends for the narrow range of Christian images by the introduction of free ideal figures and personifications in the antique style; but however frequently such inventions may find place in illuminated manu-

scripts, they very seldom occur in the monumental art of church mosaics. In these the dogmatic and didactic tendency are uppermost.

We must however be on our guard against designating this style, which develops itself in Italian works from the time of Justinian, as Byzantine. Such a designation would involve the mistake of supposing that the Italian artists had made a breach with native practice, and that new models and new powers had been imported from Byzantium with the Byzantine conquest. There is nothing to betoken or to prove such a change. Greek inscriptions do not once appear on the mosaics executed at Ravenna in the days following Justinian, though in other and later works such inscriptions do serve to establish up to a certain point the fact of their Greek authorship. The historian of art should make it his business to define the idea of Byzantine art more precisely than has usually been done. In the Early Christian centuries the art of Byzantium is not distinguishable in character from that of Italy. In the same way that the Greco-Roman style belonged to the whole civilised world, and held sway equally in Italy, Gaul, Africa, Syria, and Greece, so Christian art also had everywhere at first the same homogeneous character. We shall not arrive until later at the moment of a real artistic severance between Byzantium and the West. But when such severance happens, we shall find that the characteristic of the eastern as compared with the western work is by no means its greater rigidity and formality; but rather its firmer hold on antique practice and tradition.

III.—BYZANTIUM.—Declining Rome had long been thrown into the shade by the new capital of the world which Constantine had founded on the frontier of Europe and Asia. The little Greek seaport Byzantium had been transformed into the Imperial capital Constantinople. Where the narrow strait of the Bosphorus expands towards the Propontis, arose the "New Rome," well placed for commerce, which poured into her lap the treasures of two quarters of the world, and well protected from all attack. Between the sea and the deeply indented harbour of the Golden Horn, the city, arising at the word of a despot, branched far over hill and dale. Walls and colonnades, conduits and hippodromes, baths and public buildings, stood soon completed; the towns of Greece and of the East had to yield up their most precious treasures, their monuments of marble and bronze, even their manuscripts and libraries, to enrich the new imperial city. A great population was artificially attracted, and in this place of luxury artistic talents of every kind found a field for exercise.[30] Byzantine art, no less than the Western art of the same period, lies under the influence of antique tradition. But in Byzantium that tradition was preserved much longer uncorrupted than in the West, and kept alive by the multitude of models of good periods accumulated in the city since its foundation. Constantinople was spared the invasions of the barbarians. The luxury of the Court, which had its home in the residential city of the Emperor, was favourable to artistic

production. Under these circumstances the skill of the mosaic workers maintained a higher general level here than elsewhere, and was distinguished by exceptional qualities of soundness and precision.

The examples of monumental painting which remain to us in the shape of mosaic are indeed very insufficient to enable us to judge of the character and history of Byzantine painting in general in the first centuries after the founding of Constantinople. Such examples are in fact few, and their dates uncertain. The accounts of Byzantine painting given even in our best histories of art repose on mistaken assumptions which assign to an early period works belonging to a later.

The chief monument of art due to Justinian is the church dedicated in Constantinople to the *Hagia Sophia* or Divine Wisdom, the second person of the Trinity. This was begun in A.D. 532 after an older building of the age of Constantine had perished during the *Nikê*-rebellion. It is now transformed into a Turkish mosque; the mosaics are only partly visible, being covered with whitewash, but at the last restoration (A.D. 1847) what remained was uncovered for a time, so that copies could be made. All the varieties of decorative practice of which the New Rome was mistress, unfolded themselves in the interior of this church. In those parts of the scheme that were directly connected with the architecture, the system of surface ornament, or as it were, monumental carpeting, prevailed below, in the shape of an incrustation of coloured marbles; above, over the cornices and on the vaulted roofs and arches, in that of a mosaic of coloured glass. But our materials do not enable us to be certain how much, or indeed whether any, of the existing work dates back to the time of Justinian himself. The greater part evidently owes its existence to later restorations and additions; we can therefore only speak of the mosaics of S. Sophia in a later portion of our book.

The circular church of S. George at *Salonichi* (Thessalonica), now also turned into a mosque, gives us, however, still some idea of the style prevalent in mosaics at the time of Justinian. The rectangular niches of the lower building are filled with fruits, branches, and birds; the dome is decorated with single figures of solemn saints, and over them is depicted a stately architecture enlivened by a number of birds symmetrically disposed, and relieved against a field of gold (Fig. 50).[31]

The mosaics in the church of the monastery of Mount Sinai, which have been described by recent travellers, are no doubt important, but their date is unknown. Over the arch two flying angels hold busts of a beardless Moses, and of S. Catherine; at the sides we see Moses before the burning bush, and Moses with the tables of the law on Mount Sinai. The apse contains a grand picture of the Transfiguration, surrounded by a border of busts of prophets and saints.[32]

There was another order of mosaic pictures which has entirely disappeared

—the secular and historical pictures in the palaces of the Emperors. The exploits and career of the despot formed in Byzantium, as they had done long ago in the palaces of Oriental and Hellenistic monarchs, the principal subjects

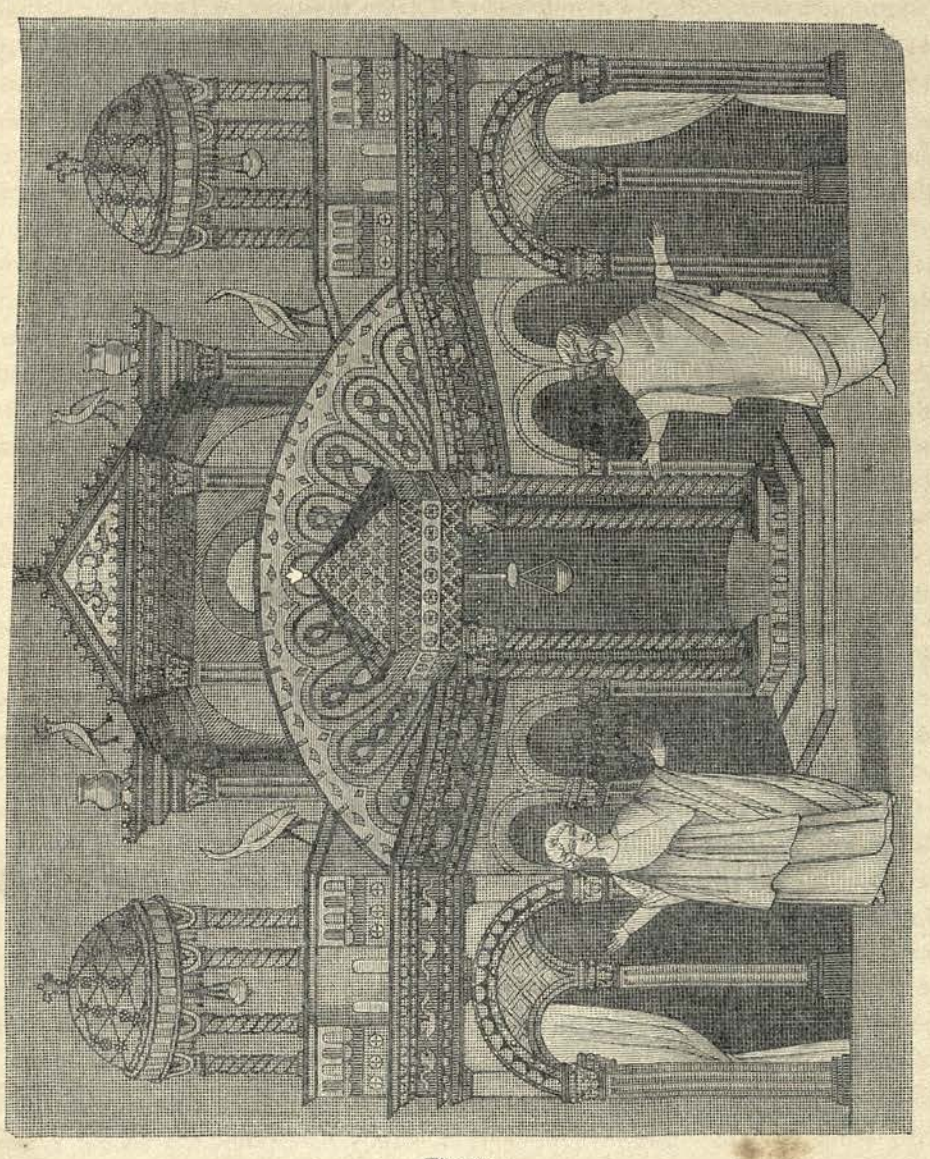

Fig. 50.

of wall-decoration; but we must be content now to know them only through ancient descriptions. In the *Chalkê*—the great hall of pomp of Justinian's palace—were depicted the victories of his army in Africa and Italy, conquests of cities, and finally the return of Belisarius, who, at the head of the army, was seen presenting captive kings and trophies of battle to the Emperor and Empress amid their senators.[33]

That purely decorative style which we have seen in the earliest Christian mosaics of Italy, lived on at Byzantium also in the ornamentation of secular buildings. We still possess a brilliant example of this taste, not, however, in Byzantium itself, but in a monument of Islam: the mosque Qoubet-es-Sakrah at Jerusalem. The coloured glass mosaic in the spandrils of the arcades belongs to the original building, completed A.D. 691; it consists of conventionalised plant ornaments, vases, and jewels, on a gold ground bordered by inscriptions and geometrical patterns; the style is really classical, and the techincal execution entirely Byzantine.[34]

After the iconoclastic schism in the eighth century, this ornamental style of mosaic began to be more elaborately applied in Christian churches. Now that men had banished devotional pictures and figures of Saints from the house of God, but did not like to leave them quite without decoration, they were habitually adorned with plant ornaments, animals, and especially with birds. What had formerly been but a delightful accessory now became the principal subject. This change had, however, no influence on the Western world.

IV.—ITALY AFTER JUSTINIAN.—The mosaics produced in Italy from the end of the sixth century ought not to be called Byzantine, if it were only for the reason that they begin to show signs of barbarism, as is proved even by the monuments of Ravenna and Rome.

We find the signs of such decadence in the pictures of *San Apollinare in Classe*, the great basilica of the former seaport of Ravenna, Classis, which now stands solitary in the fields. The nave shows no indications now of early work, and even the mosaics of the choir by no means date as far back as the building of the church, which was consecrated A.D. 549. The busts of Matthew and Luke, and the freely-designed figures of the archangels Michael and Gabriel with banners, on the piers of the tribune-arch, are among the best in the building. The medallion over these contains a stiff and unpleasant picture of Christ; it is surrounded by the symbols of the Evangelists, and a frieze of lambs coming out of the two cities. On the semi-dome of the apse, the hand of God appearing over the cross between Moses and Elias furnishes a symbolical representation of the Transfiguration; under this, in priestly dress, and with arms stretched out in supplication, stands S. Apollinaris as the central figure, with lambs advancing towards him from either side. The floor and background of this division contain indications of a rocky landscape with trees. Between the windows on the lower wall we find the four Bishops of Ravenna, Ecclesius, Severus, Ursus, and Ursicinus; at the side, the three sacrifices of the Old Covenant, as in S. Vitalis, and opposite these a ceremonial picture: Bishop Reparatus (A.D. 672-677) receiving a confirmation of ecclesiastical privileges from the Emperor Constantine IV. and his brothers Heraclius and Tiberius.

The date of these mosaics is established by this historical event, and those in the arch appear to be scarcely more ancient; those in the semi-dome might, however, have an earlier origin. The play of mystical symbolism is here carried to an extreme, and as, consequently, considerations other than artistic prevail in the work, so its treatment is dull and lifeless. The severe training of the period of Justinian is gone, and the pictures bear witness to the decay which had fallen upon Ravenna since the establishment of the Exarchate.

The age of Justinian had left no creation of art in Rome; but the following epoch, and especially the seventh century, was all the more productive. The interval between these mosaics and those in SS. Cosmas and Damian is great, but the decline into barbarism was not yet so marked at Rome as that which we have just described at Ravenna. It is true that the independent spirit of the earlier time had disappeared from the treatment, which is now poor and conventional: for the lack of inner life and significance, amends are attempted to be made by material splendour, brilliancy of costume, and a gold groundwork, which has now become the rule here as well as in Byzantium.

Pope Pelagius II. (A.D. 578-590) had erected the basilica of *San Lorenzo fuor le mura* after the Byzantine conquest, and as his inscription testifies, under the very swords of the Lombards. The only part of the present building which dates from that time is the choir, which was formerly the nave, and had its apse to the west, at the junction of the present nave and choir. The dedicatory mosaic on a gold ground filled the arch over the apse, but now, since the orientation of the church has been reversed, it decorates the back of the same arch. The bearded Christ, now no longer sublime and dignified, but worn and emaciated, is seated on the globe; on the right stand Paul, Stephen, and Hippolytus; on the left Peter and Lawrence, the latter receiving the model of the church from Pope Pelagius, who is drawn on a smaller scale; lower down in the picture we discern the towns of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.[36] The composition of this badly preserved and restored picture is poor, the figures want solidity and power.

The mosaic in the apse of the small circular church of S. Theodore, at the foot of the Palatine, resembles this last in style and composition. Peter and Paul lead up two Saints, one of whom is the patron of the church.[37] Christ seated on the globe now becomes a favourite motive; he appears in this position not here only but also in one of the side apses of S. Constantia, and holds a book, while a beardless figure bows down before him. The opposite niche contains the youthful beardless Christ standing on clouds with awkwardly extended legs, and supported by Peter and Paul; the latter receives from the hand of the Lord a scroll with the words *Dominus pacem dat.* Four lambs, two palm-trees, and two circular buildings to indicate the town, complete the composition.[38] The workmanship of these pictures is rough, and their motives ungainly; they have no date, but may belong to about A.D. 600.

The picture in the apse of S. Agnes, outside the Porta Pia (built by Honorius I. A.D. 625-638), shows more correctness of treatment, but without more invention. Pope Honorius, the founder, and another Pope, perhaps Symmachus, stand at each side of S. Agnes, at whose feet lies the sword with which she was slain, as a symbol of her martyrdom, while the flames which could not hurt her play around them.[39] The figures, though stiff and slender, at least stand upright; the features of the saint are regular, but lifeless and weak in modelling; but the decorative effect of the whole is fine, owing to the careful treatment of state costumes, the rich colouring, and the gold ground.

Fig. 51.

The deliberate purpose with which these elements were worked up is shown by the pompous inscription under the picture (Fig. 51).

Henceforth, the superficial and unequal character of mosaic workmanship increases quickly, as we see in the Oratory of S. Venantius adjacent to the Baptistery of the Lateran, built under Popes John IV. and Theodore (A.D. 640-649).[40] In the apse, between two angels and beneath a half-figure of the Saviour in the act of blessing, appears the Madonna (whose worship takes continually a greater place) as *Orans*, surrounded by six saints and two doves; the arch contains two figures of saints, and over them are the two towns and the symbols of the Evangelists. Smaller and still poorer remains will be found in *San Stefano rotondo*,[41]— a cross enriched with precious stones, and above it the bust of Christ, as well as a symbolical representation of the crucifixion between SS. Primus and Felicianus, placed here by Pope

Theodore, to whose time it must therefore belong. Then in *S. Petrus ad Vincula* we find a bearded figure of S. Sebastian in rich court costume, which is not without dignity, but the workmanship is barbaric; this belongs probably to the time of Pope Agathon (A.D. 678-682).[42] Of the mosaics in a magnificent oratory of the mother of God in S. Peter's, built by Pope John VI. (A.D. 705-707), and by him enriched with pictures from the lives of Mary, Christ, and S. Peter—of these all that remains is a fragment of the Adoration of the Magi in the sacristy of *Santa Maria in Cosmedin;* it is less formal than the example last mentioned, but indifferently executed.[43]

CHAPTER III.

MINIATURES.

Meaning of the word miniature—Antiquity and prevalence of this mode of decorating MSS.—Religious MSS. in particular—Uniform choice of subjects for pictures—Dedicatory pictures—Ornament; borders of the Eusebian canons—Technical process and mode of production—Early examples of Greek workmanship—The Vienna Genesis—The Vienna Dioskorides—Examples of Western workmanship—Examples of Syrian Workmanship—Introduction of the subject of the Crucifixion—Iconoclastic schism—Consequent separation of the Greek and Latin churches, and close of the classical period of Early Christian art.

BY "miniatures" are meant the pictures executed in manuscripts by the illuminator or *miniator*, so-called from the name of the pigment *minium* (cinnabar), for even in a manuscript where there was no richer ornament it was usual at least to paint the divisions of the text and the initial letters red. These rubrics, so-called from *rubrum* (red), are the first steps in the art of illumination.

The custom of ornamenting manuscripts with pictures dates back, as we have already seen, from antiquity. It was practised in Italy, but to a much greater extent in Byzantium, where it was encouraged as a luxury by the splendour-loving inhabitants of New Rome. Constantine had already founded a public library, which was increased by his descendants, and restored by the Emperor Zeno (*d.* A.D. 491) after a fire. Books which were executed for people of wealth and position were often splendidly ornamented by the colouring, often in purple, of the vellum, as well as by the use of colours in the text, such colouring being generally in red, or sometimes in gold and silver to enhance the effect. Regular picture-illustrations were presently added.[44]

Such pictures are found in religious as well as secular works. Botanical and astronomical writings contain illuminations intended rather to illustrate the subject than merely to adorn the manuscript. The same may be said of manuscripts of Greek and Roman poets, as before mentioned, in which pictures after antique models continue to occur far on into the Middle Age; conspicuous examples are a fragment of the Iliad in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, the writing of which shows that it probably originated in Italy, and a Virgil (see above, p. 101) in the Vatican.[45] But by far the greatest number of illuminations of really artistic value are to be found in books of religion,—books which have for the most part belonged to or been presented to religious establishments by persons of distinction.

The pictures in books having the same contents always exhibit the same

choice of subjects in their illustrations. Moreover, it often happens that the pictures as well as the text of an early manuscript are copied in later times; so that even in the choicest books it may be hard to tell to what extent the illuminations are original, and to what extent repeated from earlier models. Thus an *Evangeliarium*, or copy of the four Gospels, regularly contains pictures of the four Evangelists, either erect with books in their hands, or else seated at desks. Their types vary; they are either bearded or beardless, middle-aged or old; S. John is always represented as an old man. In the earliest examples they generally appear without their familiar symbols. Other subjects also appear illustrating the conceptions of religion in the manner we have called exhibitive, apart from story or action; among them sometimes a *Majestas Dei*, or picture of Christ enthroned, surrounded usually with the elliptical glory, which from its shape the Italians call *mandorla* (almond), and holding the book of life, while he uplifts his right hand in the gesture which used to be taken as that of blessing, but is really that of teaching or expounding. While a representation of this kind always preserves the tranquil solemnity which we have seen in the mosaics, the narrative pictures from Bible history are carried to a point of much greater freedom. Here the artist's attempt to represent real actions, and the attempt, especially in the earlier times, is quite successful. The Old Testament too is not treated here merely as a type of the New, but independently. A great variety of such pictures appears in manuscripts of separate books of Scripture, in theological writings, Psalters, and Prayer-books. And the personages of religious tradition are in many cases associated with personifications of places, of the affections of the mind, of abstract ideas, which are inheritances from antique modes of thought, and maintain themselves down to a later period.

Dedicatory pictures constitute a class by themselves in manuscript illustration. In religious as well as secular books executed for some great personage, especially one of the reigning family, the owner of the book often appears solemnly enthroned and surrounded by real or allegorical figures. These subjects also are treated with reference to antique models.

In connection with figure designs in manuscripts must be considered also their decorative patterns. The borders of the large single pictures are at first somewhat simple; but the "canons" or tables of parallel passages, habitually placed before the text in Gospel-books, are ornamented with peculiar richness and always with the same design, which appears in Byzantine as well as Western manuscripts, and is found as early as the sixth century.[46] Each table is enclosed by an arch carried on richly coloured and gilded columns, and above the enclosing arches or pediments are birds or other animals symmetrically facing each other, and generally arranged on either side of a vessel or fountain from which they make as if about to drink. It is not necessary to look for a symbolical meaning in this device, as, besides peacocks and doves, there often

appear cocks, partridges, and other creatures, treated with considerable realism, and showing a pleasure in the contemplation of animal life. Human figures, whether of a religious or an every-day character, sometimes replace the customary pair of animals. This system of ornament is directly copied from the real decorations of the inner walls of buildings. The earliest still existing model for them is found in the plaster-work between the windows of the Catholic Baptistery at Ravenna, where we see in like manner over the pediments symmetrically placed birds on each side of a basin, also quadrupeds and human figures. Neither in the Early Christian manuscripts of Italy nor in those of Byzantium do we find any other system of ornament except the architectural designs above described. Here are none of those border-patterns in beautiful penmanship, nor those rich initial letters, which we shall find later in the manuscripts of the Middle Age. The initials here are painted slightly larger than the text, but are quite simple and without ornament.

The technical method consists of painting in body-colour on vellum, the vellum being occasionally covered with a thin plaster preparation on which the gold is laid. The outlines are drawn in with the brush, and the first sketch of the design, which can be discerned in injured examples, entirely disappears under the broad and thick *impasto* of the colouring, the general tone of which is light, often breaking almost into white; fine gradations of tone are rendered in the flesh parts, and the high lights are laid vigorously on. These productions are very unequal, and in the longer manuscripts several hands of varying capacity may almost always be recognised. On the whole, the illumination of manuscripts was in this period somewhat mechanically carried on, latterly principally by priests and monks, but in Byzantium also in the workshops of lay booksellers and scribes. The names of the painters do not usually appear on the pictures.

The oldest specimen of artistic importance is of Greek origin—a fragment of the book of Genesis, of about the end of the fifth century, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna.[47] It contains twenty-four leaves illuminated on both sides, in most cases with pictures arranged in two rows on purple vellum. The execution is slight, almost superficial, but yet shows certainty of touch. We still find here a close observation of the life of men and animals; the figures show considerable power of bodily expression and movement; they are of sturdy build (for slenderness of proportion is not, as often supposed, the sign of Byzantine as distinguished from Western art, but rather of a later period as opposed to earlier). In the scenes from the story of Adam and Eve, even the nude is still successfully treated, without much refinement of execution. The indications of the landscape, the trees for instance, still show some feeling for nature, particularly in the first pages; architecture, furniture, and costume, are antique, only that shoes are worn, and in the case of Potiphar's wife the dress is a rich court costume with sleeves, gold trimmings, purple mantle, and a lofty diadem.

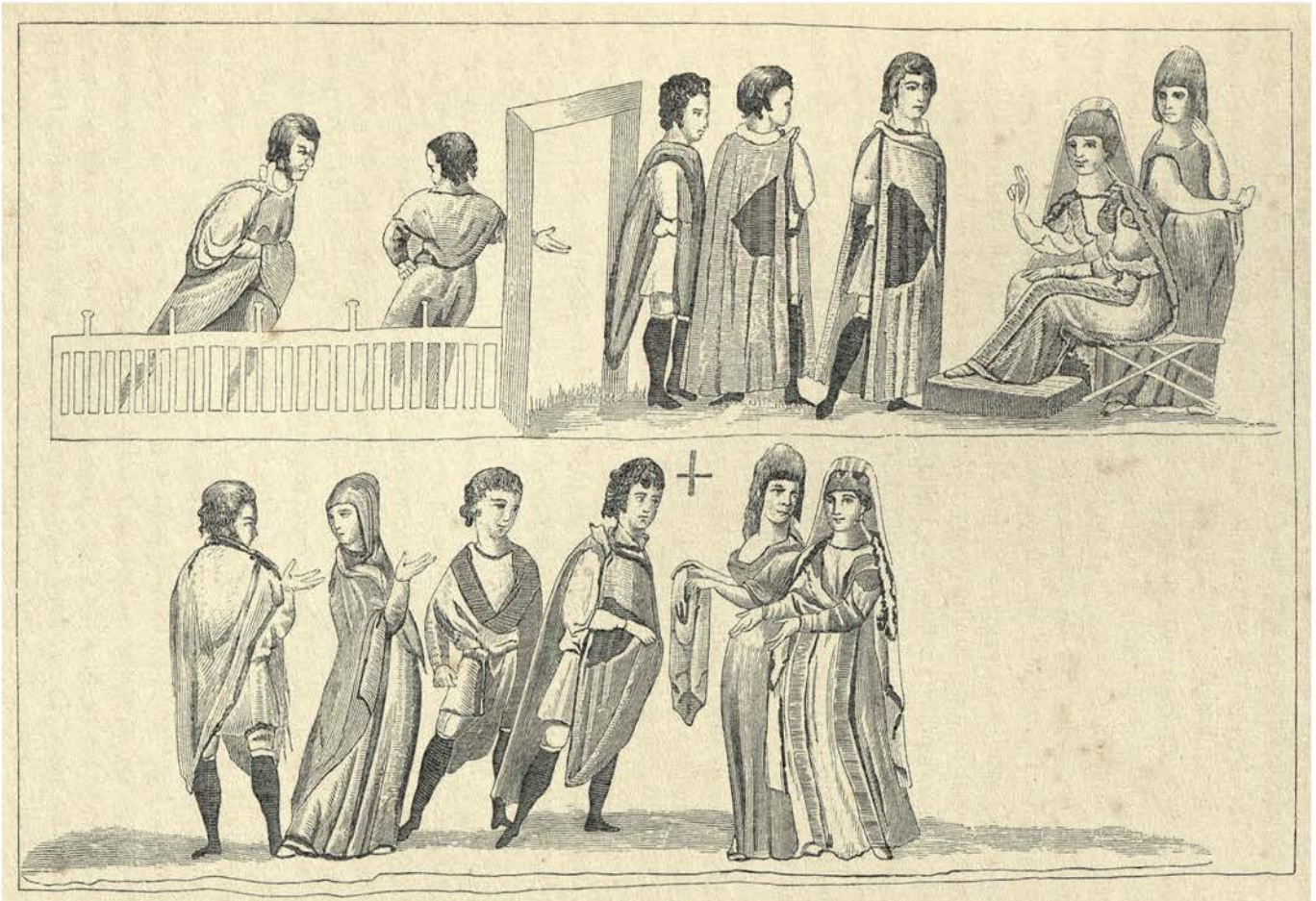

Fig. 52.

The stately female figure which stands beside her in the scenes in which she accuses Joseph to her husband and shows the torn cloak as evidence (Fig. 52), is evidently an allegorical figure—one of those personifications in the antique spirit, which for the rest are common enough. Thus we see the Nymph of the Well reclining beside Rebecca; and the figure of *Metanoia* (Repentance) of somewhat more than human stature, accompanying Adam and Eve on their expulsion from Paradise. This group is particularly expressive; Eve hangs her head in shame, while Adam turns to look back. The conception of Esau with the dog sniffing at his game-bag is remarkable for its naturalism. Joseph dreaming on his couch is altogether classically treated. His escape from Potiphar's wife furnishes the occasion for interesting scenes of ancient life in the women's apartments—handmaidens about their tasks, and children waiting or playing with them. Then follows Pharaoh at table, his cup-bearer handing him the wine, the company reclining round on an S-shaped *triclinium*, and opposite them musicians playing on cymbals and flutes. The vigorous life in every part of this picture is remarkable, and even the minor figures are no mere supernumeraries.

Of superior execution is a copy of the botanical treatise of Dioskorides in the same library, the date of which can be fixed, since it was written for the Princess Juliana Anicia, granddaughter of Valentine III. and daughter of Placidia and the Senator Olybrius, who was Emperor of the West for a short time, A.D. 472. She died at Constantinople A.D. 527, early in the reign of Justinian. The manuscript must therefore date from the beginning of the sixth century. On the dedicatory picture, which has unfortunately suffered much, the Princess sits enthroned between two allegorical personifications of Insight and Magnanimity; a genius representing Desire for the Wisdom of the Creator (*πόθος σοφίας κτίστου*) hands her a book, and beside him kneels a veiled female figure doing homage, personifying the Gratitude of the Arts (*εὐχαριστία τεχνῶν*). A plaited border,—two lozenges and a circle, with personifications of the Arts in the intervening spaces,—surrounds this picture. The style is altogether antique, only that the cast of the draperies is in some parts too poor; the colouring stands out rich and luminous from the blue ground, and is heightened by a brilliant wax varnish.[48] The five preceding pages also contain large pictures on one side; the first a peacock spreading its tail, while the second and third represent six famous doctors of antiquity, the first group seated at the feet of their teacher, the Centaur Cheiron, the second at the feet of Galen, and these groups are not arranged in pictorial perspective, but are balanced in architectural symmetry. In the fourth picture (Fig. 53) appears the author, Dioskorides, in white robes on a chair of gold, and before him stands a female figure in golden tunic and red mantle, the personification of the art of Discovery (*εὕρεσις*); she is presenting the legendary mandrake root (*alraun*) to him, and between them the dog who has pulled up the root

falls dead according to the legend. The head of Dioskorides expresses joy at the discovery. In the fifth picture Discovery stands in a niche of a pillared hall holding the mandrake, while on one side a painter sits at an easel painting it, and on the other Dioskorides writes down its description.[49] The numerous large drawings of plants that follow in the text are not less valuable ; accuracy and a close study of nature are here joined to a modest but masterly and

Fig. 53.

delightful style of execution. The snakes, beetles, and birds, towards the end of the book are equally skilful, but treated more drily. The splendid dedicatory picture suffices to prove that we have to do here with an original work, and that the illustrations are not merely copies of earlier models. Just as the painter has reproduced the plants directly from nature, so has the author of the introductory pictures freely followed his invention ; the treatment throughout proclaims the hand of a master. The illustrations to the book of Genesis were interesting but sketchy ; while these, on the other hand, are carried out with all the certainty and finish of which the period was capable. The coming

decadence no doubt betrays itself, here too, by many marks of incorrectness, but the power inherited from antiquity can still be felt. The survival of classical art in Early Christian times is nowhere so clearly manifest as in this work.

A similar style is found in the Western manuscripts of the same period, though none of them reach the same degree of excellence as the Vienna Dioskorides. Some badly preserved illustrations of the history of Saul on a few leaves of a Latin Bible are quite antique in style (these are in the Royal Library, Berlin; they belong to the sixth century, and were found pasted in old bindings at Quedlinburg). The men and horses are well drawn; the heroes of the Bible appear in the guise of Roman generals; the execution is precise and neat. A Bible from the monastery of Montamiata, in the Laurentian Library at Florence, belongs to the same period.[50] In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a Latin Gospel-book of the seventh century, evidently also of Italian origin. S. Luke is the only one of the Evangelists whose effigy remains in this work; he is represented sitting within an architectural frame of charming design, in a thoughtful attitude of good effect. In spite of such dignity of motive as we see in the uplifted right arm, we already perceive here the crude ascetic character which belongs to the mosaics of this date. In the pediment of the border reclines the bull, the symbol of S. Luke; the side-borders contain small Scripture scenes between two columns. All that exists of the book besides these is a page with small scenes from the Passion of Christ.[51]

We find the same richness of architectural border, and also the tendency to elaborate narrative representation, in a Syrian Gospel-book in the Laurentian Library at Florence, which was written A.D. 586 by the priest Kabala in the monastery of S. John at Zagba in Mesopotamia. This manuscript contains the first ascertainable example, and one of the most brilliant, of the illuminated border afterwards employed throughout the whole of the Middle Ages for enclosing the tables of canons. In the side-borders of these architectural designs there are spaces for small figures and scenes from the Bible stories, to which are annexed two more pages of larger pictures of the same kind, more especially the Crucifixion; a subject of which this is one of the first examples.

Early Christian art had formerly avoided this subject, and been content to indicate the sacrifice of the Saviour by symbols instead of actually representing the shameful punishment of death. But now, as the practice of crucifixion fell gradually into disuse, and at the same time the classical sentiment grew feebler among the Christian races, this subject also became one of the recognised Christian series.[52] In the picture to which we refer, Christ appears fastened to the cross by four nails, the arms in a horizontal position, so that his body is not really hanging. Neither is it naked, but attired, according to a conception which prevailed for some time thereafter, in a long purple robe. On either hand we see the crucified malefactors, and below, S. John, the Maries, the officer holding up the sponge, and the soldiers casting lots for Christ's raiment.

A separate compartment lower down contains the Resurrection, the Maries at the tomb, and the Saviour appearing to the women. On the other side of the page follows the Ascension. These pictures show a certain originality and imagination in the motives, but the execution of the figures has become rougher, the drawing more sketchy, the colouring is unequal and often very crude, with uncertainty and coarseness in the outlines.[53] It is not surprising that works executed in outlying provinces should be wanting in the purity and finish which held out longer in the chief centres of antique culture, and more especially at the imperial court at Byzantium.

Even here, however, the classical period of Early Christian art soon came to a sudden close. Its occasion was the outbreak of the iconoclastic schism in the beginning of the eighth century. The earliest Christians, strong in the consciousness of worshipping God in spirit and in truth, did not fear the influence of pagan idolatry; but since the definitive triumph of the new faith, the pagan elements within the pale of Christianity itself had found a continually increasing field of action; and when the nations of Islam, who confronted the Christian world from the seventh century, flung the reproach of idolatry against their enemies, that reproach was not without real justification. Images had been introduced into churches first for ornament, teaching, and edification; but image-worship soon crept in unawares. The reverence for the divine and spiritual being was transferred to the image, which was honoured with incense and obeisance. Then there were certain images accredited with a mysterious origin, as the picture of Christ at Odessa; the legend concerning which was that Christ had left the impress of his features on a canvas and sent it to Abgarus, king of Odessa. Even before the end of the sixth century, pictures "not made with hands" (ἀχειροποίητοι) appeared in many places, and even increased and multiplied in a miraculous manner. These were soon rivalled in sanctity by the supposed portraits of the Madonna by the hand of S. Luke, whom tradition had as early as the sixth century represented as a painter. This superstition had gradually taken root, and by degrees grew to such a height that the more earnest spirits became alarmed. The gibes of the Mohammedans, into whose hands fell the sacred images in the towns of the Holy Land, were not without effect. The Emperor Leo III., the Isaurian, an unlettered warrior who had raised himself from a humble station to the throne, published an edict against image-worship, A.D. 726. His first steps were taken with moderation, and only with a view of removing a stumbling-block. But the movement once begun, he and his descendants had to accept the full consequences of their convictions. Opinions were divided among the educated classes. The enemies of images had the people against them. Supported, however, by the power of the Empire, they carried their point in the East. Armed bands destroyed the sacred pictures in the churches of Constantinople as well as in those of the provinces. Painters, like the monk Lazarus, were thrown into prison and maltreated. It

was not that art itself was to be suppressed; we have seen in what forms mosaic decoration was permitted in holy places. But yet this crisis was pregnant with consequences for the future of painting in Byzantium, which was henceforth to be deprived of the subjects on which it had been chiefly employed for centuries.

In Italy, however, the views of the iconoclasts could not prevail. Pope Gregory II. directly opposed the commands of the Emperor, to whom he denied any authority in matters of religion. In doing this he had the people of Italy as well as the Western clergy on his side. Thus the schism concerning images, which appears at first sight a purely theological question, became the occasion for the separation of the Greek and Latin Churches, for the foundation of the temporal power of the Papacy, for the disruption of Italy from the main body of the Empire, and lastly, for the erection of a new Empire in the West. From this time too Byzantine and Western art took two different roads. Barbarism had made earlier and deeper inroads into the arts of the West than into those of the East, but they maintained themselves notwithstanding; and the Church of Rome, in continually extending the conquests of Christianity, opened out at the same time continually new conquests for art.

With the iconoclastic schism, then, the classical period of Early Christian art may be considered to have closed. Our study has now brought us to the threshold of the Middle Age.

APPENDIX.

1. For the art o. the catacombs consult Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*, 1634; *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, Rome, 1863 foll.; Rossi, G. B. de', *Roma sotterranea cristiana*, 3 vols., Rome, 1864-1877; Northcote, J. S., and Brownlow, W. R., *Roma sotterranea*, London, 1869, new ed.; Perret, L., *Catacombes de Rome*, 6 vols., Paris, 1851-1855 (with beautifully executed but not quite trustworthy illustrations). And for the subject of this as well as of the next following chapters—Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, 2d ed., 6 vols., Düsseldorf, 1869 fol.; Kugler, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei* (English transl. edited by Sir Charles Eastlake, 4th ed., revised by Lady Eastlake, London, 1874); [Hemans, C. I., *A History of Ancient Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy*, London, 1866]; Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art par les monuments*, 6 vols., Paris, 1811-1823; Garrucci, Raffaelle, *Storia dell' arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa*, 4 vols., Prato, 1874; the catacombs in vol. ii. (uncritical but copiously illustrated).

2. For the catacombs at Naples see Schultze, V., *Die Katacomben von S. Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel*, Jena, 1877. For those at Alexandria, Wescher, C., in the *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana*, 1865; with remarks by Rossi.

3. Another view of themeaning of these pictures is that they refer to the Orphic mysteries, and spring from the same vein of thought which produced the pseudo-Orphic poems with their anticipations of Christianity. See F. W. Unger in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædia*, 1st series, xxxiv. 382.

4. See Stephani, *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*, St. Petersburg, 1859.

5. See Perret, *op. cit.*, Pl. 21-33; and Garrucci, *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri de' cristiani primitivi di Roma.*

6. This is the opinion of Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, 2d ed. iii. 102.

7. For the history of mosaics in general see Labarte, J., *Histoire des arts industriels*, etc., vol. iv., Paris, 1866; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Italian Painting*, vol. i.; Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, 4th ed.; Ciampini, J., *Vetera monumenta, in quibus præcipue musiva opera illustrantur*, Rome, 1690-99. For Rome in particular, the *Liber Pontificalis* of the librarian Anastasius, in Muratori, *Script. rer. Ital.* iii.; Gregorovius, *Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, 3d ed., vols. i. and ii.; Platner, Bunsen, etc., *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, 1830-1842; Rossi, G. B. de', *Musaici cristiani* (chromolithographic illustrations in course of publication); Gutensohn und Knapp, *Denkmäler der christl. Religion*, Rome, 1822 (outline drawings); Garrucci, vol. iv.; Barbet de Jouy, *Les mosaïques chrétiennes des basiliques et des églises de Rome*, Paris, 1862, and review of the same by Vitet, in *Journal des Savants*, 1862, 1863.

8. See Hübsch, *Die altchristlichen Kirchen*, Karlsruhe, 1863, Pl. 26.

9. See the illustration, after an old copy, in Garrucci, Pl. 204.

10. Nilus, *Ep.* iv. 61; Gregory, *Ep.* 110, vii. ind. 2.

11. See Lefort in *Rev. archéol.*, 1874, Feb. p. 96; chromolithograph in Labarte, Pl. 121; the restored parts indicated in Garrucci, Pl. 208.

12. See Piper, *Mythologie der christl. Kunst*, i. 117, and §15 generally.

13. Libanius, *De professoribus;* quoted by Emeric-David, *Histoire de la peinture au moyen âge*, Paris, 1842, p. 14.

14. See Richter, J. P., *Die Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Vienna, 1878, c. iv.

15. Figured in Seroux d'Agincourt, Pl. 14, 15, Valentini, A., *La patriarc. basilica Liberiana*, Rome, 1839; Garrucci, Pl. 211-222.

16. See Gutensohn and Knapp, Pl. 41; Förster, E., *Denkmale ital. Malerei*, i., Pl. 10; Garrucci, 237; the figure in Ciampini (Pl. 68) shows that in his time large portions of the work were wanting.

17. Garrucci, Pl. 238. 18. *Ibid.* Pl. 253. 19. *Ibid.* Pl. 234.

20. *Chronicle of the Bishops of Naples*, cited from Muratori by Schulz, A. W., *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, iii. 6, 13; Garrucci, Pl. 269 *sq.*

21. See Quast, A. F. v., *Die altchristliche Bauwerke von Ravenna*, Berlin, 1842; Rahn, R., in *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. i.; and Richter, J. P., *Die Mosaïken von Ravenna*, Vienna, 1878.

22. See Koehler, H., *Polychrome Meisterwerke der monumentalen Kunst in Italien;* Garrucci, Pl. 226-228.

23. Quast, Pl. 2-6; Garrucci, Pl. 229-233. 24. Garrucci, Pl. 241. 25. *Ibid.* Pl. 242-252.

26. Garrucci, Pl. 222-225. 27. Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.*, ii. Pl. 17. 28. Garrucci, Pl. 258-264.

29. Figured in Förster, *Denkmäler*, i. Pl. 7, 8.

30. Consult Schnaase, vol. iii.; and Unger, F. W., in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, sect. 1, 84, 85.

31. Some have assigned these pictures to the time of Constantine, because of the severe design of the building and the purely classical style of the draped figures; but the author considers a later source more probable. The true pictorial feeling of an earlier time is here already superseded by the sculpturesque style; the architecture, a copy of a timber structure with columns, architraves, and small domes, is, it is true, still classical, but the details, as the combination of Ionic volutes with rude capitals of trapezoidal shape, bespeak the style first adopted by Byzantine architecture in the sixth century. This view is shared by Unger, in *Ersch and Gruber*, lxxxiv. 407. Chromolithograph in Texier and Pullan, *Architecture byzantine*, London, 1864, Pl. 30-34.

32. See Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, Leipzig, 1872, p. 273.

33. Procopius, *De aedificiis*, i. 10.

34. See Vogüé, Comte M. de, *Le temple de Jérusalem*, Pl. 21, *sqq.*

35. *Theophanes continuatus*, in *Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* xxxiii. p. 100.

36. Garrucci, Pl. 271. 37. *Ibid.* 252.

38. *Ibid.* Pl. 207; also figured in *Rev. archéol.* 1875, where Müntz repeats the opinion of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, rejected, as the author thinks with justice, by Schnaase, that this is a work of the fourth century.

39. Garrucci, Pl. 207; the heads of the two popes are restored. 40. *Ibid.* Pl. 272, 273.

41. *Ibid.* Pl. 274. 42. *Ibid.* Pl. 275. 43. *Ibid.* Pl. 279-282.

44. For the general history of miniature-painting, see Wattenbach, W., *Das Schriftwesen in Mittelalter*, 2d ed. Leipzig, 1875; Seroux d'Agincourt, *op. cit.* vol. v. and atlas; Labarte, Jules, *Histoire des arts industriels*, vol. iii. and atlas; [Denis, F., *Histoire de l'ornementation des manuscrits*, Paris, 1880]; Waagen, in his various books of artistic travels and researches; Silvestre, *Paléographie universelle*, Paris, 1841; Westwood, *Palaeographia sacra pictoria*, London, 1843; Shaw, H., *The Art of Illuminating as practised during the Middle Ages*, etc., illustrated by Owen Jones, London, 1849; Palæographical Society, *Facsimiles of MSS. and Inscriptions*, edited by E. A. Bond and E. M. Thompson, London, 1873 and subsequent years; and for Byzantine MSS. in particular, Montfaucon, B. de, *Palæographia Græca*, Paris, 1708.

45. No. 3225; the Palæographical Society has published reproductions of the Iliad (Pl. 39, 40, 51) and the Virgil (Pl. 117).

46. [These "canons" are the lists or tables, ten in number, of passages which correspond in all four Gospels, or again in any three of them, or again in any two, and lastly, of passages in which each Gospel fails to correspond with any other, which were drawn up by Eusebius, and are regularly prefixed to a MS. *Evangeliarium* or copy of the four Gospels.]

47. The MS. has suffered. Coloured reproductions in Labarte, Pl. 77. Unsatisfactory cuts after photographs in Garrucci, Pl. 112-123. Compare the somewhat similar designs from a Bible in the British Museum, Garrucci, Pl. 123, 124.

48. Labarte, Pl. 78. Louandre, *Les arts somptuaires*, Paris, 1857, vol. i. Pl. 2, 3.

49. On the interpretation of the third and fifth of these pictures, see Brunn in Ritschl's *Opuscula*, iii. p. 576 *sqq.*; and Jahn in *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, v. 301 *sqq.*

50. Garrucci, Pl. 126, 127. 51. *Ibid.*, Pl. 141; Palæographical Society, Pl. 33, 34, 44.

52. See Stockhauer, *Kunstgeschichte des Kreuzes*, Schaffhausen, 1870.

53. Labarte, Pl. 80; Agincourt, Pl. 27; Garrucci, Pl. 128-140.

BOOK II.

MEDIÆVAL PAINTING.

SECTION I.

EARLY PERIOD (About A.D. 700-950).[1]

CHAPTER I.

WESTERN PAINTING—IRISH AND GERMANIC MINIATURES.

New style arising from the contact of barbaric with Roman elements — No early mural paintings or mosaics left by the Celtic or Germanic races—But abundance of illuminated MSS.—The Irish monks; their skill in decorative writing—Style of these decorations—Choice of ornamental forms—Human heads and figures rudely treated as mere parts of a pattern—Excellence of ornamental workmanship notwithstanding—Examples of Dublin, Oxford, Lichfield, Lambeth, Würzburg, and S. Gallen—Style of illumination among Franks, Visigoths, and Burgundians—Occasional combination of Irish with other styles—Combination of Irish ornament and Early Christian figure-drawing in Anglo-Saxon style.

CHRISTIAN painting, so far as we have as yet followed it, has been but an echo of antique art, and its practice has lain exclusively in the hands of those nations who had raised and sustained the edifice of classical culture. Meanwhile new barbaric races had entered upon the stage of the world's history, and wherever they came into contact with the antique culture upon the soil of the Roman Empire, had adapted the arts of Rome to their use, holding fast at the same time to their own hereditary modes of expression and technical processes. The instincts of these nations assert themselves in painting as well as in the other arts, and at first in a form altogether original and opposed to the style of Early Christian work in Italy and Greece. But presently the two styles come into contact, and from the union of barbaric and classical elements there gradually arises a new style, the true style of the Middle Age.

Roman art and culture had extended their sway to the western and northern provinces of Gaul, Spain, Germany, and Britain. From Rome those races had in due course also received their Christianity, and among them art employed, in the service of the new faith, forms transmitted by classical tradition and types consecrated in the Early Christian art of Italy. The new religion required stately churches enriched with splendid ornament. The Courts of the barbarian kings adopted the luxury of Rome, which soon pervaded their ways of life, their dress, the furniture of their dwellings and halls of festival. Painting was called in to decorate churches and palaces alike with pictures of sacred and profane history. But of such Early Christian works in these countries nothing remains; although many accounts of them are to be found in historical writings, and although there is no doubt of the fact that over all that part of the world, and more especially in the kingdom of the Merovingian Franks, in Gaul, and in the Rhineland, mural painting and mosaic were commonly practised.

Illuminated manuscripts, on the other hand, constitute a branch of artistic

activity in which the native taste and instincts of the Celtic and Germanic races come out in complete originality. Our examples go back as far as the seventh century, and belong in part to various Germanic races, but in still greater part to the Irish, in whose hands this native tendency received its most characteristic expression.

Ireland, the island seat of a Celtic population, had been converted to Christianity since A.D. 430, but was never occupied by the Romans, and escaping the cataclysms of national migrations, enjoyed a peaceful development of the Christian life. Here arose a spiritual temper determined by the principles of asceticism and monasticism, with severity of discipline and profundity of theological learning, which was afterwards communicated to other lands—to England, Scotland, and the Continent—by wandering monks from Ireland. One consequence of this condition of things was a zealous cultivation of the penman's art.[2] The Irish monks wrote with uncommon skill, and with a turn for artistic calligraphy which contrasts strongly with the Continental writings of the period. Painting in their books is essentially a development of decorative writing,—of the designs of initial letters, which were often very large, or the ornamental filling-in of spaces on the page. The intimate connection of these paintings with the writing itself makes it seem probable that as a rule the illuminator and writer were the same person; there is, however, a Gospel-book in the Cathedral Library at Trieste, bearing the inscription *Thomas Scribsit* on the paintings.

The style of these decorations is chiefly geometrical; linear patterns like those of plaited, woven, or embroidered work, being combined with the circular forms appropriate to work in metal. This style is common to various nations in their primitive stage, to the Indo-Germanic nations particularly. It appears in what have been supposed to be the earliest painted vases of the Greeks before they felt the influence of the races of Western Asia, and it maintained itself for more than a thousand years longer in the bronze and iron manufactures of northern Europe.[3] Such similarity of form is the more readily explained, inasmuch as bronze work was also carried on in Irish monasteries; often indeed the two arts were practised by the same hand, as in the case of Dagaeus (*d.* A.D. 586), who is mentioned in a Cashel Calendar at once as a scribe and as a worker in bronze and iron. The same style was transferred to the decoration of floors, walls, and barbaric costumes; its last and most refined phase occurs in the illuminations of French manuscripts.

The elements of artistic ornament in manuscripts are first those borrowed from textile art, as plaits, bows, zigzags, knots, geometrical figures in various and symmetrically developed combinations, crosses, chequers, and lattice-work; next, those taken from metal-work, as spirals, and nail-heads let into borders; thirdly, the simpler kind of animal forms, as bodies of snakes, birds' heads on long necks, lizards, dogs, dragons, and the like, in which the geometrical and ribbon patterns continually terminate. In the same way animal forms accom-

modated to the linear scheme, and reproduced in the shape of simple patterns, occur on the ancient Greek vases already referred to. On the other hand, the Irish manuscripts show no sign of the foliage-work which formed the origin of the principal motives in the classical style of ornament.

Lastly, as a fourth element, comes in the attempt to represent the human figure. But the knowledge of the human body, which descended to the heirs of antique culture, and survived traditionally far on into the decadence—this knowledge was absent among the barbaric races. They treated body and head alike merely as part of a pattern, in a manner altogether arbitrary, and without observation or comprehension of the natural forms, or the capacity for truly copying them. Figures are symmetrically made up of bows and knots. Faces, taken always in full front, are mere patterns. Nose and mouth consist of certain constantly recurring flourishes ; each eyebrow is drawn in a continuous stroke of the pen with one side of the nose, and close into the angles formed by their junction are set the round and staring eyes. The mouth consists of a single flourish parallel with the nostrils, and slightly depressed in the middle. Hair and beard are formed of spirals, often ending in plaits which grow out formally like horns. The body consists of a mass of intertwisted rolls, from which emerge conventional arms and feet. The indication of costume is limited to a capricious arrangement of coloured surfaces, which are no doubt intended to represent a tunic and cloak, but are scarcely to be recognised as such, for one part of the same garment often exhibits different colours, for the sake of a decorative counterchange. In the same way single parts of the body are painted in colours contrary to nature: arms, legs, and hair are red or blue. Animals, such as the symbols of the Evangelists, are treated in like manner ; thus the body of S. Mark's lion in the Gospel-book of S. Columban is patterned in red and green lozenges like a harlequin's jacket. The face and hands are always left uncoloured ; there is nowhere any trace of modelling ; the figures, too, are left flat. This style comprises not only single figures, like those of the Evangelists (Fig. 54), but also larger designs, such as the Madonna and Child surrounded by angels, David slaying Goliath, and the Crucifixion. In seventh-century examples the figures are quite rough, flat, and childish, but their drawing is not yet so mere a freak of ornamental penmanship as it becomes in the manuscripts of the eighth century, when the system of actual flourishes and knots which we have just described appears for the first time. The figure pieces are in every case incorporated into the general design by means of a broad rich border. They are drawn with the pen, and then coloured in bright and harmonious colours.

But though such figures without form or expression may be repulsive, ugly, and barbaric, the products of narrow monkish asceticism, still the technical treatment of these miniatures is by no means primitive. So far as concerns their purely ornamental portions, we observe a true feeling for surface decoration, with

delicacy and precision of design, taste, and even a pleasing play of fancy. In the initial letters, borders, and full-page decorations, we are surprised by the delicate rhythmical flow of the design, the judicious balancing and agreeable distribution of masses, the relations of the central masses to the broad borders and the narrow separating bands. Not less refined is the feeling for colour, though this is limited to the simplest scale of red, blue, green, yellow, with the

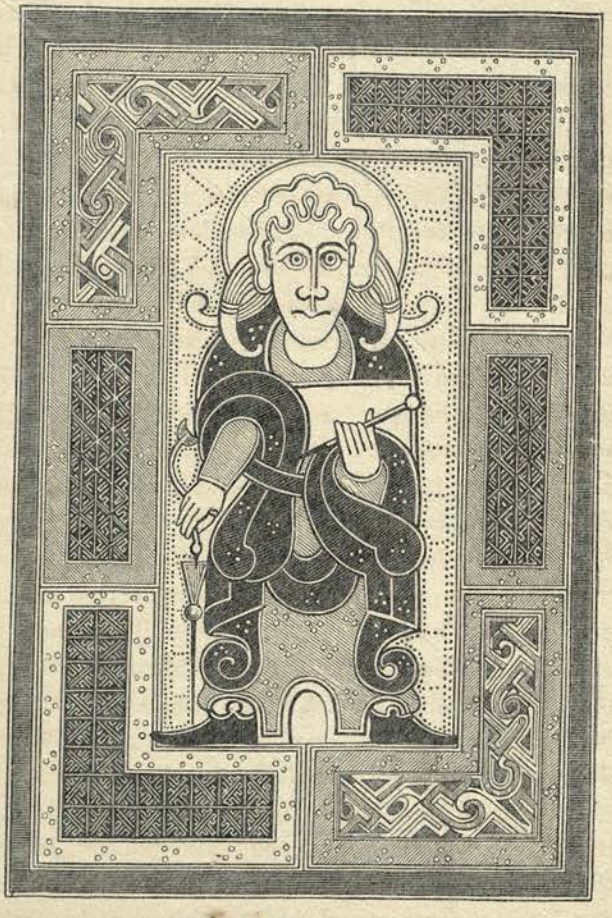

Fig. 54.

ground black and the borders white, only occasionally admitting more broken tones, such as violet and pink, but never gold. In the separate compartments the leading colours interchange in happy modulation with that of the ground. Everywhere we find an inexhaustible variety of combinations calculated to charm the eye, and the allusive play upon human figures and natural facts is only intended as a part of that charm. "The picture," says Schnaase, "was only regarded in the light of so much ornamental writing; it was enough if its meaning could be understood,—that is to say, if the spectator felt himself

reminded of a sacred personage or scene, and was aware that all this wealth of ornament was used for its glorification."

Two Gospel-books of the seventh century in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, that of S. Columban and the Book of Kells, belong to the earliest and most important examples of this style. Among the masterpieces of the eighth and ninth centuries, in which the system of drawing figures in knots and flourishes is first carried to the full extent that we have described above, are the similar book written by Mac Kegol (*d.* A.D. 820) in the Bodleian at Oxford; that of S. Chad at Lichfield in the Capitular Library, that of Maeiel Brith, son of Mac Durnan, in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace, from which our illustration (Fig. 54) is taken; and lastly, the Psalter in S. John's College, Cambridge, with a large picture of the Crucifixion. This art was also practised in the Irish monasteries on the Continent. S. Kilian brought it to Würzburg, where some manuscripts of this kind are still preserved in the University Library. S. Gallen was one of the chief centres of the school. It is of course not possible to decide whether the numerous Irish manuscripts in the library there were chiefly gifts brought from Ireland or works executed on the spot. The largest and most magnificent is that numbered 51; the ornamentation is of the utmost delicacy, but the Gospel pictures are repulsive and monstrous, especially the larger designs of the Crucifixion and the Day of Judgment.

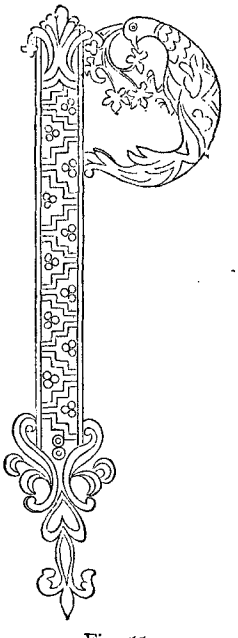

Fig. 55.

The illuminated manuscripts of the Franks, Visigoths, and Burgundians, of the same period, exhibit a somewhat different style; their workmanship, like that of the Irish, is pure caligraphy, but consists of an elaborate enrichment of the initials, first with simple penwork, and then in water colours lightly laid on. Here also the chief motives are ribbon plaits, scroll-work, and linear arrangements, which often, however, develop into simple leaf patterns, such as could hardly be quite strange to these nations from their contact with antique art. Sometimes the shape of the letter is formed wholly or in part of the body of such animal, fish, bird, and snake, as could be conveniently adapted to it. Such initials are classified according to their forms as *ichthyomorphic* (fish-shaped), *ornithoidic* (bird-shaped), and so on (Fig. 55). Gradually these fantastic attempts got farther, and animal forms of another kind are found—strange monsters, single or fighting with each other, human heads, and combinations of the forms of man and brute.[4] This style lasted among the Franks till towards the end of the eighth century. To this time belongs the *Sacramentarium* of the Abbey of Gellone, near Toulouse, which contains, besides initials formed of

fishes or semi-human monsters, coloured drawings of the Madonna, the Evangelists with animals' heads, and a grievously rude and formless Crucifixion.[5]

Here and there on the Continent the Irish style appears in combination with the Frankish or the Early Christian, as in the Gospel-book of S. Willibrod, the Apostle of Friesland, in which gold, generally foreign to the Irish work, appears in connection with tender broken tones of colour.[6] In a manuscript of the same class by a writer named Thomas, in the Cathedral Library at Trier, gold and silver also appear among conventional ornaments of an otherwise Irish character; and the canons have an architectural bordering after the Early Christian model. Early Christian types appear sometimes even in the figures, as in the busts of the Apostles at the tables of canons.

Irish miniature-painting was directly continued by the neighbouring race of the Anglo-Saxons, whose works in their ornamentation correspond closely to the Irish, but in the figures soon betray a knowledge of Early Christian precedents. An example of this may be seen in the Cuthbert-book, or *Evangeliarium* of Lindisfarne, in the British Museum:[7] this is a Latin book with interlinear gloss in Anglo-Saxon, written, according to an inscription at the end, by Eadfrith to the honour of God, S. Cuthbert, and all the saints of the island of Lindisfarne. The monastery on this island, of which Eadfrith was abbot (A.D. 698-721), was an Irish foundation. The decorations of the manuscript bear also a strongly Irish character, only that the tone of colour is more delicate, with a slight use of gold; but the pictures of the four Evangelists show a certain knowledge of Early Christian and especially of Byzantine models, while the inscriptions on these (ὁ ἅγιος, often wrongly spelt) point to a knowledge of Greek manuscripts. These figures in their barbaric clumsiness remain far removed from their models, but at least they are no longer mere flourishes,—their author has at least intended to depict human beings. If the faces and bodies are without expression, they are at any rate not altogether symmetrical, or always seen in full face; they have real organs with some attempt at movement, and the undraped parts are true flesh-colour. The cast of drapery, however characterless, the thrones and accessories, show also the influence of Early Christian models. But the technical treatment is different; here is no careful painting in body-colour, but only an outline drawn in with the pen, and the simplest local tinting; no modelling of the flesh parts; and the shadows in the draperies expressed by difference of colour, as scarlet on green. This style continued to prevail in England till the beginning of the tenth century.

CHAPTER II.

WESTERN PAINTING—THE CAROLINGIAN AGE.

Introductory—Encouragement of art by Charles the Great—Lost mosaics and mural paintings—Position of Charles towards the question of images—MINIATURES; style of the Frankish miniature-painters in his age—The *Evangeliarium* of Godesscalc—Similar books in Abbeville, London, and Vienna—Bibles executed by order of Alcuin—The style culminates under Lothair and Charles the Bald—Dedicatory portraits in books prepared for royal personages—Secular MSS. of this period—Instances in which the Frankish manner tends to assimilate itself to the Irish—MSS. bearing the signature of the scribe or painter—Geographical centres of the art—Monastery of S. Gallen—General character of Frankish art under Charles and his successors—ITALY; progressive degeneracy of Rome—Artistic activity notwithstanding—Lost mosaics of S. Susanna and the Lateran—Mosaics of SS. Nereus and Achilles—Of S. Praxedis—Of *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere*—Of S. Mark—Of S. Ambrose at Milan—Rudeness of Italian miniature-painting in this age.

THE traditions of antiquity had almost entirely died out in the kingdom of the Franks when Charles the Great (*Charlemagne*) assumed the reins of government (King of the Franks, A.D. 768; Emperor of the Romans, A.D. 800). But the personal will of that great ruler, by whose side worked men of enlightenment in the Church, put an end to the progress of barbarism. Classical antiquity was once more deliberately apprehended as the source of all knowledge and all power. The Frankish king established a new empire in Italy, which lay at his feet. Rome and Ravenna presented to the astonished gaze of the Franks the splendour of the Early Christian monuments, their colonnades, their mosaics. The works of classical antiquity, too, became once more objects of admiration or reverential awe. The desire for collecting arose; precious objects, works of art, manuscripts, were brought from Italy; antique gems, coins, and vessels in precious metals, as well as Oriental carpets, came into favour as objects of luxury and as gifts. Popular education, as well as the studies of the learned, which were based on the literature of antiquity, seconded the revival of art. As Charles, however, encouraged native manners and costume, and collected the popular songs of Germany, so too the forms and elements of native and popular taste in matters of art were cultivated in his time. Architecture, bronze-casting, various processes of plastic art, painting, and art-industry, were carried on with energy. Great workshops were established at the residential city of Aachen (*Aix-la-Chapelle*), which was celebrated by poets as a second Rome; they were put under the superintendence of Einhart (*Eginhard*), a scholar skilled in the technical processes of many arts, who in the Royal Academy went by the name of Bezaleel, after the builder of the Tabernacle, and side by side with whom worked a

number of learned ecclesiastics, like Ansigisius, the abbot of Fontanelle. The large monasteries took their part, both by teaching and exertion, in promoting the revival of the arts.

The most important monuments of the time of Charles the Great have either perished or been robbed of their glories, like the Royal Chapel at Aachen. But up to the beginning of the last century there still existed here a mosaic of Christ enthroned on the globe surrounded by angels; underneath, on a much smaller scale, stood the four-and-twenty Elders casting down their crowns.[8] It is not certain that this mosaic dates from the time of Charles the Great, but the character of the design, especially in the vehement action of the figures, agrees generally with the character of the Carolingian miniatures.

The art of mural painting was carried on more actively still, but of its productions in castles, churches, and monasteries, like Fontanelle, Fulda, Reichenau, and S. Gallen, we know absolutely nothing to-day except from written descriptions and reports. Thus one Madalulfus of Cambray painted in Fontanelle under the abbot Ansigisius, and one Brunn in Fulda, under the abbot Eigil (A.D. 817-822). Thus, too, descriptions both in prose and verse have come down to us of the decorations in the palaces of Charles. Here, as in the palace of Justinian, profane subjects were represented, especially the exploits of the sovereign; at Aachen there were the Spanish Wars and the seven Liberal Arts; at Ingelheim several great series of paintings in the Royal Chapel, as well as in one of the halls of the palace. The former contained, in a number of separate pictures, the stories of the Old Testament, matched, in the relation of type and antitype, against as many stories of the New. The latter exhibited on one side the deeds, or rather according to the opinion of the artist the heathenish misdeeds of the ancient heroes, Cyrus, Minos, Phalaris, Romulus and Remus, Hannibal, and Alexander; and on the other side the "Acts of the Fathers,"—that is, of the Emperors Constantine and Theodosius, the Carolingian ancestor Charles Martel, and Pepin; and lastly, of Charles the Great himself.[9]

Of the intellectual position taken up by Charles towards art we have a written witness in the "Caroline Books," which were composed by his direction, and by means of which he declared his views with regard to the iconoclastic dispute. His clear intelligence was incapable of overlooking the abuses of image-worship, and the heathen element contained in that practice. On this side the opinion of the Frankish king differed from that of the Italians, but he agreed quite as little with the fanatical image-breakers of the East. His conviction finds its best expression in the phrase, "We neither destroy pictures nor pray to them." He thus assigned to pictures their true position as being ornaments of God's house; and their independent artistic significance, which had only been obscured by idolatry, was thereby again recognised. His conception of the functions of art explains why pictures of Frankish origin are ruder than contemporary Italian work, but at the same time they show an endeavour after life and movement,

and are not so petrified and bound by convention as in Italy. We are surprised also by the verdict passed in the Caroline Books on the subject of personifications of the Sun, Moon, and Earth, Precipices and Rivers, as well as on monsters made up of man and brute combined. But the judicious view which rejected these as pagan abuses was too far in advance of its time, and did not yet prevail. On the contrary, such personifications and fantasies held out steadily through all the Middle Age.

I. MINIATURES.—The existing remains of Carolingian painting are limited to miniatures. To miniature-painting a strong impulse was given in the Carolingian age,[10] and it exhibits more than any other branch of art the survival and bent of a specifically Germanic tendency. In the initial letters and borders, the older Frankish elements are to be traced in combination with the Irish characteristics of scroll-work, geometrical ornaments, leaf-work, and fantastic animal motives, but the effect differs perceptibly from that of Irish work, especially in the colouring, inasmuch as gold and silver are often applied on a purple ground (Fig. 56). Again, instead of the primitively crude or curiously twisted human figures, we find independent figure pieces following Early Christian models, but only in the principal features, and not in the style of the drawing, for the intelligence of the Franks did not extend so far. The proportions are uncertain, the hands large, with the points of the fingers turned outwards, the feet thick ; the type of the heads is an elongated oval, with very highly arched eyebrows. large round eyes, a long nose widening at the point, and full if rather rudely drawn lips. Rich architectural forms, with coloured pillars of the Corinthian and occasionally of the Ionic order, splendid seats of antique shape, and striped tapestries, are favourite objects in the side-work and borderings, and copies of antique gems and coins appear in some manuscripts. The colouring

Fig. 56.

is usually hard and dull, but the surface has a brilliant glaze, no doubt caused by a wash of some varnish containing lime. The outlines have generally been drawn with the brush in light red, and a half tint next laid over all in body-colour of thick impasto, both light and shadow being solidly painted on afterwards. Thus, upon the even yellowish ground-tint of the flesh, the details of the body are marked in black, the eyelids in red, while the cheeks are coarsely modelled in a greenish colour, and the light down the side of the nose is laid on in white. In all sacred figures the draperies follow the antique, but they are generally badly understood, and the several motives only indicated with coarse black strokes. Knowledge of perspective is altogether absent, and the figures never stand out efficiently from the flat surface.

A splendid work of ascertained date from the time of Charles the Great is a Gospel-book in Paris, executed for the Emperor and his wife Hildegard by a scribe named Godesscalc (A.D. 781).[11] The initials are magnificent, and every page is richly ornamented. Six larger pictures contain the Evangelists, Christ enthroned, and an allegory of the Fountain of Life, to which various animals draw near. The figure of Christ in full face and in the act of benediction, is of the youthful beardless type, with fair hair parted in the middle ; and, in spite of the dull wide-open eyes, has less rigidity than the other two heads, and more expression because of the slightly parted lips (Fig. 57). This figure is superior to the Evangelists, with their coarse extremities and awkward attitudes. A knowledge of Carolingian architecture, and modes of tapestry decoration may be gained from the backgrounds of these pictures. A still better example is the *Codex Aureus* in the Municipal Library at Trier. It was written by order of the abbess Ada. The Evangelists are all of the beardless ideal type, and, in spite of all shortcomings, the motives are free and grand.[12]

Closely connected with these are the Gospel-book from Saint-Ricquier or Centula in the Municipal Library at Abbeville, and one in Paris from Saint-Médard at Soissons, in which the Fountain of Life appears again with a splendidly coloured canopy on columns ; as well as another in the British Museum, which, besides the Evangelists, contains small Scripture scenes let into some of its magnificent initials.[13] The Gospel-book of Charlemagne, among the Treasures of the Holy Roman Empire in the treasure-chamber at Vienna, is somewhat different. The book itself contains no proof of its date and origin, but cannot be assigned to a later period. What distinguishes it from all the other works of the time either of Charles the Great or of his followers, is the strong influence of the classical Early Christian art in the pictures of the Evangelists, which in every case show an aim at nobility in the attitude and thoughtfulness in the expression. Here the feet are clumsy too, the hands extravagantly large ; great mistakes occur, such as in the right hand of S. Matthew, which exhibits five fingers and no thumb ; still the cast of drapery is classical and free from pettiness. The sentiment is helped by the background, which

consists mainly of landscape indicated in the simplest manner with rudely placed hills and trees; the execution is extraordinarily broad, with brown shadows in the flesh, besides which there are but few colours—white in the draperies,

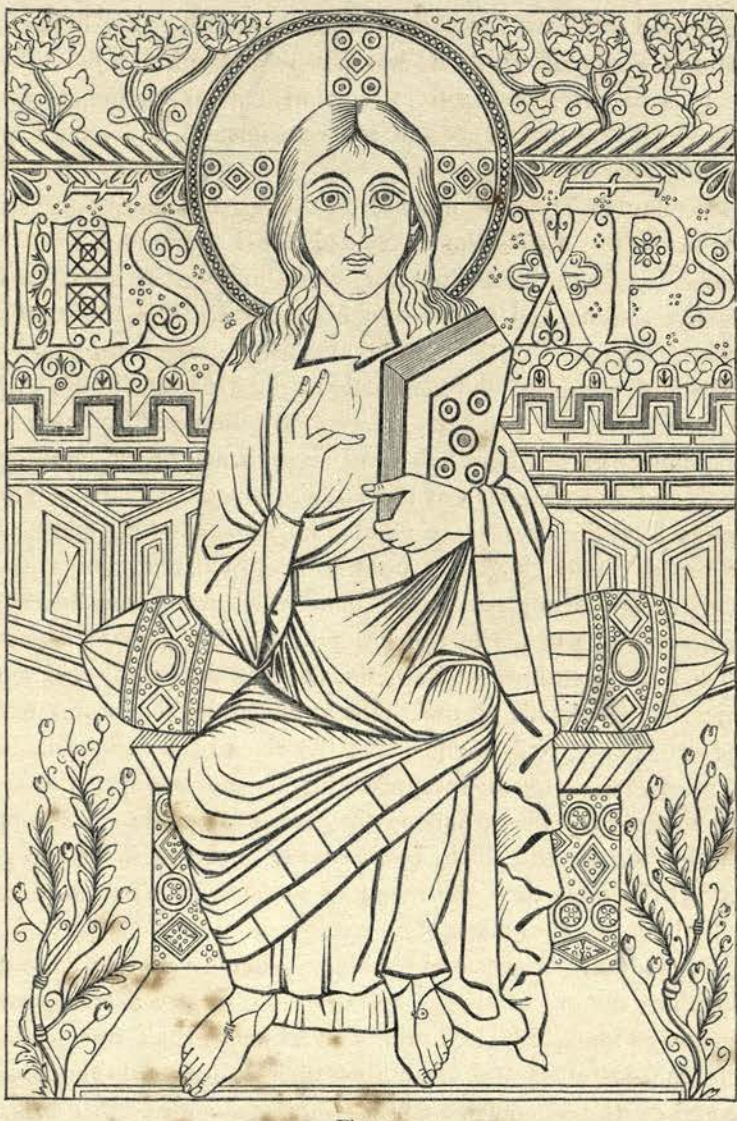

Fig. 57.

vermilion, and gold. The initials are formed of pure geometrical figures, without foliage-work, or with only the faintest suggestion of it; they are chiefly in gold with red borders, and filled in with blue.[14]

The Latin Bibles at Bamberg and Zurich[15] show a higher stage of the art, and more finely elaborated initials, in gold and silver, with red framework on a colourless ground; but when in the former we see the figures in the small

scenes from the Old Testament wearing gold and silver draperies, this is but an outbreak of a barbarous taste for the lustre of precious metals. Both works were executed by order of the Emperor's learned favourite Alcuin; the first contains a gold medal with his name, in the second a dedicatory inscription in verse is addressed to him. Hence they probably were executed in the monastery of S. Martin at Tours, of which Alcuin was abbot from A.D. 796 till his death, A.D. 804. In a *Sacramentarium* from Metz, written for Drogo, a natural son of Charles the Great, the initials are still more ornamental, and often filled in with Bible scenes of very original device.[16]

The Carolingian style of miniature-painting, however, only reached its highest point in the manuscripts executed for Lothair and for Charles the Bald, grandsons of the great Emperor, whose intellectual influence continued even after the decline and partition of his empire. The technical execution has scarcely changed, but the treatment shows greater care and precision. Broad horizontal bands of different colours interchange in the backgrounds, now as in earlier examples, and the effect of the draperies is often heightened by gold hatchings in the high lights. The brilliancy of effect, the splendour of ornament, and the character of the initials, remain the same. The drawing of the figures is still the weakest point. Large heads with staring eyes and uniformly broad round chins rest on narrow-shouldered trunks, the osseous structure of which is not understood, and which are generally characterised by being heavy and swollen in the lower parts. In spite of a good general cast borrowed from antique models, the drapery suffers by being too much broken up; the movement of the limbs is uncertain, sometimes weak, sometimes over vehement. Still we perceive the signs of a delight in the human body, and an inventive touch in representing its movements; the artists want to produce expressive effects, and as they were incapable of attempting this in the face, they do so with all the more energy in the attitudes and gestures of the body. At the same time, the range of subjects, which up to this time had been very limited, becomes much more extended.

Thus the manuscripts executed for kings generally contain large dedicatory pictures, in which the object always appears to be to give a true portrait of the exalted personage himself. Their princely vestments, the forms of their thrones and crowns, the costumes and armour of their suite, everything belonging to their state and court ceremonial, we find reproduced with perfect accuracy; and even if the features of the king are typically treated, still their general aspect is characteristic, especially in the manner of wearing the hair and beard, so that the same personality remains recognisable whenever he recurs. We find the Emperor Lothair in a Gospel-book belonging to the Cathedral Treasury at Aachen, and in another at Paris which was written for S. Martin's in Metz soon after the treaty of Verdun (A.D. 843).[17] Lothair sits enthroned between his guards, with stern features and aquiline nose, but not without a certain dignity of gesture (Fig. 58).

He appears again, and this time alone, in a Psalter in private possession in England.[18] In a Prayer-Book in the Royal Treasury of Munich, Charles the Bald is depicted kneeling before a picture of Christ on the cross (an early example of the undraped treatment of the subject) which fills the opposite page. In another Prayer-Book in Paris, the same Emperor appears alone in a golden mantle.[19] In both the face is full, almost puffy; but while in the Munich book Charles

Fig. 58.

appears shaven, in all other manuscripts, as well as in the Paris book, he wears a moustache. Manuscripts of greater size contain still richer compositions. In the Latin Bible at Paris, which was presented to the king in A.D. 850 by Vivianus, head of the abbey of S. Martin at Tours, this dignitary approaches Charles at the head of eleven ecclesiastics, while the king is surrounded by two courtiers and two soldiers; above them we see personifications of France and Aquitaine, and also the hand of God protecting his elect.[20] We find a kindred composition in the great Bible from San Callisto in the library of *San Paolo fuor le mura* at Rome, which probably found its way there on the coro-

nation journey of the Emperor (A.D. 875).[21] The striving after movement, so opposed to the Byzantine rigidity, is especially remarkable in the *Codex Aureus* from S. Emmeram in Regensburg, a Gospel-book written A.D. 870, which had been kept there since the days of King Arnulf, and is now in the library at Munich.[22] Charles's left hand rests on his knee, the right is raised as if he were speaking; the weak drawing of his legs is as noticeable as the same fault in the figures standing on each side, viz. two esquires, and the personifications Francia and Gotia (*Aquitaine*), each with a mural crown and horn of plenty. They are standing with a knock-kneed unsteady carriage. A canopy rises over the king in what is intended to be perspective, but the columns which ought to retreat appear to be in front of the throne and on the same level with the rest. Above this float two angels in the air, and the space still remaining empty inside the border is filled with the regulation verses in the style of the Court. No name can be assigned to the prince whose portrait appears at the beginning of the *Canones Missae* in Paris.[23] He is represented standing between two ecclesiastics with the hand of God holding a crown over him. The manuscript, which belongs to the best of the period, comes from Rheims. In Prayer-books pictures are generally scarce. The Paris example only contains two besides the dedicatory picture, viz. S. Jerome and David playing and dancing, besides his four players on the psaltery. The Gospel-book at Aachen is the only example of its class that contains a number of Scripture scenes. There is a far greater wealth of pictures in the Bibles,—particularly in those at S. Paul's in Rome, in the British Museum,[24] and at Paris. The illustrations begin with the legend of S. Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate; farther on the Old Testament predominates; but the best composition is again an exhibitive one, at the opening of the psalter, in which the antique style survives. David appears playing upon the harp, almost undraped, with only the chlamys, between two guards and four minstrels; in the angles of the border appear busts of the Cardinal Virtues, Prudence, Fortitude, Justice, Temperance. In most of the manuscripts, in spite of short figures, dull features, and feeble extremities, we may observe a character of life and movement, often even an attempt at pathos in the gestures, and an endeavour by these means to produce a speaking effect.

Manuscripts of secular writings also appear in this school during the ninth and tenth centuries; Latin translations, for instance, from the botanical work of Dioskorides, and from an astronomical poem by Aratos, with representations of the constellations, in which classical models are more or less recognisable.[25]

Side by side with these works, which show the highest development of the Frankish style, are others which more nearly approach the Irish school in ornamentation, system of colour (though gold is not excluded), and drawing. Thus in a Gospel-book at Paris, the pictures of the Evangelists have mouths drawn with scarcely more than a single line depressed at the corners; the curly

hair is arranged in massive formal bunches, the drapery, with long elaborate folds, floating ends, and fidgetted edges, is quite without character. The types in the similar book from S. Laurentius at Lüttich (*Liège*) are even more barbarous.[26] A Gospel-book of Francis II. at Paris stands very high from the splendour of its initials and borders wrought in gold and silver, fillings-in of white scroll-work on black, and birds in the corners after the Irish style. The pictures as well as the canons have the richest possible architectural borders, with slender columns and horse-shoe and pointed arches, in which the arcaded divisions of the Gothic style already seem to be suggested. Besides the pictures of the Evangelists, this manuscript contains an undraped figure of Christ on the cross presented with the spear and sponge.[27] This taste continued to the tenth century, as we see in a Gospel-book in Paris, in which no gold appears either in the initials or in the architectural borders of the canons or the pictures, however rich these are otherwise in colour and form, with lions, human heads, cowering figures at the base, and cleverly interlaced arches, among which the pointed arch already appears. But the figures of the Evangelists show the decadence of the style in their awkward bearing, and shapeless arms and legs, their ugly faces, and the meaningless motives of the drapery, as well as in the dingy colouring of their dark yellow flesh tones devoid of modelling.[28]

To some of the most important manuscripts written by royal command the name of the scribe or painter is attached. Thus the Gospel-book of Lothair in Aachen contains a portrait of the scribe, a monk named Otto. The Codex of Charles the Bald from S. Emmeram was executed, according to the verses on the last page, by two brothers, Beringar and Liuthard, both ecclesiastics. The latter is probably the same scribe Liuthard whose name is mentioned at the close of the Paris Prayer-book. In a Bible belonging to the same king, from S. Callisto, the scribe Ingobert boasts with much self-complacence, in some Latin verses,[29] that he has overtaken and indeed surpassed the Italian draughtsmen, and in this opinion he is not mistaken, as a glance at Italy will soon show us.

We have seen that the monasteries from which some of the most beautiful illuminated manuscripts came were S. Martin's in Tours and S. Martin's in Metz. Centres next in importance for this art in France and Lotharingia seem to have been Saint-Ricquier in Picardy, Fontanelle, Saint-Denis, Rheims, Aachen, and Lüttich; and in Germany the great monasteries of Fulda, Reichenau, and S. Gallen. In monasteries of secondary rank much less important books were produced, often of a more barbarous and inexperienced workmanship, such as the two pictures in the Otfrid manuscript from Weissenburg, done by order of Lewis the German, about A.D. 868.[30]

A flourishing school of miniature-painting developed itself, however, on German soil at S. Gallen. When the Irish style, which had been brought over to this place, came into contact with the Carolingian, a transformation was accomplished, which can be discerned before the middle of the ninth

century under the abbot Grimald (from A.D. 841), and continues under his successor Hartmut. At the outset of this style we have a Gospel-book executed by the scribe Wolfcoz. A new phase is indicated in a Psalter written by Folchard, which shows advanced ornamentation and complete technical skill in the initials, but yet remains crude and awkward in the figure-drawing, and this phase is also seen in the *Psalterium Aureum*, which is an example of the highest point attained by that school.[31] The initials in the latter are of broader design than in the psalter of Folchard, but they are often extremely fantastic, and the effect of colour is peculiar, from the fact that the scroll-work, gilt throughout, is outlined with red, and combined with very few other tones, chiefly purple and green, and never blue. The figure pieces are not painted in body-colour, as in the rich manuscripts of the Carolingian Court, but are simply drawn, the parchment being left bare for the light parts of the draperies, which are only coarsely shaded, and ornamented or outlined with gold. But what strikes one above everything here is the independence and freedom with which the story is told. Though it may be true that the knowledge of form shown is but small, and the want of perspective often causes one group to seem to stand above another instead of behind it,—that the ground is only indicated by purple wave-like lines, from which spring a few separate blades of grass, and which adhere to the feet of the personages, often seeming to float high in the air with separate groups or figures,—still the events from the story of David are set forth with life-like ease and an intuitive perception of nature, as in the scene in which David feigns madness in the presence of King Achish, or the going forth of the army against the Syrians (Fig. 59). Even the horses in this picture, though coloured purple, green, and scarlet, betray a certain observation of nature. The painter is happiest where he relies entirely on his own power of representation without using older models. The spirit of art survived long at S. Gallen. One of the abbots of the monastery named Salomo (A.D. 890-920) himself knew how to paint initial letters. Sintram, the designer of the uncoloured initials in the *Evangelium Longum*, was admired in all countries for his skill in writing. The principal workers at that time were Notker Balbulus the painter, and Tuotilo, so vivaciously described by Ekkehard IV. as "a man like an athlete, eloquent, and gifted with a clear musical voice, of austere life and yet of merry mood, so that the Emperor Charles the Fat cursed him who had made a monk of such a man; he was skilled alike in all manner of workmanship, in architecture, carving (especially in ivory), metal working, and painting."[32] But no painting by Tuotilo exists which we can identify with certainty. Here, as everywhere, a decadence in technical skill and conception set in contemporaneously with the fall of the Carolingian rule in Germany.

While Carolingian architecture was still essentially Early Christian in character, following tradition in construction and plan, and leaning towards antiquity in details, Carolingian painting had, on the other hand, so far as we can judge

from miniatures, attained a greater degree of independence. The art had at command a highly-developed system of ornament, which it treated with masterly technical skill, and in which the original artistic bent of the Germanic races held its own and maintained its special character in face of the traditions of antiquity. In figure compositions it is true that this school employed subjects, types, and even individual motives, borrowed in the first instance from the Early Christian

Fig. 59.

art of Italy ; but at the same time it exhibited an original tendency, not content with repeating over and over again some rigidly established scheme of figures and combinations, but endeavouring to realise the appearances of living action and purpose. What fettered this endeavour was the low stage of knowledge. The figure had been released from the Irish system of flourishes and convolutions, but ignorance of form and of perspective hindered artists from clearly representing things as they were, in spite of their practised hands and great desire to be natural.

This art was an art inspired and employed by the Court. From the Court the intellectual life of the epoch took its tone, and the principal monasteries, which were the seats of learning and of art, their direction. Thus it was, too,

that the works of miniature-painters appealed only to a narrow and privileged circle, and that the development and decadence of the art are determined by the destinies of the ruling house.

III. ITALY.[33]—In the countries north of the Alps, the age of Charles the Great marks a new if still primitive development in art; but in Italy we witness in this age only a progressive decline. Secular culture in Rome continually decayed; her ecclesiastics were put to shame by the learning of the North; Latinity fell lower and lower, and the Romans were left behind even by the despised Lombards. In art, too, the decline of the classical tradition grew every day more deplorable. If craftsmen had long ceased to have recourse to nature for themselves, so too were the ancient models ever less understood and more mechanically and superficially followed. The art of mosaic was still energetically carried on, and now, as heretofore, had its chief centre in Rome. Even yet it furnishes an effective and splendid decoration for churches; but drawing, forms, and expressions have become poorer and poorer. There is no longer an independent artistic aim; the austere solemnity and dignity of the early works have departed; and in spite of an unbroken tradition, the Roman school does not even preserve its old technical dexterities, but allows confused and barbarous elements to enter in.

In spite, however, of this degeneracy, Rome was even more productive after the end of the eighth century than before. Increased resources flowed to the Papal See from its connection with the Carolingian emperors. Builders were busily employed, churches were newly decorated. Leo III., who had invited Charles to Italy, felt himself impelled, in the years during which the new Empire of the West was preparing to come into existence, to give an artistic expression to the alliance between the new political power and the spiritual power. In the mosaics of S. Susanna on the Quirinal, which have perished, the portrait of the great Frankish Emperor had already formed a pendant to the portrait of the Pope. This bond between the spiritual and temporal powers was still more speakingly symbolised soon afterwards in the decoration of the great dining hall (*triclinium majus*) of the Lateran (A.D. 796-799). These mosaics have also been destroyed; all we have is a copy of those in the great apse, put together (A.D. 1743) from drawings then existing; this copy now adorns a great niche on the outside of the *Scala Santa* near the Lateran. An attempt has been made to preserve the original character; we must not, however, base on this any opinion as to its style, and must be content with noticing the subjects treated. The vault of the apse contained the Saviour surrounded by his disciples; the pictures on the arch face to right and left were occupied with the installation of the temporal and spiritual powers; Christ enthroned with Sylvester and the Emperor Constantine; Peter enthroned with Leo. III. and Charles; Sylvester receiving the keys, Leo the stole, the Saviour in each case the banner.[34]

After A.D. 800 Leo III. rebuilt the small basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilles next the Baths of Caracalla. The mosaics in the arch of the tribune still date from his time; a Transfiguration of Christ, on the right the Annunciation, on the left the Madonna, with the draped Child and an angel. The central figures become more and more feeble, but on the other hand a richer treatment of the ornamental work begins.[35]

Numerous works have come down to us from the time of Paschal, the next Pope (A.D. 817-824). At this period church-decorators often satisfied themselves with mere reproductions, as in S. Praxedis, where the mosaics of the apse are entirely copied from those in SS. Cosmas and Damian, but they are rigid, and without expression, with long spare figures, weakly drawn feet, empty draperies, and indifferent execution. In connection with Christ, Peter, and Paul, we find SS. Praxedis and Pudentiana, a holy Deacon, and Pope Paschal. There is also a representation of the New Jerusalem on the arch of triumph,[36] and, finally, a small chapel of S. Zeno, entirely decorated with mosaic.

The apse mosaic of *Santa Cecilia in Trastevere* is just as dependent on the same model; Christ between Peter and Paul, besides SS. Cecilia, Valerian, Agatha, and Pope Paschal. Lastly, *Santa Maria in Domnica* (or *della Navicella*) was also built by the same Pope. Christ appears here in the arch with Angels, Apostles, and Prophets; in the apse, in consequence of the growth of Mariolàtry, the centre piece is the Virgin, with the Child seated stiffly on her lap, and draped, as is always the case with these works; she is surrounded by youthful forms of angels, and at her feet is the pope. The figures are too large for the space; their flatness makes them seem unimpressive, and quite secondary to the pretty leaf ornament and to the plants which grow up from vases at the sides.[37]

In the mosaics of S. Mark, the malformation of the figures, the weakness of drawing and carelessness of execution, are still greater. On the arch is a bust of Christ between the emblems of the Evangelists, and beneath, two prophets on consoles; in the apse, again, there is a composition similar to that in SS. Cosmas and Damian, in which Christ appears with five saints at his side, and Pope Gregory IV. (A.D. 827-844) as the founder of the church. The poverty and want of meaning in the motives correspond with a failure of technical skill; the inefficiency of the grouping spoils the design even where it is pure imitation, and the figures lose all connection with one another.[38]

Northern Italy can boast of a far finer mosaic of this century; we mean that in the apse of S. Ambrose at Milan, which bears the marks of the native school in that place, perhaps in connection with influences from Ravenna.[39] The Saviour is solemnly enthroned between the splendidly apparelled standing figures of SS. Gervasius and Protasius; above float the archangels Michael and Gabriel, with crowns in their hands. Under this there is a frieze of medallions containing busts of saints. Palm trees divide the principal group from two side pictures illustrating the legend of S. Ambrose, who stands first at the altar in

Milan and then beside the bier of S. Martin at Tours, whither he has been transported by miracle. Above these scenes rise the cities of Milan and Turin, *Mediolanum* and *Turonica*, indicated by magnificent churches with domes. The motives in this work are better, and the drawing of the draperies better understood; the general scheme of colour on a gold ground is harmonious, the execution more equal; but the signs of decadence still betray themselves in rigid expressions, heavy outlines, and weak modelling.

Miniature-painting in Italy stood at this time far below the same art in northern countries. The Lombard writing, which had first been invented in the ninth century, continued to hold its own in many districts until the eleventh. The monasteries of Monte Cassino and La Cava, in which this art was carried on, are still rich in examples of it. The primitive style of Germanic ornamentation survives in the gorgeous initial letters; they consist of scroll-work terminating in leaf-forms, and filled in with symmetrically arranged animals, especially dogs. The scale of colouring is light: scarlet, pink, light yellow, and blue on a gold ground. The figure compositions are always crude, ungainly in attitude, without unity, with hideous noses and short upper lips, and drawn in coarse, slightly coloured outline. A striking example of this style may be seen in the manuscript of the Lombard Laws with portraits of the kings at La Cava, belonging to the beginning of the eleventh century.[40]

CHAPTER III.

BYZANTINE PAINTING AFTER THE CLOSE OF THE ICONOCLASTIC SCHISM.

Introductory—Political revival in the Byzantine Empire—Desire to keep up the classic spirit and to encourage art—Byzantine art in the ninth and tenth centuries superior to Italian, but incapable for further advance—MINIATURES—The Paris Sermons of Gregory Nazianzen—The Paris Psalter—The Vatican Topography of Cosmas—The Vatican life of Joshua—The Paris *Evangeliarium*—Commencement of decadence about A.D. 1100—Psalter of Basil II. at Venice—The Vatican *Menologium*; classical spirit still surviving in personifications—Decadence exemplified in MS. of S. John Chrysostom written for Nikephoros Botaniates—Final ascendancy of formalism and asceticism—New taste for crowded figures on a minute scale—New taste for initials formed out of animals—Initials formed out of figure-subjects—Appearance of Western influence in some Byzantine MSS. of the thirteenth century—Petrifaction of the art notwithstanding—Its continuance in the same lifeless shape—Other forms of Byzantine art in the early Middle Age; MOSAICS—Revival under Basil I.—Lost mosaics of the *Kainourgion*—S. Sophia; distribution, subjects, and style of the mosaics—Their technical workmanship—Mosaics of the declining period in other Greek churches—Portable mosaic pictures of this period; examples at Paris and Florence—Mechanical subservience to tradition—PAINTINGS ON WALL AND PANEL; ENAMELS AND TEXTILE PRODUCTS—Abundance and mechanical character of mural paintings in churches, chapels, and monasteries—Abundance and mechanical character of portable paintings on panel—Enamel-painting; not to be here considered—Textile products; their abundance and dissemination—The Monk Dionysios and THE MOUNT ATHOS HANDBOOK—Manuel Panselinos—Subjects of the first division of the Handbook—Whole range of sacred subjects illustrated in second division—Narrative pictures from the Old and New Testament—Exhibitive and symbolical groups and single figures—Ceremonial pictures—Allegorical pictures—Third division of the Handbook; disposition of several classes of pictures—INFLUENCE OF BYZANTINE ART ABROAD—Mohammedan races—Races converted to Christianity—Slavonic races, especially Russia—Various epochs of Russian popular art—Its servile and unchanged character at the present day.

AT the close of the iconoclastic schism, a new political revival began in the Byzantine Empire, and affected fine arts as well as politics. External losses had followed in the train of intestine confusion, and the Arabs had conquered not only Syria and Egypt, but in course of time Sicily also. Rome had shaken herself free and become the seat of a new empire. The wars against the powers of Islam and against the Bulgars, who had gained a footing on the Balkan Peninsula itself, still continued. But the Empire, though internally shattered and reduced in its extent, gathered up its strength anew. The revival began with the Macedonian dynasty (from A.D. 867). Basil the Macedonian had made of crime a stepping-stone to sovereignty, as was usual in this despotic empire, but once in power, he behaved with the energy, resolution, and moderation of a born ruler, restored order and law, and reconstructed the finances and the army. The Byzantine Empire had still a greater territory than other kingdoms of Europe, and its capital was the largest in Christendom. The

state was populous, flourishing, full of prosperity and inexhaustible resources, favoured by nature and by climate, and inhabited by a people who surpassed all others in industry and skill, and knew how to civilise even the barbarians who invaded them. The rivalry with the Mohammedan Khalifates, which tried to make the arts of Greece their own, reached Byzantium, and influenced in its turn the spirit of Greco-Christian culture. From the position of the capital city on the borders of Europe and Asia, Greek culture had here long since become imbued with Oriental elements. The Oriental bias also appeared in the rigid despotism of the government, met half-way by the servile disposition of the people; in the pompous ceremonial of Court and Church; in the sumptuous luxuriance of manners and costume, of life, usage, and art.

The Byzantines still claimed the name of Romans and despised that of Greeks,' although their connection with Rome had ceased, and Greek, which was from the first the language of the people and of literature, had at last driven Latin from the place of the official and business language. A conscious connection with the classic past pervaded the culture of the people, and they endeavoured to preserve classical forms even though the classical spirit had departed. The pursuit of science went hand in hand with that of art, and both were encouraged from the throne. Letters found distinguished patrons, like Cæsar Bardas, uncle of Michael III. The Emperor Basil I., himself without culture, felt his deficiency and had his son Leo (surnamed the Philosopher) educated by the learned Photius; he was also filled with enthusiasm for architecture, perhaps the noblest caprice of despots, and drew to his seat of empire every variety of artistic industry for the enrichment of his architectural creations. His nephew Constantine Porphyrogennetos, a royal author, was also a lover of art, and even an amateur painter; his court biography records how he gave advice to painters and surpassed their works, so that his knowledge of an art he had never learnt seemed miraculous.

This after-bloom of art, to which the revived use of pictures in churches furnished the most desired occasions, was to a certain extent a Renascence. While in Italy art was falling deeper and deeper into barbarism, Byzantium re-united the broken links of her traditional connection with classical antiquity and with the age of Justinian. While the arts of the West were carried on in new lands and with primitive modes of expression by the Germanic races, Byzantine art took up again its ancient inheritance of technical accomplishment, of established school traditions and classical style. For this reason, Byzantine painting in the ninth and tenth centuries still asserts its complete superiority in comparison with the hasty and incomplete though strenuous attempts of the West. But, just as through all the literary efforts of the Byzantines there has passed no creative current,—just as their activity is essentially of the compiling and their knowledge essentially of the formal order,—just as their most encyclopædic learning was bound up with the deepest superstition, and freedom of spirit they had none,—even so their inherited treasures of art lay in the hands

of a people enslaved and debilitated by age, possessing no energy for new effort, and idly consuming its hereditary stores instead of making them bear fruit. The history of Byzantine art becomes the history of a gradual but continuous decline, which was never again stirred by a new spiritual movement. For that reason we shall be justified in this place in following its course down into times beyond the strict limits of our present period.

I. MINIATURES.—Miniatures remain, as before, the only kind of work of which examples of assured origin are preserved and accessible in sufficient numbers to enable us really to study the history of Byzantine painting. Illuminated manuscripts of the latter half of the ninth century again show us the old merits in technical handling and general design; only it becomes clearer than ever that the treatment of form, though still skilful, rests more upon tradition than upon nature. The modelling becomes weaker, as is to be expected at a time when sculpture was so far distanced by painting. Moreover the semi-Oriental costumes of the Court by and by became universal, and their constant mechanical repetition takes the place of antique motives. The colouring too becomes conventional; in the flesh parts a harsh brown tone alternates, according to sex and rank, with one verging into green in the shadows, the effect of which is delicate but not always wholesome. Faults of perspective became very obvious. Objects are piled one above another instead of receding into distance, and the difference of size between near and far is not always proportionable.

The two principal works of this period are to be found in the National Library in Paris. First, the sermons of S. Gregory Nazianzen, written for the Emperor Basil the Macedonian (A.D. 867-886). This book contains numerous illuminations, which are in bad condition, but it is still possible to see that the treatment is broad and skilful, and that they are painted either on a gold or very finely-toned green ground, from which the colours stand out in strong relief. The characteristic conventionalities just mentioned are strikingly evident here, but the power of pictorial embodiment is still considerable, the number and variety of the subjects is extraordinary, and we get quite as faithful a picture of the costume and aspects of life of this period as we do of those of the fifth century in the Vienna Genesis. A Christ enthroned, and the dedicatory pictures of the Emperor and Empress, which have unfortunately suffered severely, are followed by scenes from the Old and New Testament, including the Passion; and farther on martyrdoms of the Apostles, later legends, events from the history of Julian the Apostate, and a representation of the second Council. Here too the proportions of the figures and many of the motives are still quite antique, but the expressions of the heads, though quiet and solemn, border upon the ascetic, and the movements often show a want of complete knowledge of the organic structure of the body. Ezekiel before the Lord (Fig. 60) is an unusually dignified example of this style.[41]

A Psalter with commentary, of the beginning of tenth century, is still more important, and far more closely related to classical art; it is also in good

Fig. 60.

condition, and contains fourteen large pictures, which with their simple borders of dull gold cover in each case the whole folio page; it may be presumed that they have been taken from models of a better period. In the first picture David as a shepherd sits playing on the psaltery, while a beautiful classical female

figure, personifying Melody, leans with her left arm on his shoulder, the right arm resting carelessly on her lap. The head of a Nymph appears through the trees opposite, listening, and in the foreground the mountain-god Bethlehem rests in a bold attitude beneath a rock; beside him are sheep and goats at

Fig. 61.

the water, and a dog; a landscape with antique buildings (indicating the town of Bethlehem), fountains and hills, forms the background. In spite of incorrect perspective, and innumerable errors of detail, which show how far the power of execution has lagged behind that of conception, the effect is still essentially pictorial, and the conception full of poetic feeling. Personifications constantly recur in these pictures, and in them the beauty and charm of antiquity still live

on amid the severer shapes of the Christian faith. When David overcomes the lion, personified Strength stands by his side; when Samuel anoints him king, Gentleness is in like manner by. A figure of Strength like an ancient Victory leads him to the fight against Goliath, behind whom Vainglory is seen retreating. The costume, which has hitherto followed the antique, changes in the seventh picture, where David appears on a pedestal, in the state robes of a Byzantine king, attended by figures of Wisdom and the gift of Prophecy. The representation of the prophet Nathan in his anger reproving David is of striking dramatic power. The king in his agitation grasps the crown with his left hand, and raises the right as if to say Hold! Farther to the right he appears again in deep contrition with his face in the dust; behind him stands Repentance leaning thoughtfully against a parapet. Among the succeeding pictures, illustrating Moses and the Prophets, one of Isaiah in prayer is particularly fine; he is accompanied by a figure of Night, with a star-spangled veil and reversed torch, and Morning as a lovely boy lifting up the torch again. The last picture in this book represents King Hezekiah on his sick-bed; he is also praying, and behind him appears the figure of Prayer with her finger raised to the lips, like an antique Muse in Pompeian wall-paintings, of which we are also reminded by the scenery, the palace with its flight of steps, the rocks and trees, and the sky behind them, from which streams a tender red light.[42]

That direct copies of older pictures were often made at this period is proved by the Christian "Topography of Cosmas" in the Vatican Library, a manuscript of the ninth century containing fifty-four pictures, which are all reproductions from the work of the sixth century, in which period the author lived. The execution of these copies, however, shows much less knowledge, especially in the drawing of the limbs. On page 636 is King David enthroned, with the boy Solomon standing beside him. Above this a medallion with the head of Samuel, and under it two figures of dancing women, following classical precedent in the movements; at the sides six choirs of the temple, each one formed like a wheel with eight figures for its spokes. The boldness of the movement is surprising in the subject of Elijah mounting to heaven in a fiery chariot, while Elisha keeps his mantle.[43]

A great parchment roll upwards of thirty feet long, also in the Vatican Library, with coloured drawings from the life of Joshua and explanatory Greek inscriptions, belongs probably to the tenth century. The workmanship is broad, and even sketchy, but many of the motives, and especially the life and movement of the battle pieces, still point to antique models. Effective too is the scene in which Joshua, equipped as a Roman hero, commands the sun to stand still; behind the attacking armies of the Israelites sits a noble female figure with a mural crown and sceptre, personifying the city of Gibeon, although a little higher up in the picture there is also an actual view of a town. The locality, and even the ground, is not otherwise indicated, and there is no attempt at perspective.[44]

To these the last known examples of a noble style of work belongs, finally, a

Gospel-book in Paris bearing an exact date, which is peculiarly valuable.[45] It is stated at the end of this manuscript that it was written during the reign of Nikephoros, and this can only be Nikephoros II. (A.D. 963-969). The Evangelists appear in every case standing, but with no ground under their feet, and with a gold background; the heads express a depth of life, the feet are too small but generally well formed like the hands; the cast of the drapery is classical and not over-elaborate. Cool, tender tones of blue, violet, grey, and white predominate, while the flesh tone is rich and warm. Such was the level at which Byzantine art stood immediately before the time when, through the marriage of the Byzantine Princess Theophano with the Saxon Emperor Otto II., its influence made itself seriously felt upon the West. But soon afterwards, just as the first dawn of a new revival began in Germany, this after-bloom decayed at Byzantium, where nothing could henceforth check the petrifaction of art.

On the confines of this decisive decadence we already find the manuscripts executed for the Emperor Basil II. (A.D. 976-1025), and especially his Psalter at Venice.[46] A large dedicatory picture at the beginning represents the Emperor standing in his armour; by Christ's command an angel crowns him, and eight figures in the ceremonial livery of the Court lie doing homage at his feet. The warlike king is still rendered with character and dignity, only the action of the legs is weak. The flesh-colour is strong, and the execution broad. Six scenes from the story of David on the next page show one or two good motives, as in David fighting with the lion, but the figures are too slim, and fail chiefly in firmness of carriage and movement. The careless procedure of the artist may be seen from the fact, that of the nine figures present at the anointing of David, only the three foremost have the right number of legs, while for all the rest only one leg is forthcoming, and that one even, from its position, could not possibly belong to any of them.

Manuscripts still continue to occur which interest us by the multitude and variety of their subjects, such as the *Menologium* or Sacred Calendar of the Vatican Library, also written for Basil II.; and a Psalter in the British Museum, dated A.D. 1066.[47] What is best is still always an echo of earlier times, like the personifications; in the *Menologium*, the figure of Egypt with a mural crown; in the Psalter, the river-gods Euphrates and Tigris in the picture of the Jewish captivity, or the figure of Sleep who stands fanning the sleeping David in the form of an angel, or the youthful Sun-god who appears on his chariot drawn by four horses above the Scripture personages. In this same book we still find a manner of representation which is quite like the Early Christian, as for instance the Three in the fiery furnace, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Raising of Lazarus. But side by side with these we also find novelties of conception. In one of the two pictures of the Crucifixion the manner in which the body of Christ is hung on the cross and bends outward is noticeable, and appears for the first time in this degenerate stage of Byzantine art. To the same tendency

belong also the fantastic hobgoblins in the Temptation of S. Antony. The feeling for form, drawing, and drapery has greatly fallen off.

How far the decadence had already advanced at the end of the eleventh century may be seen in the Paris book of Selections from the works of S. John Chrysostom, written for the Emperor Nikephoros Botaniates (A.D. 1078-1081).[48] In the first of the four dedication pictures at the beginning, a miserable vestige of antique design may still be observed in the allegorical figures of Truth and Justice behind the throne, but the remainder is all the weaker. As, when the Emperor gave audience, the throne upon which he sat was by a mechanical contrivance actually uplifted in presence of those prostrate before it, so the artist here attempts a like coarsely material effect with the means at his command, by painting the autocrat of a gigantic size compared with the other figures. There he sits enthroned, in a blue robe, with embroideries, gems, and borders of gold, and with the red shoes that he alone may wear; beside him stand four officials of his Court, at that time also the holders of the highest dignities of the Empire; immediately on his right the *Protovestiarius* or Master of the Robes. As a reverential silence was enjoined during State ceremonials, all these personages stand perfectly motionless, looking as if they were stuffed, in their over-elaborate and generally sleeveless court dresses; while their faces, with small mouths, long straight noses, almond-shaped eyes, highly arched brows, and low foreheads, are entirely devoid of expression (Fig. 62).

The inheritance of antiquity was exhausted, for it had been allowed to lie as uninvested capital, unfructified by the spirit of new work. The power of independent life was wanting in Byzantine art; it created nothing from inward impulse or spontaneous impression, but worked only on a foundation of rule and custom. In all that was now represented nothing came directly from life, but only from the stilted ceremonial of Church and Court. Art had become the servile dependant at once of a self-seeking, luxurious, and ostentatious despotism, and of a rigid ecclesiasticism which did not trouble itself to instil morality into the life and manners of the day, but was only bent upon a fanatical persecution of heresy, an ascetic austerity of rule, and the propagation of a dogmatic formalism. The motives are only repetitions of what belonged to earlier epochs. Many of these, in spite of all timidity of reproduction, might well declare themselves imperishable, but they have lost their original stamp; neither the single figure and its movement, nor the composition and its grouping, proceed now from any personal initiative of the painter. Instead of studies from life, tracings from earlier works were what the artist valued; but with the failure of original perception, and utter poverty of performance, came also, in spite of the most anxious care, an incapacity to understand these earlier models. The reproduction became ever more lifeless and mechanical. The proportions are drawn out in length, the limbs seem not to belong to one another, the extremities and joints are only turned out to a pattern, the feet are incapable of walking or standing, and often

point obliquely downwards, without finding any ground beneath them. The movements are no longer inspired by any human will. The nude disappears almost

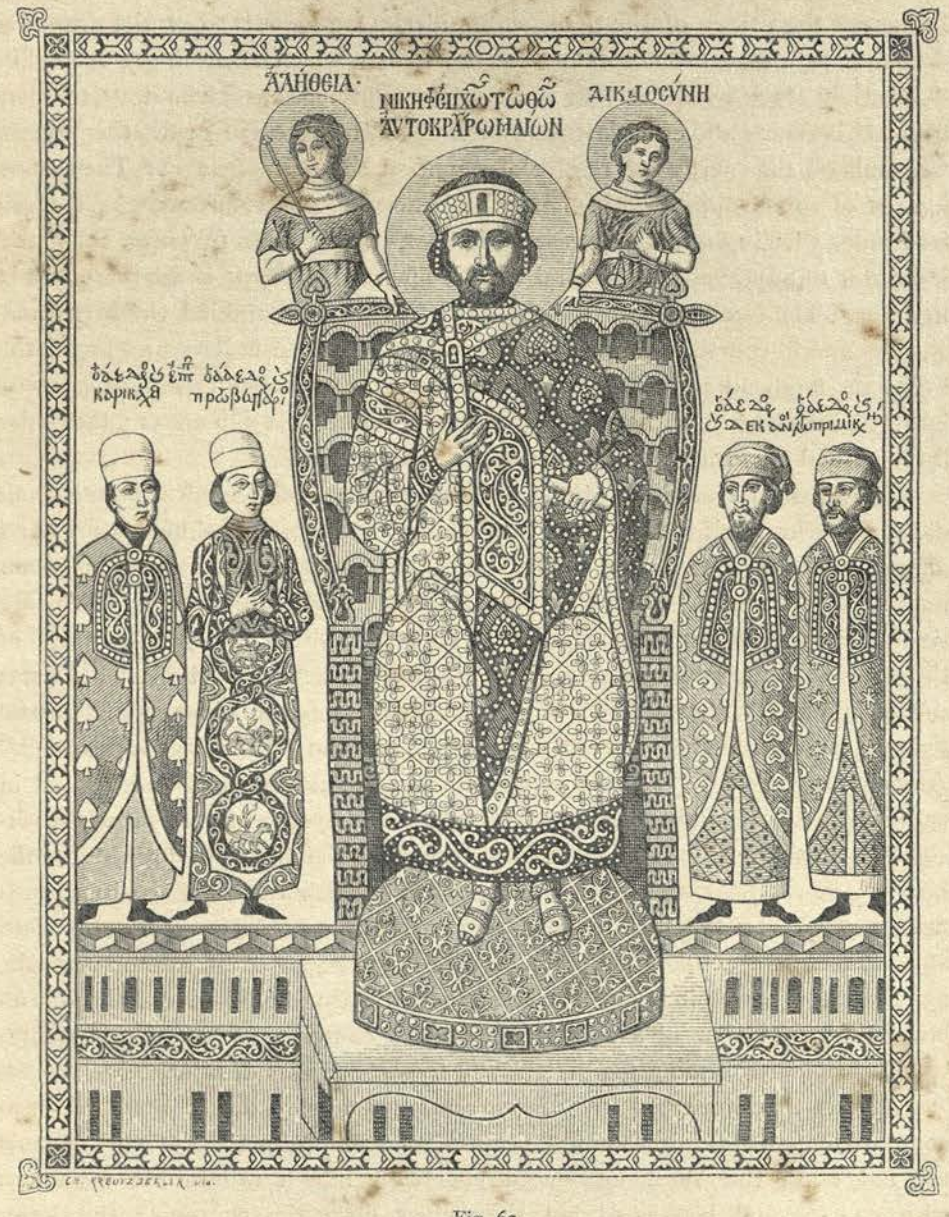

Fig. 62.

entirely, according to Oriental usage, which is welcomed by the one-sidedness of the Christian morality of the age. When antique dress is represented, the structure of the body is still intended to be marked, but this is done quite mechanically; the rounded parts of the body are drawn quite flat, and covered

with empty drapery, which by its poverty of fold and excess of ornament destroys the value of the principal motive, even when that is still happy. Modern state costume, again, was imitated with the utmost precision, and the artist strove to bring out the values of the tissue, embroideries, and jewels; but the dress was drawn tightly and mechanically over the bodies, which accordingly seem like dolls stiffly stuck within it. In the types everything has given way to mere typical blankness and ecclesiastical asceticism. The charm of youth, the grace of womanhood, the energy and resolve of manhood, have disappeared. The solemn figures of saints appear with gloomy and morose countenances, devoid of all true human feeling,—in the phrase of Kugler, "in all their frowning solemnity incapable of any exercise of moral will." The classical type is swallowed up in ugliness. The forehead is high, bald, and often deeply wrinkled, the eyes fixed, staring, and in course of time mere ugly slits. The nose is long and broad, the lights on forehead and cheek-bones stand abruptly out. The mouth is small, but without vivacity, without the charm of a mouth that can speak; the under lip is pushed up with an expression full of arrogance.

The classical tradition held out longest in matters of technical practice, but did not develop itself further; and the result, with all possible skill, neatness, and almost painful precision of handling, shows that the workman neither loved nor understood his work. From this time a taste arose for miniatures of smaller size and more dainty ornamentation. Thus a twelfth-century manuscript of the sermons of the monk Jacobus on the Festival of the Holy Virgin at Paris, has such a number of scenes that particular motives cannot on this scale be distinguished, with attenuated figures not more than one and a half to two inches high.[49] Any signs of the antique style which still remain here are only to be found in certain nameless secondary figures which stand looking on, while the principal personages are ascetically brooding in accordance with the mystical character of the book. The careful execution and rich colouring which are still found here cannot compensate for this. In the landscapes are trees with no trace of nature left, and yet there are actually attempts to represent the garden of Eden; or again, ungainly buildings often indicate the scenery. One of these only gives an interesting front view of a Byzantine domical church, a splendid and richly-coloured building forming the background to some figures of saints.

At this time appeared in Byzantine art a tendency, hitherto unknown, to compose ornamental initials out of beasts, birds, and dragons; but the animals are not, as in the West, introduced effectively into a caligraphic ornament with conventional leaf-work, but themselves form the shape of the letter by simple combinations, and without further additions.[50] We have seen that the early Germanic manuscript-painting began with attempts of the same kind. Thus we find an ancient and effete civilisation laying hold of those primitive forms which the Germanic nations had left behind them several centuries before.

About the same time something similar was attempted in other manuscripts; for instance, in several copies of the Sermons of S. Gregory Nazianzen, of which that in the Vatican Library is indeed ascribed to the eleventh century; but two corresponding examples in Paris belong only to the thirteenth.[51] The initials are chiefly composed of the same figures that reappear in the principal pictures, and represent Scripture scenes in little. While in the West the painting of the Romanesque style at this period uses richly decorated initial letters enclosing fantastic figures, or sacred scenes and personages, here we have the figures themselves forming the body of the letter, and though not, like the animal-letters of which we spoke above, altogether devoid of ornamental adjuncts, still with only the necessary minimum of such adjuncts (Fig. 63).

Fig. 63.

Whether this innovation was due to Western influence or not may seem doubtful. But such influence may certainly be recognised in another characteristic seen in the Paris manuscript last mentioned. Not only do animals constantly occur in the borders, but we also find sportive incidents introduced in various places on borders that are left white: a boy fighting with a bear for instance, another boy climbing up a tree, and child's play of all kinds. This reminds us of the *drôleries* of Western and especially of French manuscripts; and it would be easy to account for an influence from that quarter, inasmuch as the book is dated in the year 6771 from the creation of the world—that is to say, A.D. 1263, soon after the age of the Crusades and the fall of the Latin Empire in Constantinople (A.D. 1204-1261), when French chivalry had firmly established itself there, and French chivalric taste had even affected Greek literature. There exists in the British Museum a somewhat earlier manuscript, the Psalter of Melisenda, daughter of King Baldwin II. and wife of King Fulke of Jerusalem (A.D. 1131-1141), in which the author of the Byzantine miniatures has given his name in the Latin language and character (*Basilius me fecit*), while in the same work appear several pictures, and particularly initials, by a Western artist.[52] Here, then, we have the two styles of East and West side by side in the same book; and it is quite possible to conceive that a fusion of the two up to a certain point might have taken place later. But if Greco-Christian art borrowed at this time from Western models such sportive by-work as this, it borrowed nothing more; it underwent no such permanently vivifying influence and no such inner revolution as it needed.

The pictures in the last-named manuscripts have been growing weaker, duller, and more spiritless, and the colour harsher; and we now find the execution, which had held out longer than anything else, falling off more and more, as in the story of Balaam, in Paris. How far advanced this decline actually was in the time immediately preceding the Turkish conquest, is shown by a work in

the Louvre, executed by order of Manuel Palæologos. This Emperor had visited the Abbey of S. Denis during his residence in France (A.D. 1401), and seven years afterwards he sent thither as a present an ancient manuscript of Dionysios the Areopagite, with a newly painted dedication picture.[53] In the upper part of this picture is a perfectly symmetrically treated Madonna with the Child in front of her, crowning the Emperor and the Empress Helena, beside whom stand their three children. Stony rigidity can no farther go, but with it is mixed a kind of unpleasant affected blandness. The heads are mere patterns, with slits for the eyes, and quite without modelling; the dresses are pulled tightly down like bells over the forms, of which no trace is visible; the feet are not to be seen, but from under each of these lifeless dolls appear the legs of a stool upon which they seem to be placed. The colours are rather bright in tone: red, light and dark blue, mixed with a great deal of gold, are distributed in broad patches without shading. The art seems to have returned in its dotage to its first childish stages.

But as the petrified Byzantine art in all forms continues to exist even down to the present day, unable either to live or die, so the miniature-painting of the Greeks lived on in the Western world after the fall of the Empire in A.D. 1453. At the Renascence, when an accomplished taste extended itself to book illustrations as well as to other things, the Byzantine illuminators who found their way into Italy or France were able to find admirers for productions however little corresponding to the spirit of the time. They still continued merely to copy by rote, without learning anything even when they anxiously tried to accommodate their productions to the style of the West.

II. MOSAICS.—The framework or skeleton of our history of Byzantine painting has necessarily been constructed by the study of miniatures. Into this framework we must now fit whatever knowledge we derive from the remains of other varieties of the art.

The love of the Emperor Basil I. for architecture was the cause of a new revival of mosaic in his reign, which also witnessed, as we have seen, a revival of miniature-painting. Of his independent creations nothing remains to us but descriptions in historical writings. These tell of church-decorations, especially those of the *Nea* or new basilica in the imperial palace at Constantinople, and also of secular subjects executed in the imperial chambers and halls of ceremony. In the great hall of the palace *Kainourgion* the columns were covered with mosaics of vines and animals; in the vaulted roof the Emperor was represented on his throne, with his generals offering gifts of conquered cities; and all round the walls were the "Herculean labours" of Basil himself, his battles and victories. In another chamber were to be seen the Emperor and his wife Eudoxia seated on the throne, with crowns and royal robes, and on either side their sons and daughters in similar dress, the books of sacred knowledge in

their hands. The style, therefore, may have corresponded in typical solemnity to the dedicatory pictures of the manuscripts. The purely decorative style of mosaic also still existed; not long afterwards, under Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the Golden Triclinium of the palace was decorated with various flowers, richly coloured, and of such delicate workmanship that the room seemed like a bower of roses. We shall be better able to picture to ourselves a wall-decoration of this kind if we look at the borders of the canons in some of the Gospel-manuscripts of that period.[54]

To the time of Basil the Macedonian belong also many decorations, including perhaps the earliest, which remain in the church of S. Sophia, built by Justinian, and which were copied and published at the time of the last restoration.[55] This is the more probable, inasmuch as S. Sophia's is not likely to have escaped at the time of the iconoclastic disputes. In the interior there comes first a solemn figure of an angel with a sceptre and globe, in the barrel-vaulting next the principal apse. This is ascribed to the time of Justinian, but the form in which it has been published does not enable us to estimate it properly. In the semi-dome of the apse the Virgin is enthroned, with the Child standing before her. According to ancient accounts, the dome once contained Christ on the rainbow as Judge of the earth; the four spandrils below it were filled by gigantic heads of cherubim. In the crown of each of the four supporting arches under the dome appears a medallion; at the spring of the same arches on each side stands a simple figure above the cornice of the main pier. The western arch contains in the medallion a Madonna, with traces of the head of the Child, and at either side Peter and Paul; these belong to the time of the Emperor Basil I., who caused the western apse to be restored. The subjects are described in his biography by Constantine Porphyrogennetos. The mosaics on the soffit of the north arch are still later; in the medallion is a golden table, with book and cross; at the sides John the Baptist and the praying Virgin; at their feet John Palæologos on his knees. Thus we see that the second half of the fourteenth century, the worst time of all, has also left its mark here. On the great lunettes at the north and south ends of the transept, in three courses beside and under the windows, stand dignified colossal figures of saints, martyrs, prophets, and angels; none of these can be earlier than the eleventh century, though some of them may be of later date. A few remains are also to be still found in the *gunaikeion*, or women's choir, over the side aisles; the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, for instance, in one of the small domes. In the centre is Christ enthroned, and round him, in a very rigid style, the Apostles, arranged like the spokes of a wheel, with a flame above each head. In the spandrils are four groups of people with heads of a distinctly lower type and many-coloured garments, whereas the saints are all dressed in white. Lastly, the field of the arch over the central doorway leading into the church out of the *narthex* or vestibule is filled by a famous picture of an Emperor

kneeling before Christ (Fig. 64). The Redeemer is seated on a magnificent throne, the right hand raised in the act of blessing, and the left holding the open book; on each side is a medallion, with the busts of Mary and an angel respectively. The Emperor, who in the spirit of Byzantine ceremonial is in an attitude of servile prostration at the feet of Christ, is certainly not, as has been generally supposed, Justinian. There is no kind of resemblance between the beardless portrait of Justinian at S. Vitalis in Ravenna, and this bearded and grey-headed man. It is more likely to be Basil I., the restorer, as we know, of the western apse into which this entrance opens, and this opinion is supported by the miniatures of the time, especially the sermons of Gregory Nazianzen in Paris, expressly written for him. The portrait of the Emperor himself in this manuscript is unfortunately much injured; but the enthroned Redeemer on the first page corresponds entirely with the same figure in the

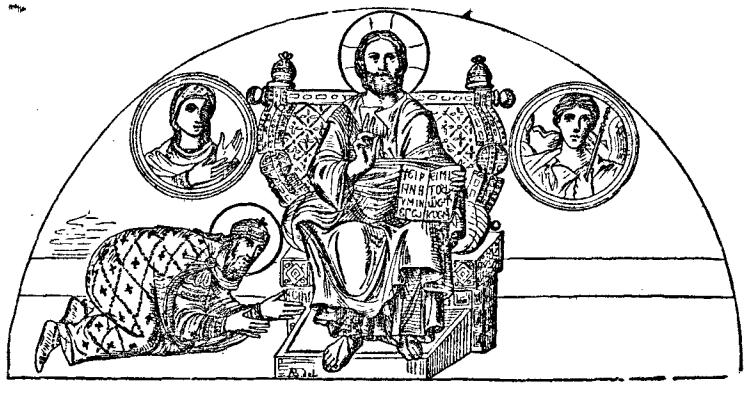

Fig. 64.

mosaic; it is the bearded type, but with a rounder face and broader forehead. The same agreement will also be found in the costumes and cast of drapery. The silvery lights in the robe of Christ indicate a silken material, the mantle is after the antique, but folded with painful care. The court dress of the Emperor bears witness to the Asiatic transformation of costume; instead of a gold circlet, as in the picture of Justinian at S. Vitalis, he wears a diadem of pearls, a tunic with long wide sleeves reaching to the ankles, and a stiff and shapeless dalmatic loaded with heavy pearl embroidery and covering the body like a sack. The round medallions with busts are better done, especially the angel (Fig. 65), which still shows a pure and classic nobility of style; the head of Mary, however, agrees with the type of the Madonna in the principal western arch under the dome, which certainly belongs to the time of Basil I.

The technical workmanship of the mosaic still shows complete uniformity and precision. Harmony and a noble taste prevail in the choice and arrangement of the colours. Though heterogeneous both in date and merit, the mosaics of S. Sophia still give us some idea of the glory of the decorations

which culminated in them. Judiciously set in their well-proportioned compartments and divisions, and separated by rich ornament, the several pictures, in their dignified repose, in their colouring, which is kept distinct and lighter than the rest of the decorations, take their place as the crown and climax of the whole. The grounds, gold throughout, and no longer showing any indication of landscape, architecture, or special locality, come into constantly varying relations with the pictures according to the play of light on the vaultings—now, in full light, outblazing all the rest, and now, in shadow, subordinating themselves and forming the soberest of backgrounds.

Remains of later Byzantine mosaics of the decadence, from the eleventh century down, are found in many Greek churches. That of S. Mary at

Fig. 65.

Bethlehem contains fragments of a great series of pictures, completed, according to an inscription, by the painter and mosaist Ephraim, A.D. 1169.[56] Of the representations from the lives of Mary and of Christ, in the choir and transept, only three now remain either in part or in the whole. The principal pictures on the walls of the aisles (placed beneath figures of angels between the windows, and above a row of busts of the ancestors of Christ) were representations of the Councils, not figuring those assemblies really, as we sometimes find them figured, but symbolically, by means of an altar with a book upon it, and above, an inscription containing decrees of the respective Councils in question. The whole is surrounded by an architectural border, on the south side resembling somewhat that which commonly encloses the canons in the manuscripts, but on the north taking the form of a church like that we described in the picture from the Sermons of James. In the inscriptions of this series of pictures,

Latin occasionally occurs as well as Greek, which is natural in a work that was produced under the authority of a Latin Bishop of Bethlehem, and corresponds with the mixture of languages in records and coins of that time from the Holy Land. We find, however, no Western influences in the style of the pictures themselves.

After the tenth century were executed also many small portable mosaic pictures. One of these, of the eleventh century, containing the Transfiguration, is in the Louvre, and represents the Transfiguration ;[57] in the *opera del duomo* at Florence are two of later date belonging to the Baptistery, each containing six scenes from the New Testament.

The style of the decadence as we became acquainted with it in the miniatures—its mechanical copying of old patterns, the degradation of its forms, its lifelessness and rigidity, strike us even more painfully still in monumental works. In these great devotional pictures the imagination of the artist is even more strongly fettered ; everything is determined by church ceremonial and by the single aim at solemnity of expression. The artist has not to create anything from his own impulse; he is merely looked upon as a craftsman whose duty it is to carry out the wishes of his ecclesiastical employers, and to adhere to their traditional prescriptions. The more mechanically an artist worked, the more he suppressed all individual feeling and motive in his creations, the better he was considered to fulfil his vocation. Even as early as the second Council of Nice (A.D. 787), the iconoclasts were confronted, by way of justification for images, with the maxim that "the composition of a picture is not the painter's own invention, but the law and approved tradition of the Catholic church, for what is ancient should be honoured, as S. Basil saith."

III.—PAINTINGS ON WALL AND PANEL ; ENAMELS AND TEXTILE PRODUCTS.—Side by side with mosaic, and with the same decorative object, was practised the less costly and tedious art of mural painting, which preponderated in the multifarious productiveness of later centuries. The Byzantines had learnt from antiquity how to mix with care the plaster preparation for the wall, and how to work with elaborate technical skill. The churches of Syria and Greece contain vast numbers of these paintings. Mount Athos, with its numerous monasteries and its nine hundred and thirty-five churches and chapels, is a chief centre of their production, which is still carried on without interruption and in the same spirit as of old. It is here altogether a handicraft, and one that includes panel-painting as well as wall-painting. In the schools of Mount Athos there was never any question of original creation or individual knowledge. A mechanical scheme, based upon tracings of earlier works and dictated by prescription, was repeated by innumerable hands all working together in common, and the most extensive undertakings were thus completed in an astonishingly short time. The figures,

drawn in light-coloured outline without shadow, modelling, or expression, always fulfil their purpose in the decorative design by their symmetrical arrangement in the space, the just gradation of their local colours, and their simple and tranquil lines of composition. They yield copious results as to Byzantine iconography, the immemorial traditions of which still last on in latter-day productions. But many of these pictures show also a strong Western influence; the colossal figures of saints in the church at Karyés, on the east side of the mountain, dating according to their inscriptions from the fourteenth century, remind us of the Italians of that period and especially of the Sienese school. In later times use was occasionally even made of Western engravings, for instance of prints by Marcantonio.[58]

Along with those kinds of decoration which have an inherent connection with architecture, and adorn its walls or vaultings, panel-painting for movable purposes was also cultivated. Byzantine works of this sort are extraordinarily abundant; they are sometimes to be found in Western churches and collections. Many are also preserved in the Christian Museum of the Vatican, and a few in the Berlin Museum. Most of these are later than the eleventh century, and were chiefly made for exportation, or even executed in the West by Byzantine craftsmen. Among them are many Madonnas, and especially those in various places ascribed to the hand of S. Luke; and also single figures of Saints, scenes from the Passion and from sacred legend. In these works we find the late Byzantine character generally in its ascetic stiffness, and often in its positive repulsiveness. The vehicle employed is thick and resinous, and gives the pictures a general yellow tone, which is heightened by a solid varnish darkening with time into brown in the flesh parts, and forming a smooth and horny surface. The colour is laid on in harsh hatchings, the ground is always gold. A picture in the Vatican, worth notice for its size and handling as well as subject and signature, is a representation of the hermit life, with the death of S. Ephrem as the central incident; it was painted by one Emanuel Tzanfurnari, in the eleventh century.[59] Besides original pictures of this kind we find also innumerable forgeries, which helped the devotion of the faithful, and supplied them with devotional pictures in this primitive style imitated with more or less skill.

The art of Enamel might from the nature of its results be associated with painting; inasmuch as those results are due to the laying of an outline in metal, and the subsequent filling in of the spaces so marked off with coloured glass in a state of fusion. But the process is essentially an industrial one, carried on in connection with goldsmith's work. It is only an imitation of painting by a different process, and as its productions do not either by their style or subject yield anything necessary to the completion of this part of our study, we need not consider them at present.

Textile art, in so far as it produces woven or embroidered figure designs,

has a better right to consideration. This it did in ancient as well as in Christian times, adorning state costumes, carpets, hangings, and altar trappings with decorative animals, secular personages, and from an early date also with Bible scenes and the personages of Christian tradition. The characteristics and history of the technical processes of textile art do not concern our present study, but only its productions in so far as they exhibit pictorial designs of importance. The West, and especially Italy, made great use of these results of Byzantine art-industry, of which we find many accounts in the "Book of Popes" of Anastasius. An admirable example of embroidery is the so-called Imperial dalmatic preserved in the sacristy of S. Peter's at Rome; it is a silk diaconal robe of the eleventh century, with the second coming of Christ on the front, the Transfiguration on the back, the two incidents of the Last Supper, the distribution of the bread and that of wine, on the shoulders.[60]

IV.—THE MOUNT ATHOS HANDBOOK.—To the uninterrupted continuance of Byzantine art we have, besides the Neo-Greek church pictures already mentioned, yet another and this time a written witness in the shape of the Mount Athos Handbook.[61] Travelling for purposes of research in A.D. 1839, the archæologist Didron found in the hands of the painters of this famous monastic settlement a manuscript which formed the basis of their technical knowledge and principles of composition. He had a copy of this manuscript transcribed, and has published it. In this book a painter monk has written down the usage and tradition of his art as he knew them. He has signed himself at the end of the preface as "the least of painters, Dionysios, monk of Fourna-Agrapha." He relates how he went through his course of training at Thessalonica, and studied the works on the holy Mount of Athos, especially those, on wall and panel, of the famous Manuel Panselinos of Thessalonica, the painter whose glory, according to his punning surname, shone "like the full moon," and who by his wonderful art threw all other painters both old and new into the shade. He had been helped in his drawings by his pupil, Master Kyrillos of Chios, who was deeply learned in spiritual matters. Uncertain traditions place Panselinos in the eleventh or twelfth century, and according to a Russian manual of which we shall speak later, Dionysios himself is also to be counted among the famous old masters. But his date cannot be more definitely fixed than this, and his book has only come down to us in copies of the original text with many additions. But in any case we have here a record which dates many centuries back.

The text is divided into three parts. The first conveys technical instruction, the second gives a list of the subjects proper for church painting, and the third part begins characteristically with an introduction on the mode of making tracings from pictures. The later Byzantine art knew of no other mode of study than this. Then follow recipes for preparing charcoal for drawing, brushes for laying the plaster ground, for the mixing and preparation of colours, for varnish

and gilding. Panel-painting, oil-painting on canvas, and wall-painting are also treated. Hints for cleaning old pictures are given. We find special information as to the "Muscovite" and the "Cretan" modes of working. With all this, allusions also occur to the art as practised in the West. The authors know of a Venetian and a French white, and they know too that the Venetians do not use gold leaf, but a varnish which in German is called "gold colour." One passage is specially important which sets forth a general scheme for the proportions of the figures. These proportions are slender, as indeed we find them in all late Byzantine work; the body is to measure nine heads, and the height and breadth of the several members are in like manner fixed at so many times the length of head or nose.

The second portion of the book, which is by far the most comprehensive, sets before us a thoroughly detailed survey of the whole range of sacred subjects. First come the nine angelic Choirs or Hierarchies; then the fall of Lucifer; then the stories from Genesis in great detail from the creation of Adam down; the history of Moses; scenes from the Book of Judges; the stories of Samuel, David, Solomon, and the Prophets; lastly, three pictures from the Book of Job, and one from the Book of Judith. The character prescribed in these cases seems to be an essentially narrative one. To Moses kneeling before the burning bush appear symbolically the Virgin and Child, as sometimes in Western paintings; the bush which burned and was not consumed being taken as a symbol of the virginity of the mother of God. After the narrative scenes come single figures; the Patriarchs; the forefathers of Christ; the righteous men and women of the Old Covenant; Moses and the Prophets, with quotations from their writings; lastly the sages of Greece—Apollonios, Solon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Plato, Aristotle, Philo, Sophocles, Thales; and in the same connection, Balaam and the wise Sibyl, with inscriptions declaring them prophetic witnesses of the coming of the Lord; and lastly the stem of Jesse. Then follow the New Testament subjects. In the picture of Christ's baptism, the naked figure of a man pouring water out of a vessel appears lying across the midst of the river, and looking timidly at Christ. That this figure was in truth a personification of the river Jordan had been forgotten even as early as when this compilation was written. The miracles of Christ are very fully illustrated, and also the whole of the scenes of his Passion. A singular personification appears in the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit; the scene is to be figured as taking place in a loft, with the World, personified as a man crowned and throned, seated in a lower room of the house. After the miracles we find the parables of Christ; in most of these the figure of the Saviour appears as a teacher, at the same time the subject of the parable is not always pictorially or intelligibly expressed.

The next subjects are not of a narrative but of a purely and impposingly exhibitive character. 1. The divine Liturgy, that is to say the Trinity: Christ enthroned in archiepiscopal robes beside the Father, the Holy Spirit in the form

of a dove surrounded by angels with censers, symbols of martyrdom, and so forth. 2. The whole spiritual kingdom: Christ enthroned in heaven surrounded by the Evangelists, their human bodies surmounted by their symbolic animal-heads, round them the angelic hierarchies, and lower down those of all the Saints and Martyrs with the personages of the old covenant. Between these two pictures is inserted a representation of the sacrament of the Eucharist; and this time not in the guise of the Last Supper, which has occurred already, but in the form of a solemn distribution at an ecclesiastical ceremony performed by Christ in presence of his Apostles. Then follows a series of pictures from the Revelation, the Coming of Christ, and the Day of Judgment. Eight scenes from the Life of the Virgin are so designed as to have special reference to her festivals. Then comes the Fountain of Life: Mary stands with the Child before a magnificent fountain, around which Patriarchs, kings and queens, princes and princesses, the outcast and the miserable, all assemble to drink and lave themselves. The two next pictures—"The Prophets above" and "In thee rejoice"—are a kind of illustrated hymns to the Virgin, who in the first is worshipped by Patriarchs and Prophets, and in the second by All Saints. To these are added four-and-twenty "stations," from the legend of the Virgin. The single figures of the New Testament begin with the Apostles. Their physical aspect is characterised in a summary and decisive manner: S. John as an old man; but there is no question of farther attributes, except only books and scrolls. James the Less and Thaddeus are missing, and their places are taken by the Evangelists Mark and Luke. The Evangelists come in again, this time seated writing, and with them their symbols. Among the numerous Saints are many little known and peculiar to the Greek Church. With the Bishops and Deacons are ranked the Martyrs, among whom the warlike characters, and especially S. George, are prominent. Then follow the *Anargyroi,* or despisers of worldly wealth,—hermits, and those who do penance on pillars; then the Christian Poets, with passages from their works; the Just Ones, with the Emperor Constantine at their head; and the female Saints of all classes.

After these come a number of ceremonial pictures: The Raising of the Cross by S. Helena; the Seven Holy Synods, which were often painted in earlier times (as were the six first synods in A.D. 711, out of opposition to the heretical Emperor Philippicus Bardanes, at S. Peter's in Rome); and further the setting-up again of images at the end of the iconoclastic schism. Then come the miracles and martyrdoms of particular Saints, and first among them the Archangel Michael and John the Baptist.

The book concludes with some motives for allegorical compositions, in which the didactic tendency strongly predominates over the pictorial:—1. The Life of a True Monk; he is to appear in his cowl clinging to the cross, and round about him the symbols of his temptations, with inscriptions abundantly scattered over the whole. 2. The Heavenly Ladder: at the summit Christ, and at

the foot a dragon on the watch, with monks trying to ascend, but not all succeeding in the attempt. This same motive has been treated by Western art also, but with more freedom, in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Landsperg. 3. The deaths of the Hypocrite, the Righteous, and the Sinner. 4. The Transitoriness of this life, a concentric composition allied to the Wheels of Time, the Earth, and Fortune in the mediæval art of the Western world. In the innermost circle the World is represented as an old man crowned; in the second circle are the four Seasons, symbolised by men in corresponding positions; in the third the Months embodied in the signs of the zodiac; in the outer circle the seven Ages of Man—the children just getting on the wheel, the young man at the top of it, the old man below threatened by a figure of Death, while a dragon lurks close by; at the side are angels turning the wheel.

The last division of the book directs how pictures in churches are to be distributed and combined. Rules are also laid down for Baptisteries, which are to contain a picture of the Fountain of Life, with Old Testament types of baptism; and also for Refectories, where, besides the Last Supper, are to be depicted the other repasts related in the New Testament, also the parables of Christ, if there is room, pictures from the Apocalypse, and at the lower end the allegory of the hermit life already described. The form in which the *Handbook of Painting* has come down to us makes it impossible to decide what portion of its contents are of ancient origin, or took their rise as far back as the traditions of the better period of Byzantine art. At any rate it gives us an interesting compendium of Christian iconography as accepted not only in Byzantine art, but in many particulars also in the art of the West.

With the consideration of this book we may close our review of Byzantine art. It only remains to glance at those outlying countries whose art received direct influences from the centre of the Greek Christian world.

V.—INFLUENCE OF BYZANTINE ART ABROAD.—As long as the Byzantine Empire fulfilled its task of preserving as much of the culture and art of antiquity as was possible under such altered circumstances of the world, so long had it an extraordinary influence not only on subject but also on neighbouring and conterminous countries. As our study is limited to painting only, the art of the Mohammedans, whose works in painting and mosaic were in the first instance decorative merely, does not at present come within our scope. Where later we find these limits overstepped, the change must be ascribed to contact with Western art.

It is otherwise with those nations whom the influence of Byzantium converted to Christianity. In Armenian manuscripts for instance, we again encounter, though in degeneracy, the Byzantine style. Miniatures of Coptic and Ethiopian origin, though very rough, show evident signs of similar influence.

Of the Slavonic nations, only those of the north-west received from Germany, with their civilisation and Christianity, their art also; the Southern Slavs, so far as art is concerned, are on the other hand a dependency of Byzantium, the Servians especially; while in Croatia and Dalmatia Italian influences were mixed with the Byzantine. A Bulgarian chronicle in the Vatican, written A.D. 1350 for John Alexander, king of Bulgaria, shows the Byzantine style, but with completely barbarous treatment; the figures are mostly short with large heads.[62] Church painting in Servia has preserved down to our own day a degenerate Byzantine style. From Byzantium Russia too received, with her Christianity, her art, which remained entirely in the hands of Greek workmen until the twelfth century.[63] Sculpture was excluded from the churches, while they were covered all over with painted figure-subjects. Among the mosaics, those of Kiew are the most remarkable, and adhere most strictly to Byzantine tradition. Pictures on walls and on wood were also in demand. The *thronostasion*, a wall covered with pictures of saints, separates the space devoted to the sacred ceremonies from the congregation. Religious pictures also belong to the necessary fittings of the houses. Miniature-painting was also in use, and here we find a system of ornament in which Asiatic motives are curiously worked out in connection with Byzantine.[64] The amount of these artistic manufactures produced in Russia is enormous, and their spirit altogether mechanical. They attempt no more than an everlasting imitation of ancient patterns. Austere solemnity pervades them all. Old and serious types succeed better than women or youthful figures. The representation of living relations between human beings is unknown to this art; witness particularly the Madonna, who invariably sits, as in the catacomb pictures, with uplifted hands, while the infant Christ on her lap, without the least trace of childlike expression, raises his hand in benediction. The Russian paintings are scarcely to be distinguished from later and less important Byzantine examples except by their inscriptions; and even in these certain Greek expressions are preserved. In the earlier days special schools had their seats at Kiew, Pskow, Rostow, Wladimir, Novgorod, and Moscow.

The earlier works are the best. By degrees the relations of Russia with the Byzantine Empire grew looser. The productions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries even have greatly fallen off, though there lived at the close of this period a painter, named Andreas Rubleff, whose name was revered in after times. During the fifteenth century, after certain approximations to the West had taken place, and a new style called the *Friajsky* (probably for Frankish) had for a while established itself, a strong reaction set in. Chapter 43 of the *Stoglav*, published by Iwan the Terrible (A.D. 1533-1584), contains directions for the art of painting. Although artists at that time belonged chiefly to the laity, they were under the strictest tutelage of the clergy, who chose the subjects to be painted, prescribed the manner of their

treatment, watched over the morality of the painters, and had it in their power to give or to refuse commissions. The bishops alone could promote a pupil to be a master, and it was their duty to see that the work was done according to ancient models. A manual of painting similar to that of Mount Athos, called *Podlinnick*, insists on the strictest adherence to old traditions and patterns.

In later times, pictures with neat but very attenuated diminutive figures in bright colouring became more and more the fashion in Russia. The tone became heavier in the flesh-colour, often a uniform brown, with abrupt lights and smooth execution. The love of rich materials increased, till at last, since the eighteenth century, it has become the custom to paint the flesh parts only, and to overlay all the rest with a coating of richly patterned metals. Thus we find that in Russian church painting an altogether degenerate, dead, and spiritless Byzantine style has maintained itself down to the present time. It was the very weakness of the later Byzantine art, which had nothing of independence nor any feeling of its own to express,—which sprang from no popular creative instinct but worked spiritlessly by rule and measure,—it was this very weakness which suited the servile temper of the Russians, and their incapacity for spontaneous effort. Neither have any other of the Slavonic nations succeeded in carrying to an independent development that Byzantine art of which they appropriated the external forms.

APPENDIX.

1. [These dates are merely added as a rough aid to the reader's recollection. The period treated by our author in this section as the first period of the Middle Age proper, begins, broadly speaking, with the Iconoclastic Schism (A.D. 728), includes the whole Carolingian Age, and ends with the establishment of a powerful German kingdom under the Saxon dynasty (Henry the Fowler, A.D. 918, succeeded by his son Otho I., A.D. 936). But the anterior of these limits is overstepped in order to bring into the section the work of the Irish and German miniature-painters before the eighth century, and the posterior limit in order to pursue down to comparatively recent times the history of the unprogressive arts of Byzantium.]

2. Consult Waagen, in *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1850, p. 83; Unger in *Revue celtique*, i. 1871, p. 9, and the article *Grotteske* in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie*, 1st series, vol. xciv. p. 188. The best reproductions are those in Westwood, J. O., *Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, London, 1868, and Id., *Palæographia Sacra*. Consult also the publications of the Palæographical Society; and Keller, F., in *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft* in Zurich, vol. vii.

3. See the Essays of Conze, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, vols. lxiv. p. 505, lxxiii. p. 221, and *Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1878, p. 385.

4. Good examples, beginning with the seventh century, are given in Fleury, Ed., *Les manuscrits à miniatures de la bibliothèque de Laon*, 2 vols. 4to, Laon, 1863-4.

5. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, lat., 12,048. See Lacroix and Serré, *Le moyen âge et la renaissance*, vol. iii.

6. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, lat. 9389.

7. London, *Brit. Mus.*, Cotton MSS., Nero, D iv.

8. See Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.*, ii. 41; and after him, Werth, E. aus 'm, *Rheinlands Kunstdenkmäler des Mittelalters*, Pl. xxxii. 11, and Garrucci, Pl. 282.

9. See Ermoldi Nigelli *Carmen*, iv. 181-282, in *Mon. Germ.*, ii. 505.

10. In the splendid but unfinished publication of Count Bastard, *Peintures et ornemens des manuscrits*, excellent reproductions in colours are given of most of the examples mentioned in the text. See also Louandre, *Les arts somptuaires*.

11. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Nouv. acq. Lat. 1993. See Du Sommerard, *Les arts au moyen âge:* album, series vii. Pl. 39, 40; besides the works of Bastard and Westwood.

12. Reproductions in Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 337.

13. Abbeville, *Bibl. munic.;* Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 8850; London, *Brit. Mus.* Harl., 3788 (see Humphrey, *Illustrated Books of the Middle Ages*, Pl. ii.-iv.)

14. See reproductions in Arneth, *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften in Wien*, vol. xiii. Waagen, *Kunstdenkmäler in Wien*, vol. ii. p. 409, is disposed to assign to the work a date not earlier than the time of Charles the Bald.

15. Bamberg, Royal Library, A·I·5, Zürich, Cantonal Library, C·I.

16. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 9428. See the work of Bastard and Silvestre, *Paléographie universelle*, vol. ii.

17. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 266. See Labarte, vol. iii. p. 113.

18. See publications of the Palæographical Society, Pl. 93, 69, 70.

19. For the Munich Prayer-book, see Rahn, in *Anzeiger für schweizerische Alterthumskunde*, 1878, Nos. 1 and 2. For that at Paris (*Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 1152), Labarte, Pl. 89.

20. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 1.

21. See Seroux d'Agincourt, Pl. 40-45.

22. Munich, Cimel, 55. Reproductions in Förster, *Denkmale*, ix; and Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'Archéologie*, Paris, 1874, p. 48. Some of the miniatures have been repainted in the latter part of the tenth century.

23. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 1141 : see the work of Bastard.

24. London, *Brit. Mus.*, Addition. MSS. 10,546. See Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra.*

25. *e.g.*, a Dioskorides in Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. (old enumeration), *anc. f. lat.* 6862 : tenth century MSS. of Metos at Boulogne, *Bibl. municipale*, 188 (Pal. Soc. Pl. 96) ; Bern, *Stadtbibl.;* ninth century do., with designs merely drawn in pen, S. Gallen, *Stiftsbibl.*, 250, 902.

26. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat., 8849 ; Brussels, *Bibl. de Bourgogne*, 18,383.

27. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 257. 28. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 15,520, formerly Sorbonne, 1300.

29. * Ingobertus * * scriba fidelis Graphidas Ausonios aequans superansve tenore Mentis.

30. Vienna, *Hofbibl.;* reproductions in the works of Westwood and Silvestre.

31. S. Gallen, *Stiftsbibliothek*, cod. 10, 23, 21. For the part borne by this monastery in the miniature-painting of the Carolingian age, see Rahn, *Geschichte der bild. Künste in der Schweiz*, p. 130 *sqq.*, and Id. *Das Psalterium aureum von St. Gallen*, 1878.

32. *Casus S. Galli. cont. Mon. Germ. Hist.;* SS. II., p. 94.

33. Consult Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, vol. iii. p. 572 (2d ed.); Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, vol. i.; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, vol. i.

34. Figured in Gutensohn and Knapp, Pl. 43 ; Garrucci, Pl. 283. 35. Ibid., Pl. 284.

36. See De Rossi, *Mus. Crist.;* Müntz, E., in *Revue archéol.*, N.S., vol. xxviii. (1874) ; Garrucci, Pl. 285-291.

37. Garrucci, Pl. 292, 293. 38. Ibid., Pl. 294.

39. Figured in Du Sommerard, *Les arts au moyen âge*, S. ix. Pl. 19 ; comp. *Mittelalt. Kunstdenkmäler des österreich. Kaiserstaates*, vol. ii. p. 32.

40. Specimens of the first of these two MSS., in the new work, *Paleogr. Montecasinense;* of the second in Silvestre, *Paléogr. univ.*, vol. iv.

41. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Gr. 510. Reproductions in Labarte, Pl. 81 ; Louandre, *Arts somptuaires;* and Silvestre, *Paléogr. univ.*, vol. ii.

42. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Gr. 139. Reproductions in Montfaucon, *Palæogr. græc.*, p. 13, and Labarte, Pl. 82.

43. Rome, *Bibl. Vat.* 699 ; the Elijah subject is figured Agincourt, Pl. 34.

44. Rome, *Bibl. Vat.*, Palat., Gr. 405 ; the Joshua subject is figured Agincourt, Pl. 28-30 ; Palæogr. Soc., Pl. 108.

45. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Gr. 70 ; see Silvestre, vol. ii. and Labarte, Pl. 84. Books of a similar kind are Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Gr. 64 ; Munich, Cimel. B. 4 ; and Vienna, *Hofbibl.*, Suppl. Kollar, vi.

46. Venice, *Bibl. Marc.*, cod. xvii. ; see Labarte, Pl. 85 *sqq.*

47. Rome, *Bibl. Vat.*, 1613 ; London, *Brit. Mus.*, purchased at the Borrel sale. The former of these two books contains 430 miniatures, and on various pages the following names of illuminators:—Georgios, Simeon, Michael Mikros, Menas, Nestor, Michael Blachernita, Simeon Blachernita, Pantaleon. Specimens in Agincourt, Pl. 31-33.

48. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Coislin, 79. Specimens in Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana*, Paris, 1715.

49. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Gr. 1208 ; see Labarte, Pl. 87, and for a similar MS. in the Vatican Library (1162), Agincourt, Pl. 50, 51.

50. Series of examples in Montfaucon, *Palæogr. Græc.*, p. 254.

51. Rome, *Bibl. Vat.*, 469 (see Agincourt, Pl. 49) ; Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, 543, 550.

52. London, *Brit. Mus.*, Egerton, 1139.

53. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Gr. 1128 ; *Louvre, Musée de la Renaissance, livres*, 53.

54. *Theophanes continuatus*, pp. 332 *sqq.*, 456. Compare Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Gr. 64 ; (see Labarte, Pl. 83).

55. Salzenberg, *Altchristliche Baudenkmäler von Constantinopel*, Berlin, 1854 ; selections in Labarte, Pl. 118 *sqq.*

56. Vogüé, M. de, *Les églises de la Terre Sainte;* Paris, 1860, p. 64, Pl. 3-5.

57. Labarte, Pl. 120. 58. See Richter, J. P., in *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, vol. xiii. p. 205.

59. Agincourt, Pl. 82 ; and see Bunsen and Platner, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, ii. 2, 375.

60. See Didron, *Annales archéologiques*, i. 152, with figures ; Bock, Fr., *Kleinodien des heil. röm. Reichs Deutscher Nation*, Vienna, 1864, Pl. 18 *sqq.* (splendid reproduction in colours); and compare Bock, *Gesch. der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters*, Bonn, 1859-1871.

61. See Didron and Durand. *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine*, Paris, 1845; Schäfer, G., ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς, κ.τ.λ. 1855.

62. Agincourt, Pl. 61.

63. Consult Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, and Unger in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie ;* also the result of new researches in Moscow, by Theodor Busslaieff, published by J. P. Richter in *Unsere Zeit*, new series, vol. xiii., 1877.

64. See Boutovsky, V. de, *Histoire de l'ornement russe du X. au XVI. siècle*, Paris, 1870 ; and Viollet-le-Duc, E., *L'art russe*, Paris, 1877.

BOOK II.

MEDIÆVAL PAINTING.

SECTION II.

CENTRAL OR ROMANESQUE PERIOD (About A.D. 950-1250).[1]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

General character of this period—Origin of the name Romanesque—Excellence of architecture—Relative inferiority of sculpture and painting—Inadequate resources of these arts throughout the Middle Age—Comparative skill of Western and Byzantine artists—Progress, consequent upon the revival of architecture, from a Rude to a Severe style in the other arts—Relative share of laymen and ecclesiastics in the practice of the arts—Position of the Church towards art—Spirit of the monkish artists—Influence of the Court next to that of the Church—Tradition of artistic training in monasteries; the *Schedula* of Theophilus—Other extant treatises—Division of subject according to technical varieties and not according to nationality—Amid the unity of Christendom Germany at this period has the pre-eminence.

WE now enter upon the period of the "Romanesque" style, which opens towards the end of the tenth century and closes in the course of the thirteenth. This period of art coincides with the most momentous phenomena of mediæval history,—the development of political life on a new foundation, that of feudalism—the culmination of the Imperial power, as an actually governing power in Germany, Italy, the Slav territories bordering upon Germany, and for a time also in the province of Burgundy, and as the highest secular authority in relation to all other Christian States,—the complete extrusion of the influence of the Byzantine Empire from the politics of the West,—the prodigious expansion of the power of the Church under the protection of the Empire—her internal reforms, and presently her uprising against the secular authority,—the momentous conflict between the spiritual and the temporal powers,—the daring aggression of the former,—the defeat of the latter, but her perpetual resistance notwithstanding defeat, a resistance drawing inexhaustible vitality from the national and patriotic elements in the German kingdom,—the culmination of religious enthusiasm and of the genius of romantic warfare in the Crusades.

The term Romanesque, to which modern writings on the history of art have given currency, refers in the first instance to that style of architecture which, like the languages known as the Romance, was derived from Rome. But the designation is applicable no less to the other fine arts in the period now before us, since they are imbued with the same spirit, and since they come under the influence of the prevailing architectural system; to the monumental constructions of which, indeed, they are directly attached and subordinated.

Architecture in this age was a noble art, pursued in accordance with fully realised aims and fully developed laws. Its productions were complete in their kind. Painting and sculpture, on the other hand, were still at a primitive stage. The races by whom these several arts were practised had but lately, we

must remember, emerged from barbarism. First of all we find them acquiring from teaching and the study of models the purely technical parts of architectural and other handicrafts. They add new dexterities to those they already possess; they preserve their capacity for giving to technical products the form and decoration suitable to their material, mode of workmanship, and destination. They make progress in architectural construction; practice making up in many points for want of science. The individual forms of ancient architecture they are able in a general way to grasp; these they reproduce, not correctly or exactly indeed, but rudely and imperfectly, preserving nevertheless the general features. With classical forms as thus assimilated they combine their own native systems of ornament, in which geometrical elements prevail, and show themselves capable of working out their designs so that form shall correspond to construction.

But a prevailing bent towards the technical and ornamental parts of artistic practice, together with the power of approximately reproducing ancient models, is an endowment which, though it may be sufficient for success in architecture, is insufficient for success in sculpture or painting. These arts, which have for their task to reproduce the organic forms of nature, demand the most accurate power of ocular perception, the most penetrating grasp of the object and knowledge of its organisation, the full realisation of its aspect. The rudeness and imperfection of mediæval attempts arise not so much from manual as from mental shortcomings,—from the bluntness of sense which fails to see natural appearances with precision because it does not fully realise them in consciousness, and from the servitude of spirit which fails to assert the right of personal impression and interpretation as opposed to tradition and authority. Hence it is that sculpture and painting in the Middle Age are still like the sculpture and painting of children.

The Church was the teacher of the nations, and sought to raise them out of barbarism, establishing in their midst discipline, morality, and orderly activity, and teaching them skill in handicrafts and a certain measure of knowledge. But spiritual freedom the Church could not impart, since at the very roots of the Christian spirit lay the conception of man's unworthiness, of the nothingness of his own strength, and his dependence upon a mysterious and higher power. With all this was bound up the doctrine of the original sinfulness of man's nature, which certainly could not in itself form any subject for the imagery of art. For the Middle Age, then, sculpture and painting were but a kind of picture-writing, which taught the story of redemption to those who could not read for themselves, and served before all things as an instrument for imparting religious information. The true mission of art, which is to give complete expression to the spiritual by means of sensible appearances appealing to contemplation not merely by what they suggest but by what they visibly are,—this mission it remained beyond the power of the Middle Age to fulfil. The art of antiquity is an art of self-contented repose, because in it

the spiritual contents correspond harmoniously with the outward form. In the creations of the Middle Age, on the other hand, there makes itself felt a purpose striving for expression and yearning to unfold the highest, yet everywhere coming to light imperfectly, everywhere foiled and crippled by the inadequacy of its own resources.

Byzantine art stood in no more independent relation to nature, and proceeded from no more free or spiritual interpretation, than the art of the West; its creations were not determined by personal impression and observation, but by tradition and authority. Still its general level was higher than that of Western art at the same time, because it preserved longer the traditions of antiquity. But the art of the West struggled towards improvement in the hands of young and vigorous nations, while Byzantine art, of which the survival was merely mechanical, went back.

In the midst, however, of the groping awkwardness, the shapeless ugliness of the pictures belonging to the beginning of the period we are now about to consider—qualities which make them appear crude even compared with the products of the Carolingian age—they still show frequent traces of fresh and genuine feeling, even though expressed with vagueness, inefficiency, or exaggeration. Such feeling leads by degrees to improvement, first in technical skill, afterwards in style also. The brilliant revival of architecture led the way for a revival of the other arts. The instincts that have been trained to appreciate law and proportion in architecture seek for law and proportion in the appearances of organic nature also, and cannot rest satisfied with the old uncertainty and capriciousness of form. But as mediæval art had no spontaneous feeling of its own for nature, it proceeded to treat natural objects, not according to the laws of their own being, but according to principles of symmetry and regularity borrowed from architecture. Instead of the weak bodily proportions, the squat forms, the ungainly or exaggerated movements, more order and repose appear; the body is shaped in accordance with certain canons of proportion; in grouping and arrangement, as well as in gestures, symmetry and architectural severity prevail. In connection with the works of architecture, the other manual fine arts gain a character of assurance and stability. This architectural character runs through all except the most primitive paintings of the period, and is to be discerned even in the miniatures and mere ornamental pen-work of manuscripts; the slightest of which is generally conceived just as if it had been intended for the decoration of large wall-spaces. In this way mediæval art made its first great step,—the step, as we may define it, from a Rude to a Severe style. But even at this point the artist is still under the ban of the traditional and the typical, and it is only at the close of this epoch that we shall find artistic conceptions striving to free themselves from such bondage, and to fight their way to the expression of personal feeling and observation. But the final or free style, which is the goal towards which

these efforts pointed, could not be attained except under a phase of intellectual culture more advanced than that of the Middle Age.

The practice of art during the Romanesque period lay principally in the hands of ecclesiastics, although recent researches tend to prove that this was by no means so exclusively the case as was formerly supposed.[2] Among artists mentioned in inscriptions, the number belonging to the priestly order is in truth not great, while among those mentioned in historical writings it is far more considerable, precisely because the chroniclers themselves were generally ecclesiastics, and naturally thought those names most worthy of notice which did honour to their own profession. Lay artists were no free agents, but servants in the employ either of a spiritual or a secular master. When we find appended to the name of an artist no mention of his sacred calling, but only the name of his home or birthplace, we may regularly conclude that he is a layman. In a few cases, however, the birthplace may also be added to the name of an ecclesiastical artist, and occasionally one such may follow the custom of lay craftsmen in styling himself master (*magister*).[3] One branch of art alone, that of illuminating manuscripts, was entirely carried on by monks, because of its close connection with the art of writing. The writing-room or *scriptorium* of a monastery was placed next to the church and in communication with the library—as we find it, for instance, in an old ground-plan of the monastery of S. Gallen. In this room the work of illuminating was also carried on. For the rest, although not the sole centres of work or education for artists, the monasteries, from the great extent to which art was used for ecclesiastical purposes, were certainly the chief places for their meeting and higher training, especially north of the Alps, where the lingering influence of antiquity was feebler than in the south, and the clergy were the great depositories of learning and classical tradition.

Bishops, abbots, and other dignitaries of the Church were the great patrons of art. They suggested the works to be undertaken, and superintended and dictated their conduct. When, however, we find an inscription or a passage in a chronicle naming any such high personage as the author of a work of art, and even when using the expression *fecit* in connection with him, this means not that he was the actual artist, but merely that he gave occasion for the work, commissioned it, or paid for it. But such patrons were in many cases experts also, and occupied themselves with the technical processes employed in carrying out their orders; sometimes introducing new methods; sometimes themselves practising one or another, or several at once; for the culture of the Middle Age was many-sided, and its craftsmanship knew nothing of the division, in our sense of the words, of labour. S. Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, is the most brilliant example of a monk highly skilled in art at the beginning of this epoch. The fact that he was a learned man, devoted to the "nobler studies," justifies in the eyes of his biographer Thangmar the love he bore to the "lesser, the so-called mechanical arts." First of all, Bernward was a master of penman-

ship, and as illuminating and writing were so closely connected, he also practised to admiration the art of painting. He attempted other arts as well, such as working in metal, goldsmith's and jeweller's work, though he did not always succeed to the point of complete mastery in them all. But he had all these arts carried out in his workshops by skilful pupils, whom he instructed and superintended, allowing them also to accompany him on his travels to court, that they might extend their knowledge and observation.

Works of this kind were undertaken by the monks for the service of the Church and glory of the Most High. Commercial views, ideas of material gain and competition, never came into question. Individually they worked with technical precision and faithful diligence, in joyful freedom from material cares, but also entirely without the true spontaneous impulse which animates a man's entire personality and braces to the highest point every power of his nature. Their productions were held in honour, regarded as a pride of their church, and often thought worthy of mention in written records. Ecclesiastical discipline extended itself also to lay artists when they were employed upon work destined for church purposes.

Next to the encouragement given to art by the Church, we must remember that given by the Court. Courtly magnificence called in the powers of art both to minister to its own luxury and to furnish religious offerings and donations. Bishops stood in close and continual relations to the Court; they were the highest dignitaries of the kingdom, the most influential statesmen and supporters of the throne; the Court was the assembling point where all the costliest treasures were to be seen, where the best models from distant countries were to be studied, and from whence new artistic impulses flowed forth to the various seats of ecclesiastical power and activity.

Of the artistic education disseminated by the monasteries we have evidences in writings, as well as in the works of art themselves. The tradition was, in part, a literary one; rules and recipes were handed down, copied, collected and classified, by generation after generation. The most important compilation of this kind is the *Schedula diversarum artium* of Theophilus, which Lessing was the first to estimate at its proper value. The earliest manuscript of this book, in the library at Wolfenbüttel, dates as far back as the twelfth century. The author calls himself in the preface *humilis presbyter*, a humble priest. There is no doubt that he was a German, as we find occasional German expressions in the Latin text. The name of Theophilus is most likely assumed. According to a statement in a seventeenth-century handwriting on the title-page of the second oldest manuscript of the book, preserved in the Royal Library at Vienna, the author was a Benedictine monk called *Rugerius*.[4] Theophilus differs from the author of the Mount Athos in this, that he does not treat of the style, subjects, or arrangement of pictures, but only of technical processes, and of these in the most various branches of art and art-industry. The first book refers par-

ticularly to painting; dealing with pigments, their preparation and mixture, and their application according to what it is proposed to represent, and including painting on parchment, that is miniature-painting, as well as painting on wall and panel. The author also speaks of the preparation of gold leaf, the laying on of gold or silver, and incidentally of the preparation of tinfoil. The vehicle recommended for miniature-painting is gum-water for most colours; for Spanish green, unmixed wine; for minium, white lead; for carmine, yolk of egg. Walls are to be painted not by the method properly called *fresco*, that is on a freshly-laid preparation of wet lime, but on a lime preparation that has been allowed to dry and then been slightly damped again. Lessing assumed that oil-painting was practised as early as the time of Theophilus; but it was only known for coating surfaces, as in house-painting, and not for properly artistic works. The second book treats of glass-painting in connection with glass-manufacture.

Another receipt-book of some importance is that of the so-called *Anonymus Bernensis*, unfortunately only a meagre fragment. It contains the hints of an unknown author on vehicles, especially on distemper prepared with egg, which is but slightly touched by Theophilus, and also on the colouring of initial letters. The editor of this treatise considers its author to have lived in the ninth century; but the handwriting belongs to the eleventh. In the treatise entitled "Heraclius on the colours and arts of the Romans," the two first books, which are in verse, may be assigned to the tenth century. The third book, which is a prose addition of the twelfth or thirteenth century, is the only one that treats of painting.[5]

Although the nations of the Western world were formed into separate states from the middle of the ninth century, and from that time forth had a distinct historical development, it will be best, in a general survey of mediæval painting, to divide the objects of our study, in the first place, according to the technical class to which they belong, and only in the second place according to nationality. It is true that strong distinctions of style occur between different nations, and even between different populations, districts, and localities in the same nation. But these distinctions are not so prominent in painting as in architecture. The unity of Christendom, which was the ruling fact of the Western world during this period, was no mere ideal conception, it was a vital reality. Art in this age shows, more than anything, that the elements of culture are the same everywhere.

It is, however, intelligible enough that Germany, the seat of the Imperial power, the nation politically predominant, should be somewhat in advance of other countries in the development of her arts, although the Romance nations were the heirs of an older civilisation. For the present we shall find the other nations —France, England, Spain—holding a secondary place. Italy last of all, from her peculiar position in relation to the arts, demands to be considered by herself.

CHAPTER II.

MINIATURES.[6]

GERMANY BEFORE A.D. 1050, ESPECIALLY THE SAXON COURT; intellectual revival under Otho I.; corresponding revival of the manual arts—Examples of the debased condition of average miniature-painting in the tenth century—Example of a better class of work under classical influence—Conspicuous improvement due to encouragement of Saxon Court—Italian influence discernible in new style—Influence derived from intercourse and rivalry with Byzantium—Examples of the new taste in the libraries of Paris, Gotha, Munich, and Trier—Appearance of Greek inscriptions in these MSS.; but not on that account the work of Greek hands—Character of their decorative designs—Character of their figure designs—List of subjects illustrated in the three Gospel-books of Munich, Gotha, and Trier—Later MSS. illustrating the same movement; Gospel-books written for the Emperor Henry II.—Other examples from Cologne, Hildesheim, etc.—Example from Regensburg—Other MSS. painted for Henry II.—Gospel-book of Henry IV. at Cracow—Decline of miniature-painting with decline of Empire—FRANCE; French miniature-painting comparatively rude in this age—Examples from Auxerre and Noailles—Examples from Limoges and S. Sever—Rigid style prevalent till near the close of twelfth century—SPAIN; crude style akin to the Irish and early Frankish long prevalent—Assimilation to Southern French style in thirteenth century—ENGLAND; influence of Carolingian work from the ninth century; new and improved Anglo-Saxon style—Character of this style; examples—Examples of a special school at Winchester—Transformation of this style after the Norman conquest—THE NETHERLANDS; character of Netherlandish work determined chiefly by German, and in a less degree by French and English influence—Examples—GERMANY AFTER A.D. 1050; degeneracy of German work at this date—Popular and provincial schools—Example of Bohemian work—Revival under the house of Hohenstaufen—The destroyed *Hortus deliciarum* of the Abbess Herrad of Landsperg—Example from Bruchsal—Example from Salzburg—Examples from Saxony—From Brunswick—Thirteenth century; appearance of a new taste in figures—New taste in initials—Introduction of fantastic motives—Their place, origin, and significance—MSS. containing pen-drawings only—Illustrated MSS. of profane poetry—MSS. executed by the monk Conrad of Scheiern—Division of labour between scribe and illuminator—The scribe Heldebert and the mouse.

I. GERMANY BEFORE A.D. 1050, ESPECIALLY THE COURT OF SAXONY.—In Germany an intellectual revival began under the kings of the house of Saxony. The first task of these energetic rulers was to set the shattered empire again on firm foundations, to keep down separatist tendencies, to ward off the incursions of the Hungarians; besides which the duty was imperatively forced upon Otho I. of interposing in the chaos of Italy and of reinstating the Imperial authority at Rome. And it was as early as the reign of this great sovereign that there sprang up a new culture, which, as in the time of Charles the Great, was based upon the study of classical antiquity. Learned Italians, like Gunzo of Novara and Liutprand of Cremona, were attracted to the Court; German ecclesiastics in like manner betook themselves to classical studies. At the same time a stricter discipline was enforced within the Church, and set a limit to the passion

for enjoyment and ostentation among the members of the spiritual body. Archbishop Brun of Cologne, a brother of Otho I., represented the highest culture of the time alike as scholar, statesman, and priest. The Imperial Chancery became a nursery for distinguished bishops, and in the Court schools a carefully educated younger generation grew up. Otho I. had grown to man's estate as a warrior, but his son and grandson, the second and third Emperors of the name, received a literary education. Greek was studied whenever there was an opportunity of doing so, as, for instance, through Brun of Cologne, or the Duchess Hedwig of Swabia—for women also had their share in the new learning. It was not always easy to bring Christian ideas into harmony with the study of antiquity, which was therefore approached with scruple, but nevertheless bore good fruits. The skilled Latinity of the Carolingian age had been lost; the new literature which was now springing up after scores of years of intellectual abasement was but slowly and painfully able to assimilate the new learning, and in form often remained heavy and redundant; but it had the advantage of treating in a learned language popular subjects regarded from a national and patriotic point of view; of this the most striking example is furnished by the historian of the Saxons, Witikund of Corvey. The new development of the manual arts connected with this intellectual revival took a similar direction.

An idea of the condition of painting in the tenth century may be formed from a Psalter now in Stuttgart, which contains a great number of slightly tinted pen-drawings. The style is extremely barbaric, the short figures with large heads and shapeless hands stand feebly on their legs; the colour is very dirty, still the action is always lively and speaking to the eye, though often vehement to exaggeration. Antique motives still predominate in dress and furniture. In a manuscript at Munich, which contains the famous prayer in old High German, there are pen-drawings from the legend of the Finding of the Cross which are still cruder. Some slightly tinted drawings in the manuscript of Lucan at S. Gallen are characteristic of the manner in which scenes from profane history were rendered. Instead of a pictorial arrangement, a map-like treatment of the scene is employed, as in Egyptian painting and relief, with the sole object of telling the story to the eye. In the picture of the landing and death of Pompey at Pelusium, the sea with its conventional wave-lines, and the ship with its figures, are drawn perpendicularly, but the other groups are drawn out on three tongues of land which all protrude from left to right (Fig. 66). At the same time the incidents themselves are figured in a lively manner enough. Extremely primitive and harshly coloured are the pictures in a Prayer-book from the monastery of Prüm at Treves, written under the direction of the abbots Hilderick (*d.* A.D. 993) and Stephan (*d.* A.D. 1001) by order of the monk Wicking. Many reminiscences of Early Christian art still appear in these slight narrative

pictures. A copious productiveness at the same level as this was continued into the eleventh century.[7]

But even before that time we find a striking instance of the influence of antiquity in the Gospel-book of S. Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg (A.D. 923-973), now in the Munich Library. The Evangelists are depicted here with much

Fig. 66.

more expression, and though the cast of the drapery is weak, the hands and feet are better understood; a type of head with high cheek-bones and wide staring eyes runs through the work; the treatment is neat and the modelling careful. Gold and silver are used in the thrones, borders, and draperies, red and green predominate in the initials.[8]

But this work was only the forerunner of a new phase of art which began in the course of the tenth century, and made sudden and extraordinary progress under the influence of superior models. Its productions were,

as in the Carolingian period, due to Court influences, and came into existence in the immediate neighbourhood of the Imperial house, or else in such famous monasteries as stood in close connection therewith.

In the time of the Carolingians Germany had received the classical tradition from Italy, and now again, under the Saxon dynasty, something was assuredly gained by a renewed intercourse with Italy.[9] But Italian art was too dead, and had fallen away too much technically, for its influence on other races to be decisive.

A certain momentary wave of Byzantine influence, which came over the art of the Saxon Court, was on the other hand of more effect. The nations of the West were indeed not only separated by distance from Byzantium, but also by differences of ritual and manners from the Greeks in general, whose haughtiness they met with rough aversion, as we see by the antagonism and bitterness expressed in the report of Liudprand, who was sent by Otho I. as an ambassador to the Byzantine Court. But for all this the Western world recognised the civilisation and artistic skill of Byzantium, and the precious products of that skill were favourite objects of commerce, desired and treasured on all hands. The spirit of rivalry inspired by Byzantine models seems, however, to have been the only shape in which the influence of the Eastern capital made itself felt. Traces of Greek artists having actually carried on their work on this side of the Alps are scarcely to be found. They could not have done so, except in the most passing and occasional way, without having left deeper marks behind them. One of these exceptional cases arose when Hedwig, the future Duchess of Swabia, having been betrothed, while still a child, to a Greek prince, Greek teachers were sent to teach her the language, and with them a Greek eunuch to paint her portrait.[10] Moreover, Greek monks made settlements, as did the Scotch, in various regions;[11] and some also travelled singly through the lands, and sometimes craved hospitality in Western monasteries. It is always possible that among such wandering monks some may have been artists. But commerce was a more effectual means of communication, and the first circumstance of real importance for the spread of a knowledge of Byzantine art in Germany was the marriage of Otho II. with the Greek princess Theophano. That princess arrived with a great following and with gorgeous presents, and in this way the more refined manners and customs of the Greeks, as well as their surprising skill in the most varied branches of art, were brought home to a people who were already beginning to awaken under the intellectual efforts of the age. And thus in the works produced near the Court a new taste suddenly sprang up, while elsewhere the established art systems of Germany went on quietly in their old way.

The new taste was especially to be noticed in the ivory carvings of book-bindings and in the works of the enameller and goldsmith, as well as in the illuminations of a number of manuscripts which were principally

executed for persons of the royal household. The oldest of these is perhaps a Gospel-book written in gold letters, now in Paris, in which the page with the initials for the text of S. Matthew contains four gold medallions of the three first rulers of the house of Saxony—Henry the Fowler (twice over), Otho I., and Otho II.[12] The book may therefore belong to the time of the latter Emperor, or of his son. With a book executed for Otho II. at Magdeburg, having his own and his Greek wife's portrait on the cover, we are acquainted only through the account given by Thietmar;[13] but the young Otho III. and his mother Theophano appear in a similar manner in chased work on the cover of a Gospel-book at Gotha.[14] This manuscript is also in gold letters, and is even richer in pictures than the Paris book, and not far behind it in artistic merit. Allied to both these is a book of the same description at Munich, with a large dedicatory picture on two pages facing each other (Figs. 67 and 68). On the right-hand page the youthful beardless Emperor is on his throne, with two bishops on one side and two warriors on the other; on that opposite, four female figures advance towards him doing homage. These are personifications of Rome, offering tribute in a dish, Gaul with a palm branch, Germany with the horn of plenty, and Slavonia with a golden globe or disk. The book is one of two manuscripts that came at one time to Bamberg as gifts from Henry II.; hence the picture had generally been considered to be the portrait of Henry; who appears, however, in other Bamberg manuscripts with a more powerful face and short full beard. Though the art of the Middle Ages was incapable of giving an actual portrait, it always kept to one particular and definite type for each person, so that we must take this for a portrait of Otho III., in whose case the youthful type and the presence of Rome as one of the subjugated provinces are exactly in place.[15] Finally, to the same group belongs the Gospel-book of Archbishop Egbert of Trier (A.D. 977-993) in the Public Library at that place; it was executed at Reichenau by the monks Kerald and Heribert, who are represented in the dedicatory picture handing over the book to the archbishop.

One of the characteristics of these books is that, besides Latin, we also find Greek inscriptions occasionally on the pictures; but they are generally incorrectly written, as on the first page of the Gospel-book in Paris. In the Gotha manuscript the page with the initials to the Gospel of S. Luke contains copies of Greek coins with portraits of the Emperor, and the name of Constantine incorrectly spelt in the surrounding inscription (ΚΩΝCΘΑΝΘΙΝ). An unusual amount of decoration appears in this manuscript, from the large coloured imitations of Oriental stuffs with patterns, ornaments, and conventional animals which cover two whole pages at the beginning of each Gospel. It is apparent that the artist was not indeed a Greek, but a Western, who had before his eyes the sumptuous productions of Byzantium.

The architectural bordering of the canons, the character of which had been

determined even in Early Christian art, is treated here with particular beauty and precision, and exhibits already in some of its details the richest motives of Romanesque architecture. The columns are slender, with gold or coloured shafts, sometimes fluted either perpendicularly or spirally, and are often carried by two animals or by crouching human figures; in the capitals, strongly projecting calyx-forms prevail; the acroteria or finials above the arches and pediments are formed of symmetrically arranged animals—lions, panthers, pheasants,

Fig. 67.

herons, foxes gnawing at grapes, and also of stone-cutters at their work, vine-dressers, archers, and Centaurs. The richest architectural designs are those with arches, screens and dog-tooth mouldings, and curtains looped back, which, as in the Paris manuscript, are raised like a building over the portrait of each Evangelist, and contain their symbols in the tympanum (Fig. 69). The thrones, too, are magnificent, like that of the Emperor Otho, a chair with crossed legs and animals' heads (compare Fig. 68). The desks, cushions, and carpets are always executed with the greatest care, but the perspective puzzles the artist, as in the Paris manuscript for instance, where S. John's chair appears in profile, but the chair back is in front view. The framework of the pictures

is also formed with Romanesque leaf-work on a coloured meander pattern, and often adorned with medallions containing personifications of the four Cardinal Virtues, the four Elements, the four Quarters of the heavens. Besides all these various kinds of ornament, the fashion of adorning initials with leaf-work, scrolls, and fantastic animals—a fashion developed in the Carolingian school and unknown to the Byzantines—continues to prevail in forms of much richness and beauty. All this shows distinctly, not that Greek artists had an

Fig. 68.

actual share in these works, but only that the new tendency of the age towards the higher forms of luxury, together with the influence of imported models, had led to a revival of art. The character of the picture subjects confirms this. Their technical method shows a great improvement; the old mode, which was rather one of drawing than painting, is replaced by genuine body-colour painting in a light and rather cool key, with much use of broken tints and delicate feeling for harmony of colour; the flesh tones are yellowish, with a moderate amount of shading. The old uncertainty in the proportions has been overcome; in the slender well-formed figures and classical style of the drapery, as well as in the technical improvements, we may perhaps detect the

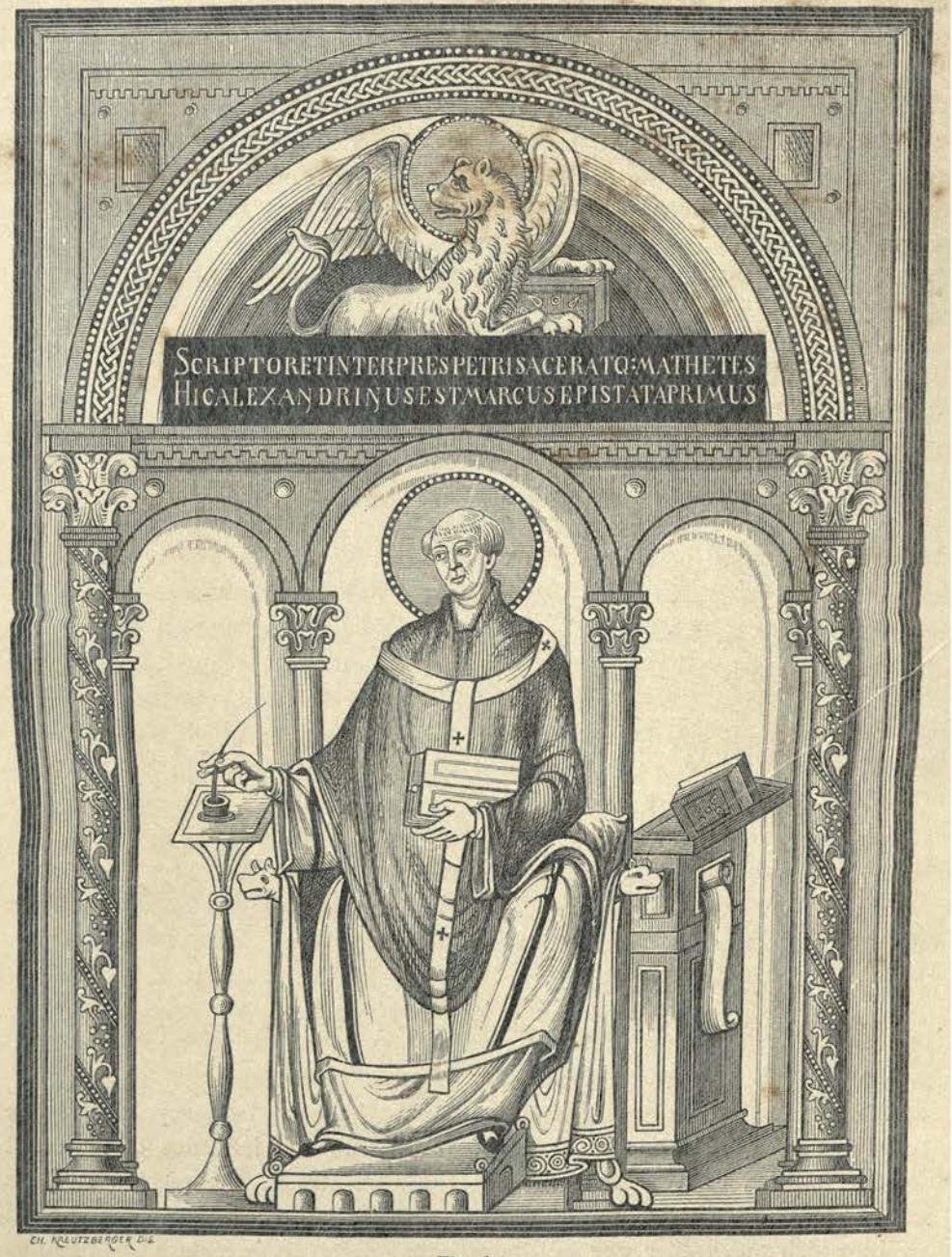

Fig. 69.

signs of a study of Byzantine models. The drapery is best understood in the Paris manuscript, elsewhere it is often petty in detail, and consists of a too uniform and mechanical simplification of antique motives. The same models seem to be indicated by the dignity of the single figures, which suits with the

religious earnestness of this time. The heads are, no doubt, generally uniform and without beauty. But compared with the utter want of expression of the faces in Carolingian work, the Christ enthroned in the Paris manuscript (page 7) seems touched with a certain nobility of inspiration; the Evangelists too, here as in other examples, are solemn and impressive; John even wears a certain aspect of emotion, as if penetrated by a sudden illumination. The S. Mark with his monkish tonsure, priestly robes, and the features almost of a portrait, asserts at the same time an attitude of independence towards the Byzantines (Fig. 69). Neither is there much in common with the Greek type in the monstrously projecting jaws of the personified Nations in the dedicatory picture of the Munich manuscript (Fig. 67). In the three manuscripts we have mentioned, as well as in most of those we shall connect with this group, Christ is of the youthful beardless type which had also prevailed in Carolingian work, while in Byzantine art the bearded type had gained the ascendancy.

The three Gospel manuscripts at Munich, Gotha, and Trier contain a great number of narrative illustrations. In the Gotha manuscript each single figure of an Evangelist is preceded by four pages containing pictures arranged in three rows. Before S. Matthew come scenes from the childhood of Christ until the beginning of his ministry; before S. Mark, his ministry and miracles; before S. Luke, his parables; and before S. John, his death and resurrection. In the two other books the compositions are as a rule on a larger scale, but the choice of subjects is much the same, and even the individual motives very similar. Though the scheme of iconography followed in these books corresponds in great part with that laid down in the Mount Athos manual, we must regard its systematic adoption as due not so much to any revival of Byzantine influence (since a similar scheme already occurs occasionally in work of the Carolingian period) as to the growing spirit of system in the theology of the age. In order to gain, once for all, a connected view of the customary selection of New Testament subjects, or scheme of Gospel iconography, so far as its consideration falls within our present scope, let us give a tabular view of the Gospel illustrations contained in these three important manuscripts. The initial G. stands in the following table for Gotha, M. for Munich, and T. for Trier.

The Annunciation (G. M. T.)

The Marriage with Joseph (M.), or, as a more frequent alternative, The Visitation (G. T.)

The Dream of Joseph may next be introduced (T.)

The Nativity. The Virgin lies on a bed, and close to her the Child in swaddling clothes, and of a disproportionately large size (G. M. T.) The feelings of Joseph are distinctly expressed by his brooding attitude (T.); some buildings usually stand for Bethlehem; the ox and ass look out from the stall. The Angel appearing to the Shepherds is always depicted in combination with this scene.

The Adoration of the Magi takes places under a stately edifice; they wear short tunics and boots, and generally crowns, instead of the earlier Phrygian caps (G. M. T.) With this may be combined their following of the star (T.), or their dream and departure (G.) Here follow occasionally

The Presentation in the Temple (G. T.)

Joseph's Dream, and the Flight into Egypt (G.)

The Massacre of the Innocents. Herod is always represented on his throne, giving the order for the deed (G. M. T.) This scene presented difficulties to the artists of that day, from the vehemence of the action; but although we find many of the gestures cramped, and the naked children often seem to have escaped unhurt, still there are moving incidents of grief in some figures of half-naked despairing women.

Christ teaching in the Temple (M. T.)

The Baptism of Christ, in which the waves of the river rise like hills about the body of Christ up to his chest, and generally two angels wait with his clothes on the bank (G. M. T.)

The Temptation, depicted in separate incidents. The conception of Satan is not an ignoble one: he is in human form, but winged and of a tawny brown colour, and wearing only a purple chlamys (G. M.) The actual ministry of Christ next begins with

The Calling of the Apostles, and the Marriage at Cana (G. T.)

The Sermon on the Mount. This composition is divided into two rows; in the upper sit the Apostles besides the Saviour, in the lower the people, both men and women (M.) Next follow the miracles of Christ, and first

The Healing of the Leper (G. M. T.) and his Purification (M.)

The Centurion of Capernaum before Christ (G. T.) This is a scene of much dramatic expression, and may be followed by

The Healing of the nobleman's son as a separate scene (T.)

The Healing of the blind man (G. T.)

The Healing of the man born blind (G. M. T.) The pool of Siloam, in which he has to wash, is visible in the rear as a high-walled fountain with a spout in the shape of a peacock, inscribed *Aqueductus Syloae.*

The Canaanitish woman (G. T.), with an admirable expression of modest supplication in (T.)

The Healing of the Woman with an Issue of Blood (G. M. T.)

The Man sick of the Palsy at the Well (G. T.)

The Man sick of the Palsy who was let down through the roof (G.)

The Man sick of a Dropsy (G. M.)

The Mother of Peter's wife (G. M.)

The Man with the withered hand (T.)

The Ten Lepers, of whom only the Samaritan returns to give thanks (G.)

The Driving out of the Devils, who are seen riding in the liveliest manner on the backs of the swine, and jumping with them into the water (G. M. T.)

The Raising of Jairus's Daughter (T.)

The Raising of the Widow's Son (G. M.)

The Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes, which is composed always in a symmetrical or monumental manner (G. M. T.)

Christ sleeping on the ship, with dark horned heads as personifications of the Winds (G. M. T.)

Christ walking on the waves and stretching out his hand to Peter (T.); and lastly,

The Raising of Lazarus, who appears still wrapped like a mummy in the grave-clothes, and standing upright in the grave, while Mary and Martha kneel beside it, and people in astonishment, including one who holds his nose, complete the design (G. M. T.) Of the remaining incidents of the life of Christ on earth we find first of all

His meeting with the Woman of Samaria (G. T.)

The Woman taken in adultery (G. T.)

Mary Magdalene wiping the feet of Christ with her hair in the presence of Martha and several Apostles (M. T.)

Christ seated in the midst of his Apostles reproving the Pharisees (T.)

Christ driving the money-changers from the Temple (M. T.)

Christ blessing Peter in the presence of the other Apostles, and delivering the keys to him (M.)

Christ weeping for Jerusalem; and below, in the same picture, the siege of Jerusalem and a mother killing her child (M.)

Christ praising the widow's mite (M.)

Christ declaring to the Jews that he will build the temple again in three days. A stately edifice is shown in the background (T.)

Christ blessing the children. A group nobly and symmetrically composed beneath an arch (M.)

The Transfiguration; in which Christ stands with his hand solemnly raised. The hand of God appears above him, and the amazement of the disciples is strikingly expressed (M.) Lastly, among the Gospel stories is included

Herodias dancing, and the Beheading of John the Baptist (M.) Among the parables comes first

The Good Samaritan; the different incidents of the parable being united in one picture (M.)

The parable of the Vineyard, which is depicted in its several episodes with the greatest detail (G).

The parable of the Wedding-Feast. The feast itself occupies the upper part of the picture, while in two tiers below are the guests who have excused

themselves from coming, together with the objects furnishing them with their excuses; on the other side are the halt and maimed being called in (G.)

The story of Dives and Lazarus is told with similar fulness: beneath, the scene with Dives at table and Lazarus at the door, two lower tiers showing the deaths of both, the soul of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, and the soul of Dives in hell (G.) The incidents of the Passion run as follows:—

Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Zaccheus is always to be seen in the tree, and the artist, having no idea of perspective, has no other way of depicting the people who cast their clothes in the way than by placing them in a lower row from whence they seem to be reaching upwards (G. M. T.)

Christ washing the disciples' feet. This is one of the finest of the compositions. A stately building forms the background; the motives of the Apostles, who are very well grouped, are extremely varied; in the figure of a disciple loosening his sandals a completely classical motive appears, and the deprecating gesture of St. Peter is full of life (N. T.) The Last Supper does not appear in any of these three books.

The agony in the Garden of Olives (M.)

The betrayal of Christ, with the wounding and healing of Malchus; the expression of Peter's anger and Christ's sorrow are often life-like enough (G. M. T.)

Christ before Caiaphas (G. M. T.)

Peter denying Christ (G. M. T.)

Christ before Pilate (M. T.)

The scourging of Christ (G. T.)

Christ crowned with thorns (G.)

Christ presented to the people, in a large dramatic composition (T.)

The bearing of the Cross, so designed as to show Simon of Cyrene advancing by himself with the cross, and Christ led behind him (G. T.)

The Crucifixion (G. M. T.) The main features of this subject correspond in all three books; the cross of Christ is painted gold, and is further distinguished by its shape from the simple T-shaped crosses of the malefactors. All three crucified figures are clothed in long tunics; that of Christ is generally purple; he is fastened to the cross with four nails, without any footboard; over the cross appear disks with the weeping heads of the Sun and Moon; at the foot of the cross two soldiers cast lots for Christ's raiment; on one side appear Longinus and Stephaton with the sponge and spear, or one of them at least; a little farther off stand Mary and John; lastly, two servants at either side, with hammers to break the legs of the thieves, may complete the composition (G). Together with this last episode, however, those of Longinus and the death of Christ are sometimes carried into a second picture by themselves (T.)

The Descent from the Cross, with Joseph and Nicodemus (G. M. T.)

The Entombment (G. M. T.)

The Maries at the grave; an angel in a long tunic, with the right hand uplifted in the action of prophecy, the left holding a sceptre (G. M. T.)

Various appearances of Christ after the resurrection, as the walk to Emmaus, the supper at Emmaus, the Saviour appearing to the Apostles, the manifestation at the Sea of Tiberias (T., and in most cases also G.) Mary Magdalene at the feet of Christ in the Garden (G. M. T.)

The Incredulity of Thomas (G. M. T.) After the resurrection the Saviour is generally dressed in a white tunic and light green cloak (T).

Christ charging the Apostles (M. T.); and lastly,

The Ascension (G. T.), a large and nobly-designed piece. Christ, with the sceptre and cross in his left hand, floats aloft within a *mandorla*, and grasps with his right hand the hand of God, which draws him upwards; beneath are two angels pointing with solemnity to the Saviour, and Mary and the eleven Apostles stand by with expressive gestures (T.)

The fresh impulse thus given to German painting in the days of Otho II. and Otho III. continued for a time, though not with the same force. Allied to the group of manuscripts we have discussed, though rather more mechanical in treatment, is a second richly-adorned group, presented by King Henry II. to the cathedral of Bamberg. The execution of the architectural ornament of the canons and borders is the same, but a chessboard pattern appears in some places as background; the initials are in the same style, but more coarsely executed. The figures are often more attenuated, with small heads and feebler motives. The conception of sacred subjects is generally the same; the youthful type of Christ predominates, but no longer exclusively. Greek inscriptions still appear on the pictures, but more rarely. The dedicatory pictures are still the most striking. In the great *Evangeliarium*, the dedicatory verses at the head of which expressly mention Henry as donor, we find that king and his consort Kunigunde receiving the crown of life from the Saviour; at the sides are Peter and Paul, and below, once more, the Nations bringing tribute; but this time Germany stands upright in the middle between two figures which probably symbolise Gaul and Rome, while six other nations are represented by busts.[16] In a missal still preserved in the Bamberg Library we find the king presenting the book to the Virgin Mary. There is a beautiful missal at Munich, in which King Henry, represented as before with a short brown beard, receives the crown of life from a bearded Christ;[17] two angels present the sword and spear, while S. Ulrich and S. Emmeram bear up the king's arms on either side (Fig. 70). The presence of the latter saint makes it probable that this work was produced in St. Emmeram at Regensburg, and this is the more likely from the fact that a second dedicatory picture is evidently copied from a corresponding picture in the *Codex Aureus* of Charles the Bald, which was already at that time at S. Emmeram. The king is here enthroned under a magnificent canopy between two retainers and four personified Nations.

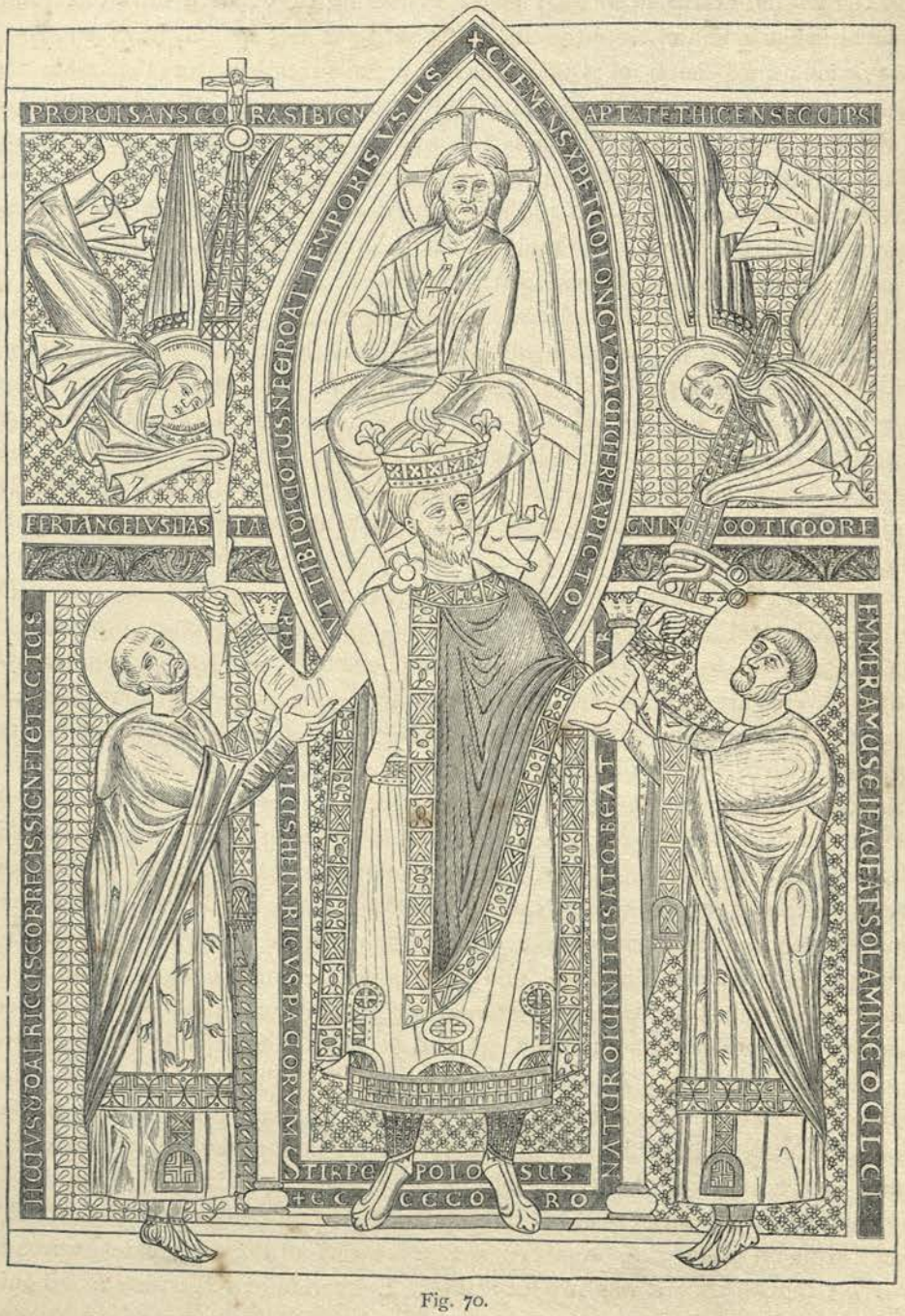

Fig. 70.

In two other Gospel-books at Munich the Evangelists are very imposing by the dignity of their motives, especially in the second, which also contains a typical representation of a singular kind.[18] Out of an elliptical glory grow four

medallions ; that at the sides contains busts in a classical style of Sun and Moon, that at the top a grey-haired bearded head standing for the Sky, and that below an Earth with long hair and hanging breasts. Above the Earth, and borne up by her raised arms, grows the tree of life, with mushroom-shaped leaves, and on it stands the majestic figure of the youthful Christ, holding the branches with his left hand, and the disk of the world with his right. The angles contain the symbols of the four Evangelists, which are supported by the four rivers of Paradise, personified in busts of a type corresponding to that of the Earth. This is a symbol of Christ's sacrifice, since, according to the legend, the cross on which Christ was crucified was made from a branch of the tree of life, which Seth had planted on the grave of Adam. In later times the cross was often represented, even in pictures of the Crucifixion, as the green stem of a tree with branches. In the manuscript of this group which contains the greatest number of narrative pictures from the Gospels,[19] older models are generally followed, and only a few new scenes are introduced, as the Last Supper, the appearing of the Angel to Zacharias and the birth of John, the death of the Virgin, and the Last Judgment.

Similar tendencies are shown by a book of the same class from S. Gereon at Cologne ;[20] by three others, very roughly executed, in the cathedral treasury at Hildesheim founded by S. Bernard, one of which was finished A.D. 1011 by the writer Guntbald ; also by a fifth, of finer quality but unknown origin, at Munich.[21] There is a remarkable endeavour in these works to produce splendid architectural designs, within which the figures are arranged in severely regular composition. The first picture, showing Christ enthroned between Peter and Paul within a rich border, is followed by one of Mary in the Temple, a portico with four columns, level architrave, and low pediment. From above an angel floats down towards Mary, thus making of the picture at the same time a Presentation and an Annunciation ; and on the plinth of the building Joseph's dream is further depicted. In the next picture, which has no border, the bearded figure of a king delivers written scrolls to fourteen persons. It is doubtful whether this is meant for Christ with the Apostles and Evangelists, or God the Father with the Prophets. In the birth of Christ the bathing of the Child is represented. The stoning of Stephen, the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit (in a hall), the trial and execution of Peter, and several scenes in a two-storeyed building, are specially worth notice.

A very important and peculiar example of the work of this period is a Gospel-book from the Abbey of Niedermünster at Regensburg (*Ratisbon*), on which Greek as well as Latin inscriptions occur on the pictures, which in each case fill a whole page, and have completely the character of tapestry designs, a character similar to that which we shall presently have to study in Romanesque and early Gothic painted glass.[22] A centre-piece with the principal picture is separated from the wide border, which is interrupted at the angles, and generally also half-way up

each side, by smaller round or square pictures let in. Antique leaf-work, broad bands of inscriptions with explanatory leonine verses, borders with geometrical ornaments, form the framework, between which conventional lions, griffins, and so forth, are used for filling in, and in some cases buildings appear. The figures are well proportioned, only the hands are often too large, and, in accordance with the spirit of that style, there is very little modelling or shading. The colours are laid on evenly and solidly, and harmonise with the abundance of gold in the backgrounds and borders. The first page contains the Hand of God in a triangle, in neighbouring compartments four crowned female figures in repose, and in the angles of the frame the Cardinal Virtues, with their usual attributes. On the second page, the Madonna with the draped Child is enthroned in the central round, beneath which appears the abbess of the convent presenting to her the book. A monogram shows that this is Uota, a contemporary of Henry II., and sixth abbess of the convent, which was founded A.D. 960. Allegorical demi-figures appear in four medallions and four square corner compartments: these are probably Virtues again; some are crowned and some have banderoles with inscriptions. The third page is still more striking: the Saviour is on the cross in a purple robe with the priest's stole, a crown on his head, and thus triumphant though in agony; he wears a beard, although appearing in smaller pictures in the same book according to the youthful type; the feet are nailed separately to a large foot-board. Beneath the cross stand two figures; on one side a crowned woman, symbolising Life, looks upward with raised hands, and on the other Death, with bandaged mouth, and broken sickle and spear, a gaping wound in his shoulder, is in the act of sinking to the ground. In two semicircles in the border we see Law departing with her scroll and sacrificial knife, and Grace crowned and bearing the sacramental cup above her crown. The contra-position of Church and Synagogue, so frequent in later pictures of the Crucifixion, is thus already to be found here, only each is represented by two separate symbols, the Jewish dispensation by Death and the Law, the Christian by Life and Grace. In the angles of the border appear, above, the Sun and Moon, and below, the rent veil of the temple and the opened graves (Fig. 71). In the next picture the border only is arranged as before, while the inside is designed so as to give more space to the composition. Here, the founder of the monastery, the sainted Bishop Erhard of Regensburg, stands at the altar with an ecclesiastic, under a ciborium, which is drawn in very childish perspective. The pictures of the Evangelists are purely decorative. Over the circle that encloses them appear their symbols, and below them is one of the rivers of Paradise: the corners of the border contain small biblical scenes. The pages containing rich initial letters are also furnished with borders of the same kind. The precision of the workmanship, and the taste with which the style, once adopted, is carried out, renders this work one of the most precious memorials of the period.

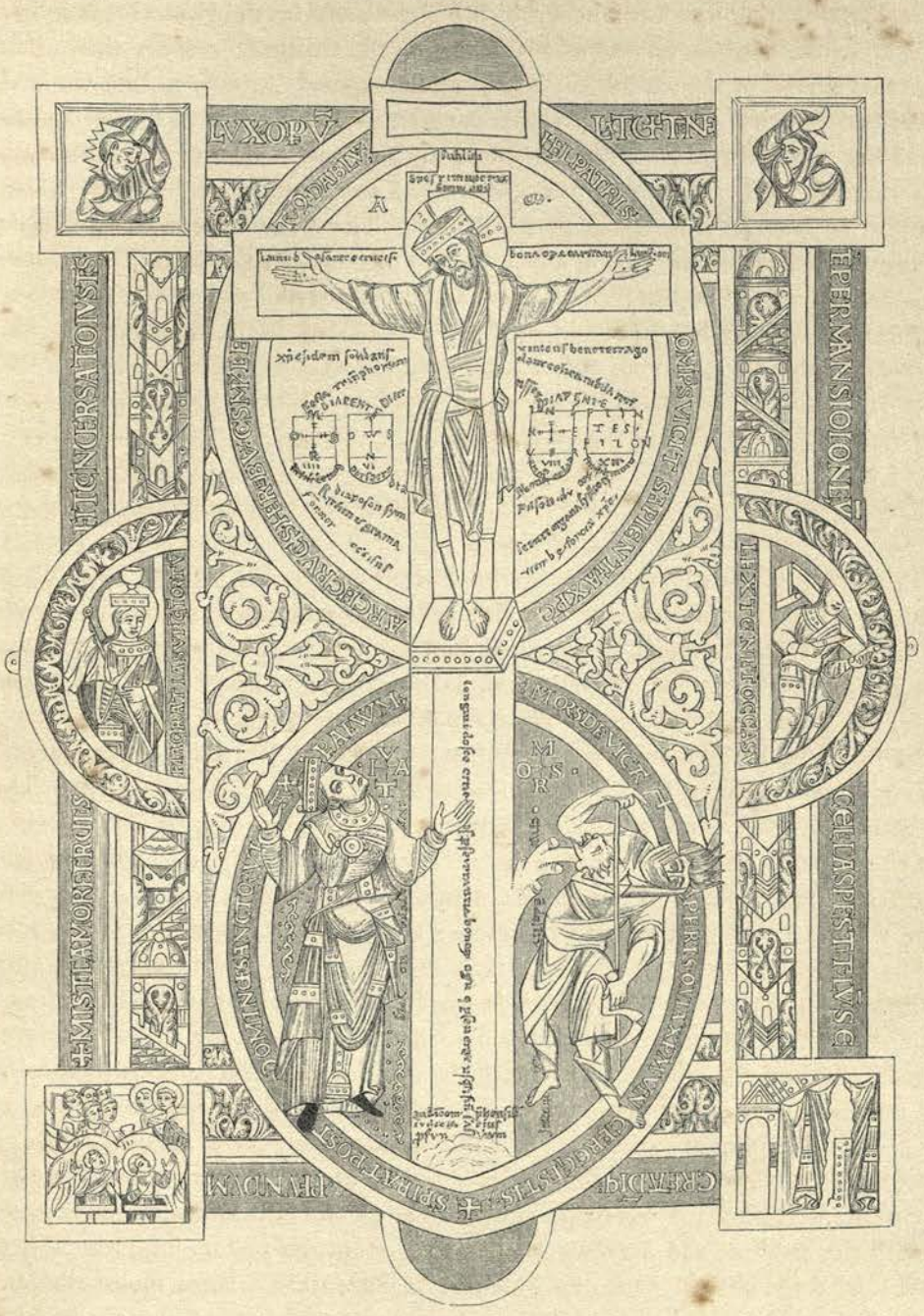

Fig. 71.

This character of work comes to a close with some examples executed in the early days of the Franconian dynasty (A.D. 1034-1125), as for instance the *Evangeliarium* of Henry II. in Bremen, from the abbey of Echternach.[23] That the

same tradition still endured here which had formerly inspired the Gotha manuscript, is shown by the numerous pictures from the Gospels; among which there are also several of the parables. The youthful type of Christ is still maintained. The two opening pictures represent the visit to Echternach of Queen Gisela and her son Henry III. The two final subjects are a view of the monastery as a stately hall, with two monks writing, and a dedicatory picture of the abbot appearing before the monarch on his throne. The manuscript must have been executed before his coronation as Emperor A.D. 1046, for the inscriptions in the picture only give him the title of King, and celebrate him as being in the flower of his age, which indeed could scarcely be inferred from his portrait. The second of these inscriptions runs—

Heinricum regem iuvenili flore nitentem,
Ad laudem regni conservat gratia Christi.

and the last—

Hic rex Heinricus nulli pietate secundus,
Regnum iustitia regit et pietate paterna.

A book of the same class at Berlin, having on the last page the portrait of a king on his throne, with his armour-bearer, and a monk presenting him with the book, probably refers to the same Emperor; though unfortunately his face is just the part that has suffered most, but the hair and beard can still be seen, and are unusually black, which would be appropriate to his surname of "Henry the Black." Farther on are twenty-three other pictures, some vignettes and some larger pictures, chiefly biblical scenes, with plain circular borders. The Saviour on the cross is still characteristically represented without a beard (Fig. 72), although he appears with a beard elsewhere in the same book; he still wears a long tunic as in the former manuscript, and seems not to be hanging or even fastened with nails to the cross; Mary and John stand on either side. The heads, large out of all proportion, and staring eyes, are ugly, and even frightful in expression. The cross is coloured green and blue, and the ground purple. The types are thoroughly barbaric, the hands large, and the colours generally broken, with yellowish flesh-tints and reddish or greenish shadows. Compared with earlier manuscripts, we find here a very obvious decadence.[24]

More important and less barbaric is a Gospel-book in the cathedral treasury at Cracow, executed for Henry IV. at S. Emmeram in Ratisbon. On the first page the sovereign sits unattended on his throne, in a short tunic, with the pallium, and a crown similar to that in the picture of Otho III. at Munich; the characteristics by which he is known are a large moustache and the hair cut straight over his forehead; the arms stiffly raised in a symmetrical position hold up the imperial globe and a short sceptre. Then follow chiefly in two rows under simple round-arched arcading, archangels, various saints, three ancestors of the monarch—namely King Henry (Henry II.?), the Emperor Henry (Henry III.?), and King Conrad (Conrad II.?), S. Wolfgang and

several other bishops and abbots of Bavaria, and of Ratisbon in particular. S. Emmeram occurs three times. The Redeemer in the *mandorla* is of youthful type, but as Saviour on the cross he is bearded, the cross is of silver, and has a large footboard. The design is characterised by broad round heads with short noses, fat hands, weak movements, and mechanical drapery; a system of green clods represents the ground.

Thus we find this school, of which the activity was put forth essentially in the service of the reigning dynasty, and which had its seats at a few of the chief

Fig. 72.

monasteries, lasting just as long as the greatness of the Empire itself remained unbroken. Latterly we have seen it show symptoms of decline. Instead of advancing step by step, its first productions were the best. This is easily explained, inasmuch as the school took its origin not from spontaneous popular impulse, but from the deliberate patronage of privileged classes. Nevertheless it at first yielded some striking results—results of which the quality was affected, no doubt, by foreign models, but affected in a degree which we need not exaggerate. We have seen that this art was not in any sense a Byzantine art, and that Byzantine elements came in fact but little into question. The luxury of Court and Church, indeed, encouraged Byzantine importations, and on many of the splendid bindings of these manuscripts we find goldsmith's work, enamel, and

ivory-carving of Eastern origin. And whatever could be learnt from the superiority of the Greek scribes in the dexterities and traditions of their craft was gladly assimilated, but assimilated in connection with an original mode of treatment.

The art which we have been studying joins on, then, at first, with the earlier Carolingian work ; it progresses farther in the same path : it absorbs the tradition of the Early Christian period with its classical elements ; it surpasses in feeling and technical accuracy anything of which the ninth century had been capable. Inspired by the great political development of the German Empire and the new impulse to intellectual culture, it brings forth works which distance alike what had gone before and what followed next after.

II. FRANCE.—At the beginning of the Romanesque period, France was more backward than Germany. The degeneracy of the later Carolingian period reflects itself in the barbarism of its paintings. The Empire of Charles the Great broke up under separate feudal lords. The most prosperous departments, like Provence, became for a time independent territories. Norman invaders from over seas established themselves at the mouths of the great rivers ; there was no power to drive them away, and their assimilation could only be accomplished gradually. So sharp were the antagonisms between the various populations, that even the stronger rule of the Capetians could but slowly promote the cause of unity. Although a vigorous life displayed itself at this time in French architecture, in which the special characteristics of the different provinces were strikingly brought out, yet the capacity for pictorial art was very much lower, alike in the north, which is richer in Germanic elements, and in the south, where Latin traditions were at the same time finding a noble expression in the art of building. Painting in solid body-colour disappears in French illuminated manuscripts from the end of the tenth century. The pictures are limited to rough pen-drawings, with flat harsh colouring, and little shading in the faces ; there is no attempt at modelling, but only patches of red colour roughly laid on. Barbaric feeling appears in the uncouth figures with large extremities, childish gestures, and empty faces with staring eyes. Even such German books as the Stuttgart Psalter are superior to these.

The Commentary of Haymon on Ezekiel, written by Heldric, abbot of S. Martin's at Auxerre A.D. 989-1010, is characteristic of the style. Its colour is dull and dirty, gold is not employed ; and echoes of the Irish taste still remain in the ornament. A folio Bible in four volumes from Noailles stands on about the same level, both as to colouring and drawing ; it has a great quantity of pictures arranged in several rows, many of which however, have been cut out.[25] At the beginning is figured the Globe, with personifications of Day and Night, figures nearly nude carrying

on their heads the disks of the Sun and Moon; beneath them Chaos (*Abyssus*) shown as water with fish in it, and above, a human head. Adam and Eve appear in the following picture, deplorable figures out of all proportion; in the picture of the Fall, the feet and head of Eve are seen in profile, and the body and pendant breasts in full front; the figures are alternately very short or absurdly long. The ground beneath their feet is indicated in a manner that had become common to the Romanesque style in other countries too. But the treatment is especially barbarous in this case; the ground, drawn in wavy lines, breaks itself up here and there into separate clods of earth, green or coloured, on the tops of which the figures walk about. In the initials as well as in the architectural ornaments we see the working of a disordered fancy, especially addicted to monstrous animals.

More tolerable is a Bible from Saint-Martial at Limoges, with pictures in the initial letters, and a rather more severe, though already ascetically dry, mode of drawing in the figures.[26] This begins soon to be the standard mode of ornamentation for Bibles, and is maintained all through the Middle Age; but it seems to be more general in France than elsewhere. The pictures are chiefly limited to the filling-in of the large initial letters at the beginning of each book. The capital I in the first verse of Genesis generally covers a whole page, and contains separate medallions with the incidents of the Creation, and sometimes also the Fall, with Christ on the cross by way of allusion to the Redemption. Scenes with only a few figures open the books of the Old Testament; and some particular Psalms (*Beatus vir, Dominus illuminatio mea, Quid gloriaris, Salvum me fac, Exultate, Cantate, Dixit Dominus, Dixit insipiens*, and so on) have their established initials, with figures representing always the same subjects. At the beginning of the Prophets, Gospels, and Epistles, a picture of the author is always to be found in the capital letter. A fragment of a twelfth-century Bible is thus ornamented; also a New Testament from S. Martin of Limoges belonging to the same period, but rather more advanced;[27] in this the initial at the head of the Gospel according to S. Luke contains the Magdalene anointing the feet of Christ, the J of S. John's Gospel has the baptism of our Lord, and at the beginning of the book are canons enclosed with architecture of a severe style, as well as busts of Christ and the Apostles, in medallions let into the spandrils. The motives are crude, the style stiff and unwieldy, and the expressions painful. Without being on a higher artistic level, an Apocalypse from Saint-Sever in Gascony shows at least more richness of colour, and an abundance of singular paintings.

All attempts to change the Rude into a Severe style turn, in France, to rigidity; and this we also find to be the case in the monumental sculpture of the most widely separated provinces, until the close of the twelfth century —until the beginning, therefore, of the Gothic style. This might seem at first sight surprising in a country which made such great and rapid advances

in architecture, if the paintings of the time did not themselves show us that the fault lies precisely in this exclusive predominance of the architectural spirit. Among the same class of manuscripts, a rich twelfth-century missal from the abbey of S. Denis deserves mention.[28] The first picture, with the Saviour and angels in the *mandorla,* shows an apparently beardless type, or at least with only a thick dark outline to the chin, but the face is not youthful. The Saviour on the cross is naked, bearded, and with the figure much distorted; Mary and John are in the usual attitude of mourning with one arm raised to the face. The figures are attenuated, the hands large as before, the eyes small, with high arched brows, the drapery poor, without expression. An advance upon earlier works shows itself first in the colouring, and in stronger shading and modelling. In the ornamentation a return is perceptible to the better traditions of Carolingian times; scrolls in gold, red, and black, predominate in the borders, and coloured foliage, in which recourse is less frequently had to fantastic shapes of brutes, in the rest of the ornament. At this stage stood the art of painting at S. Denis, shortly before the abbey was destined to become the chief centre of the movement which brought about a new epoch of art in France, under its great statesman-patron Suger.

III.—SPAIN. A style of illumination corresponding to the Irish and ancient Frankish style was introduced into Spain by the Visigoths and long maintained itself there, although the figure-paintings did not rise beyond a very primitive stage.[29] The initials, which form the chief ornaments of these books, still preserve the same antiquated style, even in the eleventh century. They are formed of scroll-work, animal forms—especially fish, dogs, birds—some leaf-work, and a few other motives, such as imitations of weapons. A cross often appears as title-page, with the Alpha and Omega depending from its arms as ornaments, and enclosed by an architectural border, the columns and arches of which are entirely finished off in scrolls. The preference for the horseshoe arch is to be explained by the influence of Hispano-Moorish architecture. The figures are childishly crude in proportions, as well as in draperies and movement; most of the heads are too small, the legs pitiful, and usually seen in profile while the body is in full front. Large initials of the simplest kind occur in the Martyrology written (A.D. 919) at the monastery of *San Pedro de Cardeña.* Peculiarly rich in pictures is a Commentary of the Apocalypse executed by Beatus Presbyter in the abbey of Valcarado (A.D. 1109) for the abbey of Sebastian at Gilos in the diocese of Burgos.[30] Here one of the principal pictures contains, for instance, a representation of God the Father after the type of Christ on his throne. This is enclosed in a circle; in an upper and lower frieze are the four-and-twenty elders; at the bottom reclines S. John, the circumstance of whose vision is indicated by a black line drawn from his mouth to the eagle at the feet of the Lord. The youthful type of Christ appears occasionally in the work of this

school. The limbs scarcely extricate themselves anywhere from among the fanciful spirally-folded draperies. The nose is only a line ending in a curl, the forehead small and retreating; the gestures of the gigantic hands are entirely conventional, and there is no attempt at modelling. But though drawing and colouring recall Irish models, they do so in connection with a feeling for architectural form unknown to the Irish designers.

Then begins, just as in architecture, a gradual approach to the style of Southern France, as we see in an Apocalypse of the twelfth century at Madrid; though a taste for the ancient style continued even in the thirteenth century, witness a Vulgate written A.D. 1240, with numerous pictures on a gold ground; this is also at Madrid.

IV. ENGLAND.—That earliest kind of Anglo-Saxon work, of which the character had been determined by Irish example, scarcely survived the ninth century. At this period Carolingian influences began to prevail, leaf-work to be used in the ornamentation, initials to be designed in a style approaching the Continental, and figures to be no longer composed of fantastic rolls and flourishes. Thus began a second period of Anglo-Saxon art, which lasted till the eleventh century, and the creations of which are the best, next to those of the Court artists of Saxony, which had as yet been produced by Western miniature-painting. A new intellectual life had arisen in England since Alfred had become the saviour of his people, driving from their strong places the Vikings who were oppressing the land, founding a national kingdom, and bringing even those Danes who remained behind under the laws and ordinances of his dominion. Alfred himself resuscitated the studies that lay so low; he had made himself master of the highest culture of the day, and taken the first place among the prose-writers of Germanic tongue. Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon language, or Latin books with Anglo-Saxon interlinear glosses, often have an importance for the history of art not second to their importance for the study of language.

Their enrichment consists usually only of drawings made with the pen in black, or also in red, blue, or violet, sometimes slightly shaded with a brush, but with a scratchy and uncertain treatment. The lanky figures, with attenuated limbs, lifeless heads, and wild fluttering draperies with fidgetty creases at the edges, are often exaggerated in their movements; but with all this rawness of treatment, the compositions, often containing many figures, show a surprising number of lively motives and happily-devised incidents. Examples of this style may be found in the later parts of a missal painted between A.D. 959 and A.D. 979 for Bishop Leofric, which contains Carlovingian elements; in a *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, with curious pictures of battles between Virtues and Vices, and a strange design for the ground, half wave-lines and half a sort of acanthus leaves; also in an Aratus at the British Museum, with slightly

tinted figures of the Signs of the Zodiac; and the Pontifical at Paris formerly belonging to an Archbishop of Canterbury.[31] A Psalter in the British Museum, and a metrical paraphrase of Genesis by the monk Caedmon, are remarkable for the number of their illustrations.[32] In the latter the treatment is emphatically barbarous, though at the same time our interest is roused by the charm and fancy shown in the representations of the Creation of the world, the rebellion and imprisonment of Satan, the Fall and Expulsion.

In a few other manuscripts, besides figure designs of a similar character, rich ornamentation appears in the borders and initial letters, with a more copious employment of conventionalised leaf-work; as in the book *De Virginitate* of Bishop Adhelm of Sherborne, at Lambeth Palace, and in the Harleian Psalter in the British Museum.[33] In these we find distinct traces of Carolingian taste. The same phenomenon is the more apparent in a small number of other manuscripts, and may easily be explained by the close relation subsisting between the English royal house and the Frankish kingdom. The charter of King Eadgar for a new minster at Winchester (A.D. 966) has not only Carolingian small characters instead of the English characters, but shows also a close resemblance to the later phases of that style in the dedicatory picture of Christ in the *mandorla* supported by four angels, below a portrait of the king between S. Peter and S. Ebba. The resemblance extends even to the life-like attitudes and weak proportions of the figures, as well as to the rude colouring of the whole picture, with its purple ground and beautiful leaf-ornament twined about the gold flat of the margin.[34] This manuscript, like most others of the same type, belongs to the school of Winchester. The characteristics of the English style as above described are very visible in them—the vehement movements, the fluttering coils of drapery, and so on; at the same time they show a more than usual degree of Continental influence, and a surprising amount of architectural feeling, with a careful system of painting in body-colour, with refined broken tones. The masterpiece of this style is the *Benedictionale* of Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester from A.D. 963-984. It was executed by his chaplain Godemannus before A.D. 970, and contains thirty large pictures. Beautifully composed groups of the Confessors, holy Virgins, and Apostles arranged between short pillars with broad foliage capitals and very high round arches or steep gables, are followed by pictures from the Gospel stories, of which our illustration reproduces the Ascension (Fig. 73). There are also Saints, and scenes from sacred legend, among them the death of the Virgin.[35] Closely allied to this book is a Gospel-book at Trinity College, Cambridge; and also a missal in the library at Rouen, which was presented to the abbey of Jumièges by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury (*d.* A.D. 1053), but probably had been written much earlier in the new minster at Winchester under Æthelgar, who was promoted from that see to the archbishopric of Canterbury

A.D. 989.[36] There was therefore a native school at Winchester which represented the best English painting of that time.

The peculiar Anglo-Saxon art came to an end in England after the Conquest (A.D. 1066). The people by whom it had been nurtured were now no longer ruling, but ruled over; the Norman element set the tone among nobles and

Fig. 73.

clergy, and in art a strong leaning began to manifest itself towards the French school. Richer ornamentation and fantastic initials came into fashion. The technical method is that of careful body-colour, sometimes attaining a remarkable power and substance; but the drawing still leaves much to be desired. Examples of these qualities are the Commentary of Jerome on Isaiah at Oxford (end of twelfth century), with a portrait of Hugo, the artist who illuminated it, in his

monk's dress; as well as many books from the beginning of the thirteenth century; such as the Psalter of Robert de Lindesay, abbot of Peterborough (*d.* A.D. 1222); a Bible in three volumes in the Library of S. Géneviéve in Paris, at the end of which one Manerius of Canterbury signs himself as scribe; and a two-volume Bible in the *Bibliothèque Nationale;* the canons, which are placed in this instance at the head of the New Testament, contain what is unusual—scenes in the pediments of the architectural borders.[37] Among the fantastic initials we find a capital P carried along by a bounding Centaur.

V. THE NETHERLANDS.—The greater part of the Netherlands belonged in this age to the Duchy of Lotharingia (*Lothringen, Lorraine*) and therefore to the German Empire. A smaller part was under the overlordship of France. Accordingly, up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the character of Netherlandish art was determined in the main by Germany, and in particular localities, to a less extent, by France. Towards the end of the tenth century we also find traces of English taste appearing, as in a Gospel-book now in the library at the Hague, which was presented to the abbey of Egmond about A.D. 977 by Count Dietrich the younger of Holland and his wife Hildegart, and also in a great psalter at Boulogne, written by the scribe Heriveus under the abbot Odbert (A.D. 989-1008), in the Abbey S. Bertin at S. Omer.[38] Rich borders with scroll-work, Romanesque pilasters and arches, and animals in silver, surround the borders; figure pieces, drawn for the most part with the pen and slightly tinted on a ground of colour, are introduced as fillings-in of the fantastic initials: in design and drapery they are akin to Early English work. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, the Continental style of painting solidly in opaque water-colour found its way to the Netherlands also. The execution is generally rather coarse, and the attitudes vehement, as for example in a late twelfth-century manuscript at Paris of the *Moralia in Job* of Gregory. The Netherlandish origin of this book is proved by an insertion dated A.D. 1217, in the shape of a schedule of property with names of Flemish towns, as Dort, and accounts in Flemish money. Only some of the pen-drawings from the book of Job are entirely coloured, a few others partly. In spite of badly proportioned figures, large hands, and heads all of one shape with crooked noses, an endeavour after more vigorous treatment and natural effect may be perceived in the expressions of fear and sorrow, as well as of the demoniac possession of Satan. A missal from the abbey of S. Stavelot, in the diocese of Liege, is of a higher class;[39] it contains only two pictures: Christ on the cross between the Virgin and S. John, and the Saviour in a *mandorla.* The ornament here is also simple, consisting of mere pen-drawings, occasionally with slight colouring; but the compositions are designed with architectural severity, and the heads—that for instance of the Moon in the scene of the Crucifixion—are expressive.

VI. GERMANY AFTER A.D. 1050.—Side by side with the distinguished productions of art at the Imperial Court, there had flourished all along in Germany a humbler and less extensive activity, which simply handed on the popular artistic tradition of the tenth century. When the power of the Empire had been weakened during the long minority of Henry IV., and afterwards shaken to its foundations by the war of Ecclesiastical Investitures,—that is to say, soon after A.D. 1050,—this humbler form of art was left alone in possession of the field. The momentous war between the Empire and the Papacy had its effect upon art and culture in the countries most closely involved in it. No change of style takes place, but conception and handling alike degenerate. Ancient models continue to be repeated, but the artistic incapacity of the age is nowhere so conspicuous as in dealing with echoes of antique motives. Personages, actions, and types are the same as of old—even the youthful type of Christ is still commonly maintained; but the feeling for form is more deficient, the drapery poorer, and the execution more mechanical. The number of such works from the second half of the eleventh century and first half of the twelfth is extraordinarily great, and their origin is often well ascertained. Most provinces of Germany are represented; including Westphalia, Cologne, the Palatinate, German Switzerland (see our illustration of a David from the Psalter of Notker Labeo at St. Gallen), and Bavaria.[40]

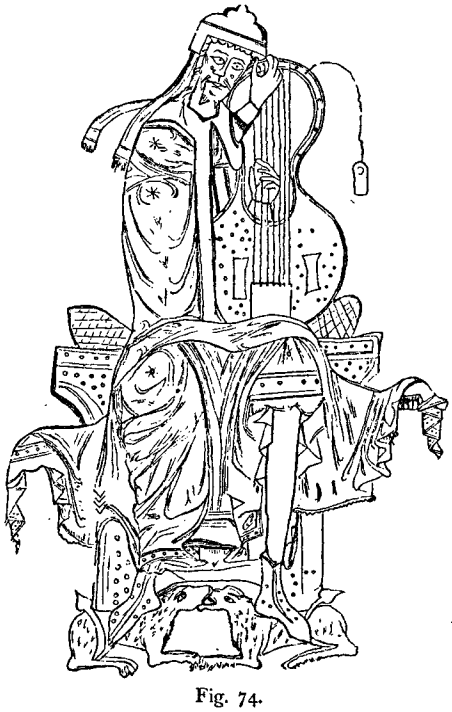

Fig. 74.

Even the frontier territory of Bohemia produced at this time so important a work in the Romanesque style as the Evangeliarium from the church of SS. Peter and Paul on the Wischehrad, now in the University Library at Prague. The character of this manuscript agrees entirely with the German productions of this period, as indeed the culture and art of Bohemia were mainly German, and among the clergy especially the German element predominated. That the work is really Bohemian is indicated by the fact that S. Wenzel is represented in an initial letter towards the end of the book. The manuscript begins with a page containing the four Evangelists under a round-arched arcade; the next four pages, with busts from the Old Testament, and one at the end with a bust of Christ, are worked into patterns like the decorations of a painted ceiling. Then follow Moses before the burning bush, Aaron at the altar, a richly-

apparelled king before a Romanesque portico to symbolise the second coming of Christ, the "Stem of Jesse," or genealogical tree of Christ, and then twenty-nine scenes from the New Testament, generally in two or three tiers on each page. A youthful beardless type is maintained throughout these representations, not only for Christ but for S. Wenzel and also for John the Baptist. In the picture of the Last Supper (Fig. 75) the Saviour with the Apostles is at the far side of a long table, Judas sits alone in front, S. John lies on Christ's lap like a child, and is also drawn on a smaller scale. We have here a very lively example of the way in which primitive art, when it sets about representing an action, can only contrive to do so by representing the successive moments of the action side by side. Christ and Judas dip their morsels into the dish at the same time; but with his other hand Judas carries to his mouth what is intended to be the same morsel after it has been dipped; at the same moment a black bird, the symbol of evil, flies into his mouth with it. This work is striking from the seriousness of the motives, in spite of the monotony and coarseness of the heads, the thick outlines, streaky shadows, and energetic handling in body-colour. The solemn action of raising the outspread hand is several times repeated. In the Resurrection, the figure rising from the tomb is surprising for boldness of intention at least, however little understood may be the treatment of the nude. A rich Frankish court-dress with borders, jewelled trimming, and buckle, is frequent; even Mary or the angels often wear it instead of the traditional antique drapery. In luxuriance of ornamental work, too, this book belongs to the richest of the period.

It was not until the middle of the twelfth century, under the rule of the Swabian house or house of Hohenstaufen (A.D. 1138-1254), that German art took a new departure, which in architecture culminated in the great dome-roofed cathedrals of the Rhineland, and was not without its results in the other arts. The improvement noticeable in painting at this time is at first negative. The repulsiveness and rudeness characteristic of the period from about A.D. 1050 to A.D. 1150 diminish by degrees. The proportions are no longer so uncertain, the extremities less ungainly, the hands smaller and better shaped, the feet a little firmer. The development of architectural feeling has an effect upon the conception of the human body, which, though still drawn according to a formal scheme, shows a better understanding of the organism. The antique traditions, which had kept their ground hitherto, are now, both in the actions and the externals of costume, completely given up; but this was no loss, as they had been applied with continually less and less intelligence, and classicism in its last degeneracy had been merely an obstacle to the free play of fancy. But more especially do we find practice giving increased certainty of hand in drawing and painting, and independence and freedom of imagination growing along with mastery of means.

One of the most celebrated illuminated manuscripts of the second half of

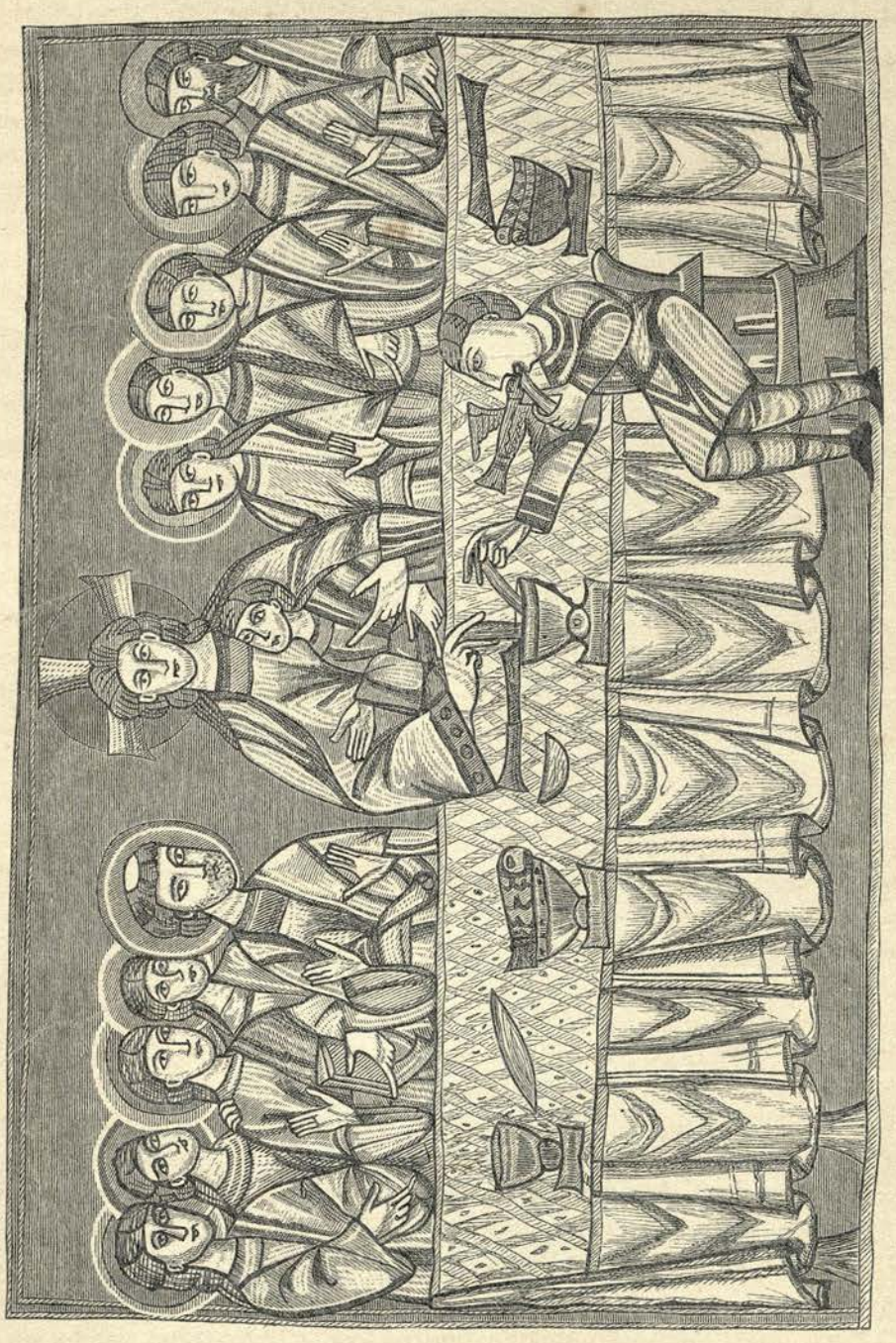

Fig. 75.

the twelfth century was the "Pleasure Garden" (*Hortus Deliciarum*) of Herrad of Landsperg, Abbess of the convent of Hohenburg in Alsace.[41] This book was unfortunately burnt with the rest of the contents of the Strassburg Library during the siege in 1870; but we are justified in noticing it here, as it is well known from literary criticisms, and partly also from illustrative publications. The book, in which were found the dates A.D. 1159 and 1175, was a compendium or encyclopædia of desirable knowledge in religious and secular subjects, compiled as a handbook for the education of young girls in the convent. Whether the

Fig. 76.

authoress Herrad took any part, or how much, in the illuminations of her book is not certain; but they were done, if not actually by her own hand, at any rate by her suggestion and direction. They consisted of grandiose exhibitive representations in a monumental style, such as Philosophy wearing the garland characteristic of the seven Liberal Arts, besides narrative pictures from the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the Acts; great scenes of the Judgment Day; allegories, such as battles of the Virtues and the Vices, or the celestial ladder, from which all those who seek to climb up fall away through temptation, and only Christian Love can reach the goal. Classical motives also appeared here and there; for instance, Ulysses and the Sirens as a symbol of temptation, and Sun and Moon personified in the antique manner as divinities in their chariots. In the scene

of the Crucifixion, Church and Synagogue were figured this time as riding, the former on an animal with four heads symbolising the four Evangelists, the latter on an ass. The work was an inexhaustible mine of every variety of subject which at that time occupied the thoughts of men. Not that these subjects were in any sense innovations; on the contrary, they had been long established in the traditions of Western and Byzantine art, but the freshness and spontaneity with which they were treated in the manuscript gave it a peculiar charm. The costume, life, and manners of the age were illustrated in scenes of warfare, feasting, and so forth. The detailed manner in which the stories were depicted often gave occasion for lively motives from daily life. Among these may be noticed the very original design of a play of marionettes to illustrate the saying, "All is vanity." The handling was but of an amateur character, the drawing by no means faultless, the colouring in bright but not over-refined body-colour. In spite of want of expression in the heads, uncertain treatment of draperies, and movements sometimes awkward, these pictures in many cases rose to a higher level than the example which we give in the riding figure of *Superbia* (Fig. 76). Imagination and artistic intention were everywhere perceptible.

One of the best works of this period is an *Evangeliärium* from Bruchsal, now in the library at Carlsruhe. The Annunciation (Fig. 77) is full of character: Mary sits at her spinning, and turns her head to look round at the angel who is approaching. The Vision of Ezekiel is a grand composition. In the Crucifixion the body is again much contorted, probably in deference to Byzantine precedents. In the picture of the Lord's Supper, Judas receiving the sop seems by an error of perspective to be on the table itself, diminutive, and almost floating in the air. Mary and the angel at the grave show the same motive that we shall find in an older and nobler composition in the panel at Soest. The figures are statuesque, with noble gestures, the heads typical of the style and broad towards the base, the treatment on the whole refined and careful, the cast of the drapery already rather too dainty and mannered, the colouring vigorously laid on and not very bright,—gold and green (a colour for which German mediæval art shows a special liking) predominating. In the same place are preserved a Lectionary and Psalter from S. Peter's in the Black Forest, which do not resemble the former works, but are remarkable for initials composed of figure designs. The Psalter also contains contemporary figures of saints on the inside page of the cover.

As examples of Bavarian work, we may notice two folio volumes from the monastery of S. Ehrentrud at Salzburg in the Munich Library: the first of these contains prayers, and the second extracts from the Gospels to be used at the Mass. The former contains a calendar, with signs of the zodiac prettily drawn, a devotional picture of the Saviour between Peter and Paul, and many other religious subjects, enclosed in the gold initial letters with their coloured

ornaments and diapered grounds. The latter is full of biblical and legendary representations, which cover leaf upon leaf in the manuscript of a hundred and four pages. Although the inscription *Sca Theotokos* appears under a Madonna in the first of these volumes, they show scarcely any trace of Byzantine influ-

Fig. 77.

ence; the style is severe, in spite of some coarseness in the execution, and the conception often singular. The colouring is powerful, and in this case often remarkable for the constant use of green.

The revival of art in the time of Frederick Barbarossa is most conspicuous in Saxony, and perhaps no example illustrates this revival more favourably than a Gospel-book in the possession of the Duke of Cumberland, executed for Duke Henry the Lion by the monk Heriman in the monastery of Helmers-

hausen on the Diemel, to which monastery the so-called Theophilus also probably belonged.[42] This manuscript is no amateur work like the *Hortus Deliciarum*, but the product rather of mature and conscious artistic skill. In the architectural border of the canons the columns rest on shapes of crouching or crawling animals. In the tympanum of the arch occasionally occur figure-subjects; the crestings at the sides of each of the arches are formed by symmetrically designed birds, or still oftener by allegories of the Virtues personified as female figures or knights in armour. Sometimes these fight the Vices; thus a heroic, almost nude, figure of Faith vanquishes a personification of Paganism. Then comes a dedication page, at the top of which is the holy Virgin and Child between John the Baptist and S. Bartholomew, and below, the patron saints of Brunswick, Blasius and Ægidius, leading by the hand Duke Henry and his wife Matilda. At the beginning of each Gospel are several pages of New Testament pictures, in most cases two in a page, enclosed in rich borders, at the angles of which are medallions containing the usual personages from the Old Testament, or else symbols, such as the pelican and phœnix on the page with the Entombment, or the Maries at the Grave. Then follows the Evangelist himself with his symbol, generally in an expressive grouping; the angel of S. Matthew, for instance, kneels half-draped before him, presenting the book. Several pages of the opening chapters in each gospel are in ornamental writing, with splendid colours and beautiful initial letters. The personified Church and Synagogue again appear at the Crucifixion as figures standing close beside the cross. The last picture but three at the beginning of the Gospel according to S. John represents Duke Henry and Matilda among their ancestors receiving the crown of life, and in the upper division Christ in glory between angels and saints. On the next page the Saviour appears in a *mandorla* in the midst of the emblems of the Evangelists, and six circles with scenes from the days of creation. The incidents are well chosen here, the composition original, and, though containing many figures, free from confusion. As the figures are mostly drawn on the same plane in a flat decorative style, faults of perspective are not very evident. The slender, well-proportioned figures are never stiff, and even the nude is unusually good, only the feet seem weaker than other parts; the drapery is noble and simple, the heads quite well shaped, though merely typical in character. The method is that of opaque water-colour well and evenly treated, with much body and good modelling.

Although this manuscript may be the finest of its kind, it does not stand alone, as we see by a Gospel-book with pictures of the Evangelists and a few Bible scenes, from the Cathedral at Brunswick, which is now in the museum at that place. If we consider what advance was made in monumental sculpture in Saxony at this time, these paintings will not surprise us. True, sculpture in this age still stood relatively on a higher level than painting. It requires much greater powers of abstraction to depict a subject on the flat

than to imitate it in the round; and if we take any sculptor and any painter of the Middle Age who are equal by talent and training, we shall always find that the former is able to do comparatively better work than the latter. The imperfect feeling for form and knowledge of the figure are discernible in both alike, but the painter further suffers from lack of the several other kinds of knowledge, especially perspective, which his undertaking requires.

The manuscripts of the end of the twelfth and first ten years of the thirteenth centuries illustrate a still further stage; the Psalter of the Landgrave Hermann of Thüringen (*d.* A.D. 1216) is a characteristic example of this style.[43] The origin of the book is established by the fact that bust-portraits of Landgrave Hermann (the prince at whose court the legend lays the scene of the famous Strife of the Minstrels), his wife Sophia of Bavaria, and the King and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, appear at the head of the Litany towards the end of the book, and also by the occurrence of the name of Hermann in the text of the prayers. The calendar at the beginning is parted off in ten arches of an arcade, that on the left containing the text, that on the right a large figure of an Apostle, and in the tympanum above an energetically realistic picture of the occupation proper to the month. A new taste is clearly visible here (Fig. 78). Along with the slender proportions of the figures, we get the flowing line of the attitude, and a slight and gentle bend of the head; an endeavour after a freer and more pleasing movement of the limbs superseding the former severity and solemnity; and finally, a tendency to sharp and broken folds in the well-designed drapery, corresponding to that general inclination towards sharp and pointed instead of rounded forms which was now beginning to transform the whole taste of the epoch,—which inspired a new architectural style, the Gothic, and in the coming age governed the human sense of form in all its modes of expression down to handwriting inclusively. In the Crucifixion, though the body of Christ has still the old writhe outwards, the expression of sorrow in S. John is one of peculiar tenderness, and in the Last Judgment the yearning supplication of Mary (who is here also draped in green), and the joyful gestures of the Blessed, are full of natural expression. The representation of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom at the end of the book, with accessory personages offering flowers and fruit, has a peculiar charm. Its evident aim at a new freedom of style, as well as its careful execution throughout, establish the importance of this book as an example of the latest Romanesque style. Germany, notwithstanding the strong influence of France at this time on her poetry and chivalry, still maintained her national character in painting, and produced creations to which no French work of the same age can be compared.

The ornamentation of the initial letters in this style of manuscript deserves especial notice. In this part of miniature-painting, which indeed is essentially of the nature not of painting but of writing, the Romanesque period had

hitherto followed the Carolingian style, and carried on, or at most slightly modified, its system of scroll, foliage, and animal designs. That which had been only secondary, leaf-work and figure-ornament, now begins to be first, and sometimes completely to swallow up the ornamental play of bands, plaits, and lines. In a Psalter of German origin at Paris,[44] among several large initials in

Fig. 78.

blue, green, silver, etc., on a gold ground, we find an S in which the body of the letter itself is formed of a dragon, and the filling-in consists of conventionalised foliage issuing from the jaws and tail (Fig. 79). In the Psalter of the Landgrave Hermann at Stuttgart we find a very similar S, only in this case with the addition of the figure of a man driving a spear between the jaws of the dragon. All the other initials in this work are masterly, as, for instance, the first capital B, which is formed of an admirably worked-out acanthus pattern, amidst which appear little animals, lions and birds, while in the

corners room is made for whimsical incidents of ploughmen, fights with monsters, and at the same time David playing on the harp. In a German Prayer-book of

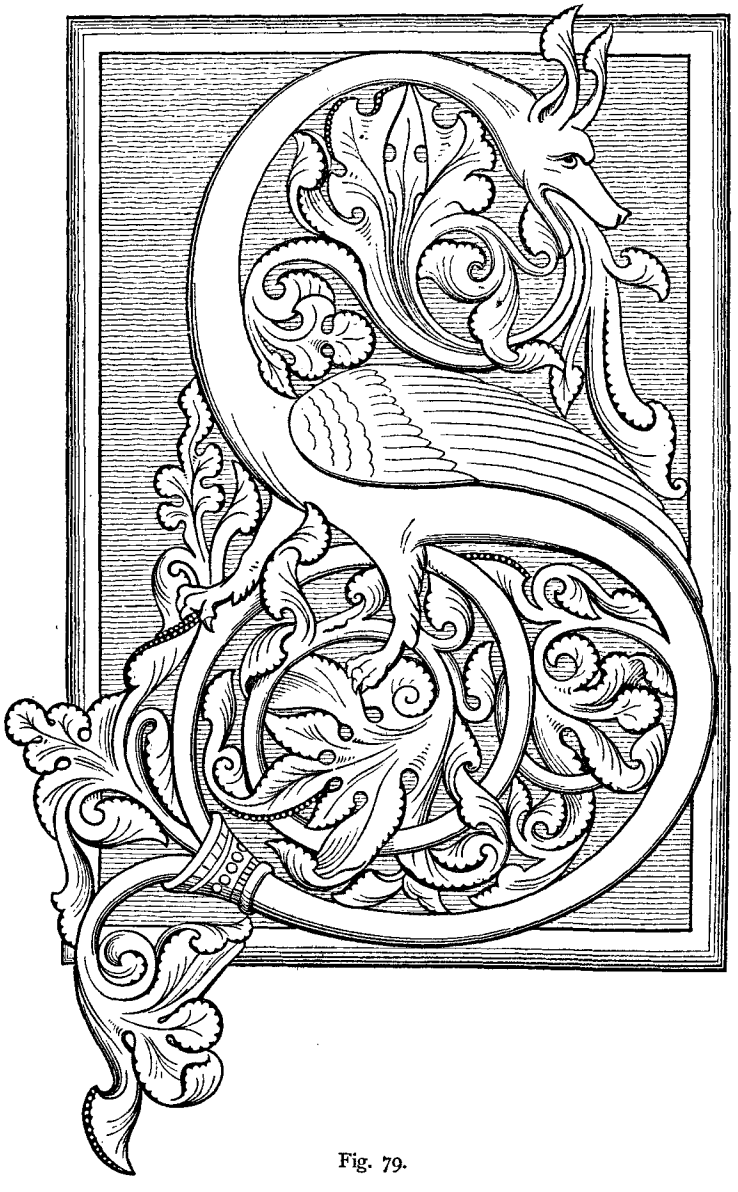

Fig. 79.

this time at Cividale in Friuli two initials with battles of knights are remarkable. Similar initials, and no other kind of pictures, occur in a manuscript of S. Augustine *De Trinitate*, written in the monastery of Engelberg in Switzerland, under the direction of the abbot Berchtold (*d.* A.D. 1197) and Henry I. (*d.* A.D. 1223); and in another of the *Mater verborum* in the Bohemian Museum at

Prague, which is a copy of the Universal Lexicon compiled by desire of the abbot Salomo of S. Gallen. The initials here also contain Bible stories, as Christ on the cross, again contorted, and curiously draped with a net instead of the usual cloth round the loins; there are also praying figures (principally monks of the unknown monastery from which the manuscript originated) worshipping a sacred personage, apparently the Madonna. Other initials, however, like those of the Engelberg manuscript, are here filled in with purely fantastical subjects; the Y, for instance, with an almost nude figure balanced among the branches of a vine and gathering the grapes in a basket, and another of a squatting and munching ape (Fig. 80); and also the capital A, which fills a whole page at the beginning of the same work, and is a masterpiece of fantastic ornamentation. Leaves and plaited work are everywhere combined with the most fanciful incidents. Dragons issue from, and again run back into, stems of plants, strange heads appear, little spaces are contrived for an owl crowned by two monkeys, and a man merrily playing on his fiddle while two ecclesiastical dignitaries stand apart at the sides of the letter.[45]

Fig. 80.

Side by side with the stronger development of Romanesque leaf-ornament, under the influence of the architecture of the age, we are struck in this work by the abundance of merely fantastic motives of animal and human figures, mythical beings, and strange twy-formed monsters. Scenes of juggling and fighting appear; everything visionary, adventurous, demoniacal even, is brought in; and an overflowing inventiveness and caprice is combined with the formal skill which often allows itself to handle motives of violent action, but always grasps such motives with assured boldness, and has even some knowledge of the nude; while in flow of line and largeness and unity of composition the designs are altogether admirable.

Fantastic representations of this kind also appear in the capitals, friezes, doorway mouldings, and other ornaments of Romanesque architecture. In

all this, modern research has often been tempted to trace a symbolical meaning; detecting either reminiscences of Northern myths, or mystical symbols of religion. But in reality the unmistakable models for these shapes of brute and monster are to be found in Oriental hangings, which were always a commodity in vogue in the West; and this fact of itself disposes of more far-fetched interpretations. S. Bernard points in the same direction, when in a well-known passage of a letter he denounces the decoration of cloisters with shapes of monsters, combats of fabulous brutes and demi-brutes, whereby the mind of the beholder was led aside from devout contemplations. This goes to show that such shapes of fancy were not, in the first place, meant to be symbolical; although, once created, it is possible that the popular mind may by and by have sought to read hidden meanings into them. At this time a form of literature daily more in fashion consisted of the manuscript Bestiaries and the book *Physiologus*,—books which enumerate, with figures, a variety of real and fabulous animals, and treat of their characteristics, endeavouring to find in them symbolic relations to the mysteries of Christianity.[46] This kind of fable obtained a great ascendency, and presently led to the production of works of art really saturated with symbolical significance. Such mystical conceptions, however, fill much less place in manuscript than in architectural decoration. The phœnix and pelican, as we find them in the Gospel-book of Henry the Lion, are indeed suggested by the *Physiologus*, but these are exceptional cases. To look for a special intention in every fantastic initial letter—to discern, for instance, an embodiment of demoniac power in the dragon placed at the beginning of the psalm *Salvum me fac*—would be to go too far. This kind of ornamental penmanship, more perhaps than anything else, proceeds from that free play of imagination which lends so singular a charm to mediæval art; surrounding serious subjects with caprices of whimsical daring, and asserting itself boldly in immediate contact with the most solemn matters of church doctrine and ritual.

We have now considered the manuscripts illuminated in opaque water-colour on a ground of gold or colours, and exhibiting all the wealth of ornamentation known at the time. But as in earlier stages, so also in the best time of the Romanesque style after the middle of the twelfth century, our attention is still claimed by other manuscripts containing only pen-drawings in black and red, or occasionally slightly coloured. Though often quite of an amateur character, such drawings are nevertheless taken as light improvisations, full of bold and lively features. They are especially common in South Germany.

To this class belong firstly the manuscripts from the monastery of Zwifalten at the foot of the Swabian Alps, now in the Public Library at Stuttgart, among which only one, a Breviary, is executed in body-colour. A *Passionale* in three volumes, written under Abbot Conrad (A.D. 1189-1193), contains wildly fanciful initials drawn with the pen, and numerous large and small pictures, among

which there is now and then some colour employed. The monumental feeling is prominent here, combined with the capacity for reproducing architectural views. The former is also perceptible in the black and red pen-drawings of the *Chronicon Zwifaldense*.[47] Thus we find a large page with a representation of the creation: God is enthroned in the centre, enclosed within a ring decorated with six medallions containing the Days of Creation. All round is the fall of the rebel angels, Michael subduing the dragon, which extends beyond the border, and underneath are the Jaws of Hell, the Fall, and the Expulsion. The following page contains what is a favourite subject in mosaic pavements—a figure personifying the Year, surrounded by the Signs of the Zodiac, and representations of the Months, Seasons, and Winds. Among later legendary subjects occurs S. Christopher, as a lion-headed giant: he overtops two towers from which people are staring at him, and is just able to push his feet through two gates. That a pure style and careful execution were possible in this technical method is proved by the legend of S. Lucy, in prose varied with alcaic verses, published by Siegbert of Gembloux, who was a scholar in the monastery of S. Vincent at Metz in the second half of the eleventh century.[48] This work was written towards the end of the twelfth century in the same monastery. Besides scenes from the legend of S. Lucy, this book contains pictures of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in two separate pages: above each group appears the Bridegroom in glory, and at the side of the second picture, the writer, one brother Rodulfus, on his knees. Solemn and symmetrical composition is united here with moderate and fairly expressive movements (Fig. 81).

Not earlier than the beginning of the thirteenth century are two celebrated manuscripts of German poetry in the Berlin Library, namely, the *Liet von der Maget* by the priest Wernher of Tegernsee, with many drawings, some of archaic severity, some highly decorated, and running into flourish in the draperies and extremities, but in neither case devoid of originality or even of charm; and the *Eneidt* of Heinrich von Veldegk, in which the outline drawings of love scenes, fights, and knightly doings show, in spite of many shortcomings, a courageous grasp, an endeavour after beauty, and gestures surprisingly expressive. To illustrate profane poetry in this manner became now more and more the fashion.

The monk Conrad, of the Bavarian monastery of Scheiern, was a very prolific scribe, and evidently often illustrated his own manuscripts; his name constantly, and occasionally even his portrait, occurs in the collection of his productions now in the Munich Library.[49] He lived under Abbot Conrad (A.D. 1206-1216), and also for a long time afterwards under his successor Henry, as a scribe, illuminator, and goldsmith: the date 1241 appears in his *Mater Verborum*. He worked boldly away, generally on a large scale, and was in the habit of colouring his pen-drawings but slightly; he shows himself on the one hand master of the traditional types, and

Fig. 81.

n the other capable of happy ideas of his own. His most important book, a very large *Liber Matutinalis*,[50] contains solemn presentations of the Dragon and Woman of the Apocalypse, the Crucifixion, the Triumph over Heresy; but it also contains two series of pictures from popular legends not strictly theological in character, which we are accustomed afterwards to find in

the French work *Miracles de la Vierge.* These include the story of the severe Abbess betrayed, notwithstanding her severity, by the Tempter, but saved from disgrace through the succour of the Virgin, who sends her angels to bring the child into the world and take care of it; also the legend of Theophilus, who, because of a reprimand from his bishop goes over to the Jews and gives himself up to Antichrist, but not being able to cease from good works, comes into conflict with the Evil One, from whom he at last gets back his bond through the help of the Mother of God, and makes a good end. For stories of this kind there were no ancient models to follow, so our scribe Conrad makes his own way with simplicity, and with broad, agreeable, and often involuntarily entertaining result. The *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Commestor and the *Mater Verborum*, are also remarkable.[51] The former contains allegories of the Liberal Arts, and the latter a representation of sacred and Profane Music, in which there are figures and groups each in a border of its own; as for instance Pythagoras, David playing the harp, Boëthius and Guido of Arezzo, associated together though in separate borders; also allegories of the Virtues and Vices illustrated by examples from the Old Testament and from pagan story; for instance Cupiditas, illustrated by Crœsus before Cyrus; Jezebel with tight draperies; Haman on the gallows, etc. In this last pair of manuscripts the exhibitive groups devoid of action take a kind of rigid devotional style; a very large symmetrical figure of the Madonna and Child enthroned in the *Mater Verborum* recalls the hieratic conceptions in earlier French glass-painting, of which we shall speak farther on. Conrad of Scheiern was in all this a hasty worker; he already exhibits something of that spirit of mechanical production which possessed itself of German miniature-painting after the middle of the thirteenth century. He was conscious of this himself, and excuses himself in some Latin verses, on the plea that he had done all his work alone and received none of the pay which he had fairly earned.[52]

Miniature-painting as well as manuscript-writing was still essentially an art of the monastery, and the two were closely allied to each other; but as painting became more fully developed, it could not remain, as it had hitherto done, the work of the scribe. A division of labour henceforth became usual. In the *Necrologium* from Zwifalten, the painter Wernher, and the scribe Reinhard of Munderkingen (who died as abbot A.D. 1232), are represented standing under two arcades.

A pen-drawing at the end of a manuscript of S. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, in the library of the metropolitan chapter at Prague, exhibits still more plainly the relations between the scribe and the illuminator, the subordinate position of the latter, and the fact of their working in the same work-room (Fig. 82). This manuscript was evidently written about A.D. 1200 in a German monastery. At the end of the text is a picture of the monk Heldebert at his writing-desk (which is in the shape of a lion), turning round

with his pen stuck behind his ear, to throw something at a mouse which is munching at his dinner-table, and in the book which lies open on the desk is

Fig. 82.

written this curse, "Wicked mouse, provoking me again and again to anger, may God destroy thee!" (*Pessime mus, sepius me provocas ad iram, ut te deus perdat*). At his feet sits a young man, "Everwinus," drawing an ornament for illumination. This is an interesting pictorial addition to whimsical words such as scribes often add by way of conclusion to their works.

CHAPTER III.

PAVEMENTS, TEXTILE PRODUCTS, PAINTINGS ON WALL AND PANEL.

MOSAIC; employed in this age for pavements only—Germany; crypt of S. Gereon at Cologne—France; church of Cruas—Various substitutes for stone mosaic—TEXTILE PRODUCTS: Byzantine works and northern imitations—The Bayeux tapestry; its subject—Its character—Subjects from Marcianus Capella, etc.—MURAL PAINTINGS; numerous in this age, but few remaining—Their technical method—Their artistic character—Their subjects more and more exclusively religious—Examples; Schwarzrheindorf—Brauweiler—Soest; Lügde; Methler; Münster—Halberstadt; Goslar—Brunswick—Regensburg; Perschen; Forchheim; Prague—Examples in Austria; Lambach; the Cathedral at Gurk—Wall-paintings of this period less common in France; examples at Liget, Poitiers, and S. Savin—Holland; wall-paintings of the demolished church of Gorkum—PAINTINGS ON TIMBER ROOFS AND PANELS; formerly numerous, but few remaining—Oldest examples at Zillis in Switzerland—Ceiling of S. Michael's Church, Hildesheim—Introduction of painted panels or *antependia* for altar-fronts—Examples from Soest, Lün, Worms, and Cologne.

I. MOSAIC.—This art never fully naturalised itself in the North; it only occurs in isolated instances during the Romanesque period, and then only in pavements. It was first introduced by Bishop Bernward of Hildesheim, although he had never learnt the art himself, but had evidently only studied Italian models.

Among the most important existing remains are some in the Rhineland, especially the great pavement in the crypt of S. Gereon at Cologne, which was discovered in a state of dilapidation and has been lately restored.[53] This evidently belongs to the time of Bishop Anno, by whom the choir was consecrated A.D. 1069. It accords so closely with the Italian work of the same kind, of which we shall have to speak later, that it must belong to the same school. Anno must have got Italian workmen to come to Cologne, as the stones of which the pavement is made have been identified as belonging to the locality. The scenes represented are from the stories of Joseph, Joshua, Samson, and David, and there are also the signs of the zodiac. The drawing is rude and unskilful. The calm and business-like manner in which David is represented cutting off the head of Goliath, who obligingly keeps still the while, is quite childish. The animals, such as the lions slain by Samson and David, are heraldic, and show no attempt to follow nature. The figures are enclosed within black outlines on a white ground, and filled in with colour without either shading or modelling; the red of the cheeks is coarsely laid on in patches.

Mosaic pavements occur more frequently in the south of France, which was in some measure classic soil. There is a remarkable work dating from A.D. 1048 in the church of Cruas (Ardèche): it represents a cross, between two con-

ventional trees, and at the sides the prophets Elijah and Enoch.[54] The school which we find here is independent of that of northern Italy; the proportions are weak and the draperies ill understood; here also black outlines are used, but the technical mode of laying the marble is extremely careful. In northern France the church of S. Remi at Rheims once possessed a mosaic pavement of A.D. 1090, in which, besides Scripture scenes, were figured the Earth enthroned on Oceanus, the four rivers of Paradise, the Seasons, Months, Signs of the zodiac, Cardinal Virtues, and seven Liberal Arts.[55]

This mode of decorating pavements continued to be used in France, and was even employed later in the Gothic style, when, however, the substance chiefly employed was tile, and the designs became purely ornamental. In the cathedral at Hildesheim an analogous pavement was laid A.D. 1122, with a kind of substitute for mosaic, of which fragments still remain: the lines of the drawing were incised upon a plaster ground and filled in with a black composition.

While these stone carpets, so to call them, were reserved for pavements alone, the decoration of walls was given over either to carpets proper—to the works of textile art—or else to their substitute, painting.

II. TEXTILE PRODUCTS.—The richest and most sumptuous hangings and embroidered garments still came from Byzantium and the East, and later from Sicily, whither the Byzantine silk-weaving loom had been transplanted; but this "Greek work" was also carried on in the North, though with less skill. The patterns of the imported stuffs and embroideries, with their heraldic animals and conventional leaf-ornaments, were copied. Attempts were also made at original designs of sacred and profane subjects, in which this period, which was but little advanced in art, endeavoured with the needle to approach the character of the drawings to be worked from. The execution was generally the work of women, and was carried on by nuns or ladies; but monks also practised the art, executing the needlework itself as well as the preparatory drawings. The work of Brother Beretha, in the monastery of Ulrich at Augsburg, is said to be very striking. He executed three magnificent Lenten carpets for the use of the abbots of that place in the twelfth century.

Among the hangings which served as permanent or temporary decorations of halls and chambers and the lower parts of churches, many, from their subjects alone, form an important appendix to the monuments of painting proper. The most famous of all these works is the Bayeux tapestry, formerly in the cathedral and now in the museum of that place.[56] It is an embroidery in coloured wools on linen, of considerable size, measuring about 215 feet in length by 21 inches in height. This work is a monument not only of art but of history,—"a historical picture of the time," as Ranke says, inasmuch as it represents the conquest of England by Duke William of Normandy, A.D. 1066, and was evidently executed soon after that date. The event, with its cause

and antecedents, unfolds itself in a continuous frieze-like composition, explained by short inscriptions. Although there are no ornamental divisions, the piece naturally falls according to subject, into five parts or acts. First comes the exposition: Edward the Confessor is seen seated on his throne, sending Earl Harold of Kent, the mightiest lord in the kingdom, to tell Duke William of Normandy that he has chosen him as his successor. Harold rides with his followers to the bay of Bosham, visits the church there, dines and embarks. On the voyage he is wrecked, and has to land against his will on the territory of Count Wido of Ponthieu, who takes him prisoner, but releases him again at William's request. The last group of this act shows Duke William on his throne in his palace receiving Harold, who is brought to him by Wido himself. Then follows a hitherto unexplained episode of two figures, *Ulic unus clericus et Aelgyva.* Then comes the second act: A war breaks out between William and Count Conan of Brittany; the Norman army marches on S. Michael's Mount, crossing rivers, besieging towns; on the way they take Dinan by storm, and Conan, who is besieged there, hands down from the battlements the keys of the town with the standard. Hereupon William rewards Harold, who has taken part in these battles, and who now takes the solemn oath of allegiance to William on the sacred relics at Bayeux. The third act completes the crisis of the action. Harold goes back to England, and immediately upon this follow the burial and death (in this order) of Edward. Harold is at once chosen king by the nobles. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, who has officiated at his coronation, stands by his side while the nobles do homage. But there appears a comet, omen of mischance and terror. The fourth act begins with the bringing of this news to William by an English ship. William then orders ships to be built (Fig. 83). Next follow the embarking of the troops, the voyage, the landing, and the march to Hastings. Here food is requisitioned, and the troops are seen preparing their meal, and after that William holds a council with Archbishop Odo and Rufus, and an entrenched camp is hastily laid out near Hastings. In the fifth act comes the catastrophe, beginning with the two armies marching against one another. William harangues his army, though indeed, in this quaint design, no one listens to him, for his men have all turned their backs and are already riding to battle. Now comes a wild medley of horse and foot in which the brothers of Harold fall; in the tumult can be descried Odo with the commander's baton and William himself. The death of Harold and flight of the English form the closing scene.

The rudeness of the drawing in this work is in truth extraordinary—the figures out of all proportion, the trees little better than so many scrolls, and the architectural parts showing an utter ignorance of perspective, although the Romanesque style may still be recognised in them. The same capricious colouring that we have often found in primitive miniatures also prevails here; the horses

are red or green. But with all this, the work as a whole is astonishingly full of life. The costumes, furniture, and vessels of all kinds, are distinctly given ;

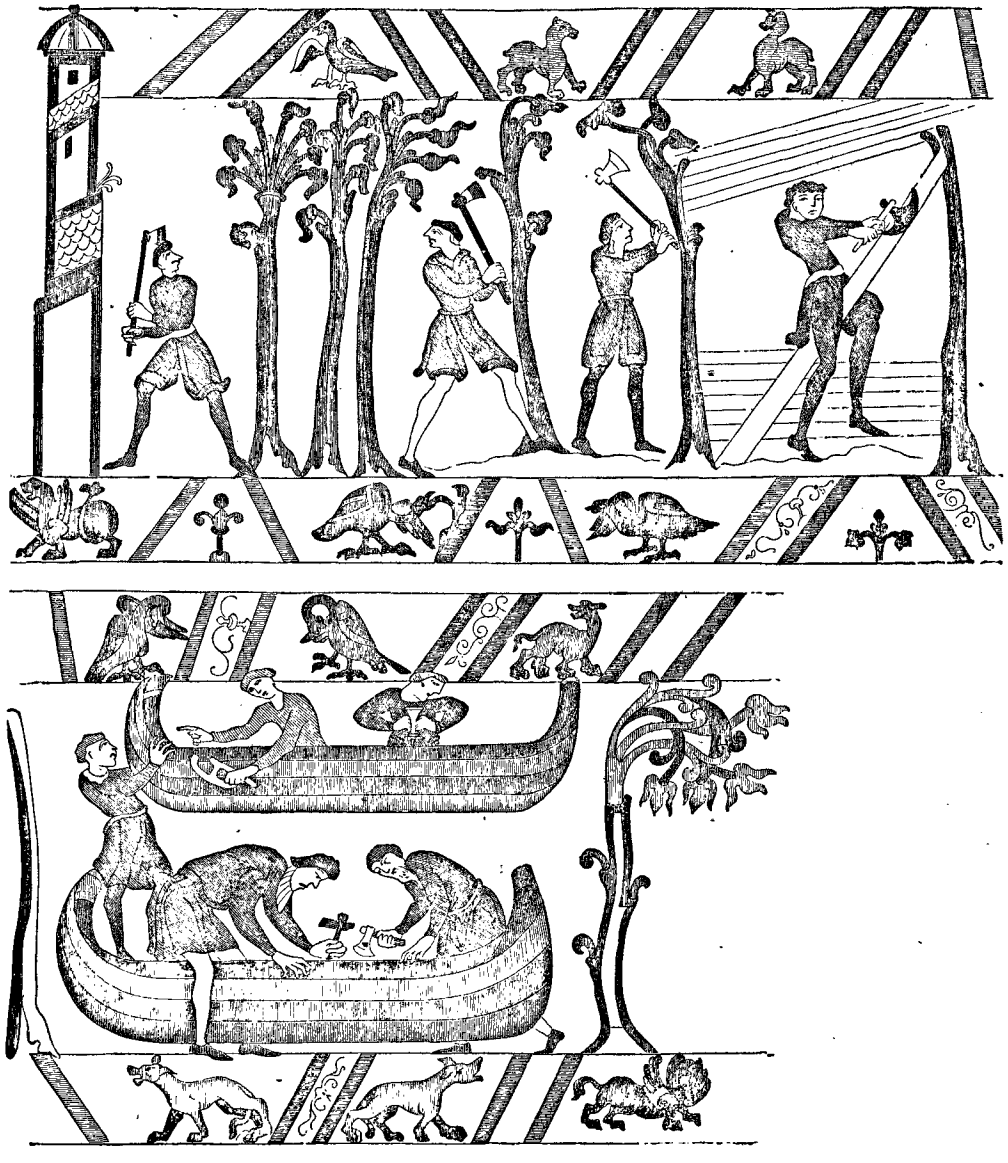

Fig. 83.

we see men felling trees, carpentering, cooking, eating, and fighting. Every activity displays itself with vigorous naturalness. The frieze is enclosed at the top and bottom by a broad border with conventionalised animals and monsters, except in the battle-piece at the end, where the action becomes so lively that the combatants and the fallen extend over into the border.

A favourite subject for textile art in this age was the allegoric Marriage of Mercury with Philology, as described at the beginning of the fantastic encyclopædia of Marcianus Capella. These and other mythological figures and personifications of the Virtues are represented on the embroidered hangings in the Treasury of the castle-chapel at Qredlinburg. They are evidently the same which, according to the old chronicles, the Abbess Agnes of that place executed with her maidens about A.D. 1200. Together with unmistakable reminiscences of older models, they show felicity and liveliness in motive and relative freedom of treatment.[57]

III. MURAL PAINTING.—But after all the power of pictorial representation in this age was more easily able to express itself in monumental painting proper. Our remains of Romanesque mural painting, though but a small fraction of what once existed, are beyond comparison more numerous than those of textile art. Documentary notices of wall-paintings in various places have been collected from historical sources by several scholars, but it is needless to quote or to complete these notices, since in fact such works were produced everywhere. A building in the Romanesque style was unfinished without its decorative paintings. The great wall-surfaces in churches and the cloisters of monasteries demanded pictorial decorations. Later generations have entirely destroyed the remains of these as well as the coloured ornament of the interiors in general; but wherever we remove the whitewash, we find traces of these old pictures, though they are of course faded and spoilt, and any restoration of them involves a loss of their original character. Ecclesiastical chroniclers frequently think it worth while to commemorate the donation of such works; in some instances they even give detailed descriptions of their subjects and arrangements. The subjects are the same as those of Early Christian and Byzantine art, enriched by the figures and legends of other saints. We find stately single figures and typical groups without action, as well as narrative pictures generally containing a number of figures, and representing several successive incidents side by side. The technical execution was swift. Studies from nature were not used, but in their place older models and traditions came in, and if this rapid mode called for many helping hands, still there was not at this stage so very much to choose between the work of a master and the work of his scholars.

The drawings were done in thick black outlines on the smoothly prepared wall-surfaces or vaultings, and coloured in simple tones without fine gradations and almost without shading. The halos of the saints, borders of the dresses, and the like, were laid on in gold. The ground was always in one colour, generally blue. The separate compartments were enclosed by tapestry-like borders, and sometimes also by architectural designs, especially of arcades supported on columns, which helped to carry out the system of polychrome

decoration applied to the building itself; the dado generally consisted of painted carpets or curtains with simple folds.

Thus the pictures themselves looked like imitation hangings; figures and ornaments were conventionalised and adapted to a scheme of surface decoration. They are placed above and beside each other without any real pictorial connection, but brought into an agreeable relation at least by a lucky combination of lines. The colouring is purely decorative, and produces its effect by the harmonious distribution of the several fields of colour within their dark outlines. The artist renounces all attempt at indicating a third or depth dimension; he scarcely at all indicates localities, using architecture only as a framework, hardly as a background, and thus avoiding the difficulties of which he was not yet master, and openly avowing the flat decorative character of the pictures. But it is just for this reason that wall-paintings of this kind formed such a harmonious ornament to Romanesque buildings, and that this really decorative treatment gives them a kind of advantage over that of the more complete and pictorially designed wall-paintings of maturer times.

Profane pictures, such as royal battles and victories, had, in pursuance of Roman tradition, been painted in earlier times in the palaces of princes. King Henry I. even had caused his victory over the Hungarians to be painted in an upper hall of the castle at Merseburg; this work is praised in old writings for its lively and natural character. But this class of painting fell more and more into disuse. Ecclesiastical art took the first place, and to it even the pictorial style of the age was favourable. What might seem a hindrance became really an advantage; the very austerity of conception was calculated to produce an impressiveness which the conventional character of the designs does not tend to lessen, and the character of cramped restraint becomes the sign of subordination to the will of God.[58]

Remains of eleventh and early twelfth century work of this kind are rather scarce in Germany. In the porch of the church of S. George at Oberzell, in the island of Reichenau (the celebrated monastery which was one of the centres of art), there is a Last Judgment, with attenuated figures, but a certain endeavour after beauty and movement. The flesh parts have all turned black from the decay of the colour. Fine half-length figures of saints, in the tower of the Cathedral of Nonnberg at Salzburg, are more severe in drawing, the one seen in full front, all very emaciated, with pointed oval faces, draped in rich sacerdotal robes, and placed in decorated niches of simple architectural form.[59] Most of the remains existing in Germany belong to the best period of the Romanesque style, that is to say to the close of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century. Many of the most important are to be found in the Rhineland. The lower church at Schwarzrheindorf,[60] a sepulchral chapel of the Archbishop of Cologne completed A.D. 1151, contains a continuous series of pictures, but only in its eastern part, thus showing that they were painted before

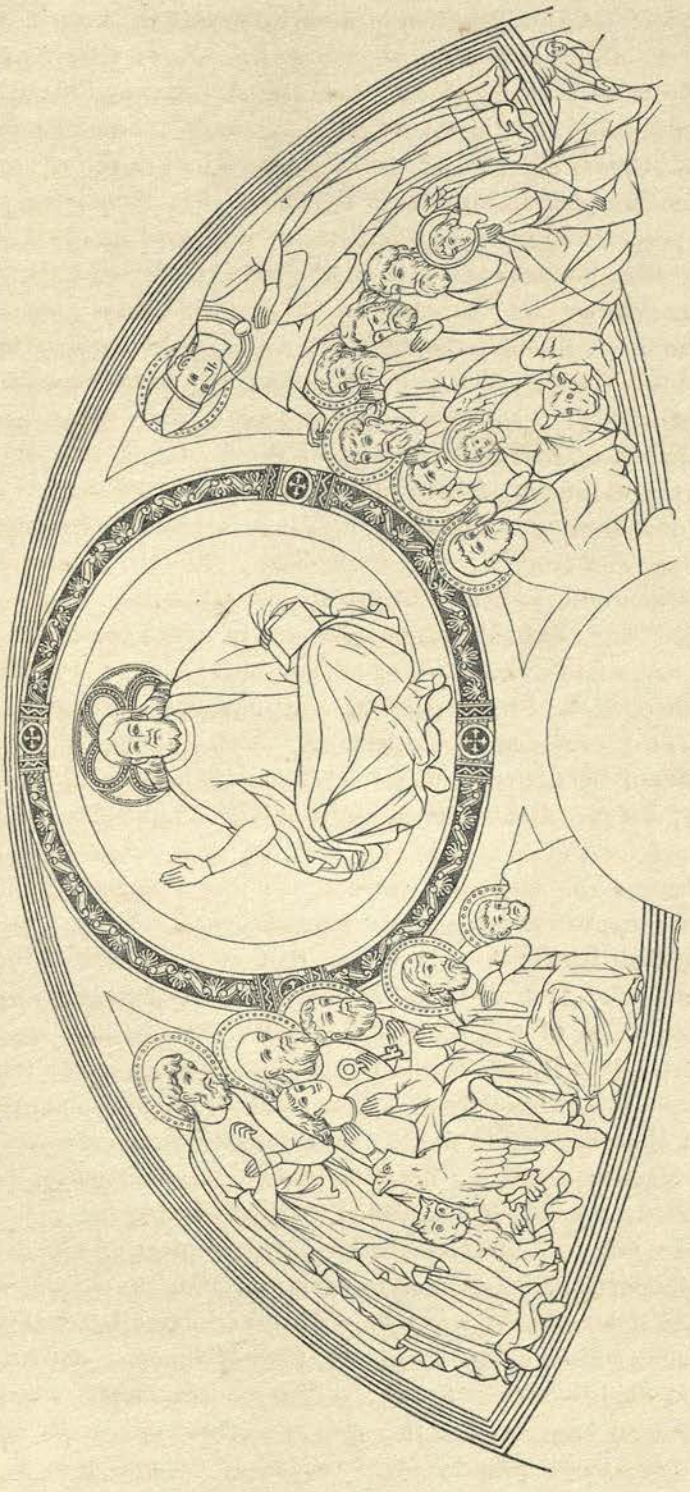

Fig. 84.

the chapel had received the addition of a nave towards the west in A.D. 1156. The semi-dome of the apse contains a seated figure of Christ as Teacher, enclosed in a circle; at his feet are the twelve Apostles and the Evangelists, in two well-ordered groups, in one of which appears a bishop, probably the founder of the church (Fig. 84). Other subjects in the series are the four Evangelists at their desks, with their symbols above them; the visions of Ezekiel; his prophecies of the New Jerusalem; the angel of the Lord, armed and like a figure of bronze, appearing in the gate of the city; the measuring of the walls round the city; the sacrifice of reconciliation at the altar; the coming of the Lord through the east gate; Christ driving out the money changers from the Temple; the Transfiguration; a Crucifixion, with a number of figures, and below, the soldiers casting lots for Christ's raiment and Pilate washing his hands. The smaller niches in the transepts contain figures of seated kings, the wall-faces of the window-openings in the western arm show four warriors overthrowing bearded figures—Virtues, probably, triumphing over so many Vices. The ground is blue throughout; the drawing severe, and the designs harmoniously arranged to fit the spaces. The lines of the body are hacracteristically expressed through the drapery, of which the cast, however, is formal, and broken into a multitude of minute folds; but we are surprised by an approach to power and often passion, in actions and gestures, side by side with attitudes of otherwise antique solemnity.

In the apse of the upper church the Saviour is enthroned, with a bishop prostrated at his feet between the emblems of the Evangelists and figures of saints. Farther back there is a whole crowd of saints, chiefly warriors. On the cross-vaulting Christ appears twice, and the Virgin also twice, without her Child, between groups of adoring saints and martyrs.

The somewhat later paintings in the roof of the chapter-house of the Abbey of Brauweiler at Cologne may be placed on the same level.[61] The four-and-twenty fields of the six groined vaults contain, in allusion to the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a didactic representation of the power of faith, in scenes from the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the legends of Saints and Martyrs; and in the compartment facing the entrance, a colossal bust of Christ according to the beardless type. It is no longer possible to trace continuously the larger pictures on the walls within the engaged arches which continue this series. The divisional arrangement of the design as a whole is imposing, and, in spite of many errors and an entirely decorative intention of the treatment, is distinctly more free and natural, though still maintaining a monumental dignity. The heroic form of Samson standing between groups of slain Philistines (Fig. 85) is a characteristic example of this style.

A clear general impression of this style of coloured church-decoration may be obtained from the Baptistery of S. Gereon at Cologne, which was completed A.D. 1227, and the pictures of which date from the close of this period.

The painted arcades in the transition style contain figures of bishops and saints, generally in pairs. Seen in full front, the attitudes have more movement, but the draperies are angular, with restless overcrowded folds about the feet. Christ appears between Mary and John the Baptist in the field of the arch over the altar.[62]

In Westphalia, the paintings in the choir apse of the minster church of S. Patroclus at Soest take the first rank; according to the fragments of an inscription, they were executed A.D. 1166. In the arch appears a gigantic picture of Christ enthroned in the *mandorla*, at each side are the symbols of Matthew and John, and under them those of Mark and Luke, surrounded by six standing saints—Mary, Peter and Stephen, John the Baptist, Paul, and Laurence. Be-

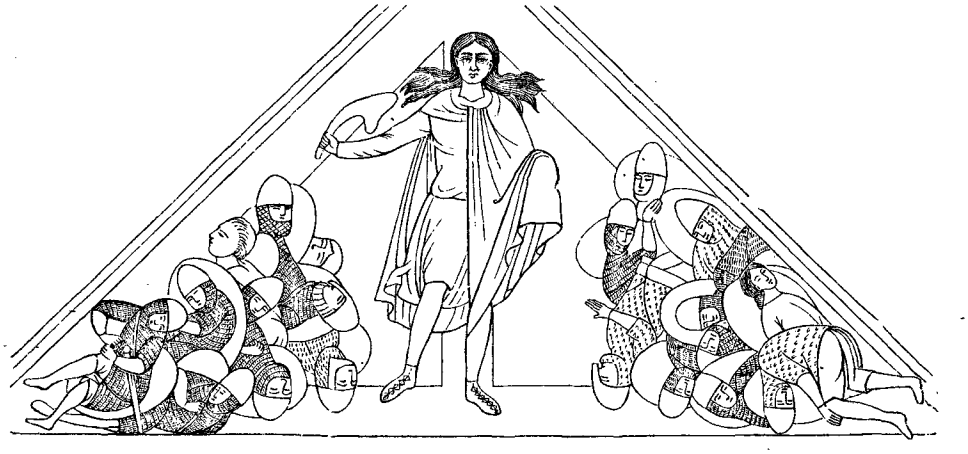

Fig. 85.

neath a frieze with busts of saints we see on the wall of the apse four imposing figures of kings under architectural canopies, and on the window-spaces two rows of smaller figures of angels and saints. These paintings are remarkable for care of execution, minuteness of fold, together with a restfulness of flow in the drapery, and an increase of natural freedom along with solemn repose. Later pictures are to be found in a side apse of the Lady chapel, and in the Nicholas chapel close at hand. To the paintings of the principal choir here are allied, both in subject and treatment, those in the church of S. Kilian at Lügde near Pyrmont, only that here the two deacons are absent among the upper row of saints, and underneath we have the Apostles instead of the figures of the four kings. In the village church of Methler, near Dortmund, paintings from the beginning of the thirteenth century still exist in the choir and on the side walls of the nave. The execution of these is ruder, but there is much sentiment in many of the motives, in the Annunciation for example, and we are struck by the characteristic energy of the figures of the Apostles, and the striving after expression everywhere. A picture in the western transept of the cathe-

dral at Münster is more noteworthy for its subject, and as throwing light on a historical event, than for its artistic merits; a group of Frisian country-folk approach S. Paul, the patron saint of the church, with gifts, signifying their political subjection to the overlordship of the bishop.[63]

In East Saxony the large paintings in the Liebfrauenkirche at Halberstadt should be mentioned; they are unfortunately for the most part repainted. With the exception of a few very dilapidated fragments in the choir, the figures of saints in the ancient chapel of S. Barbara alone belong to the end of the twelfth century, while the principal paintings, the bold forms of prophets between the upper windows of the side walls and the nave, the figures of saints in the apse, the paintings of the vaultings of the transept and choir, only date from after the construction of the vaultings (A.D. 1270-1284). A rather earlier date may be assigned to the picture in the dome of the apse in the Neuwerker church at Goslar. This is a Madonna and Child in the *mandorla* among angels and saints.[64]

Lastly, to the first part of the thirteenth century belongs also one of the largest and most important series of pictures, that in the transept and choir of the cathedral at Brunswick.[65] Unfortunately, the general effect is much impaired by a far too comprehensive restoration (the north arm of the transept being disfigured with styleless modern paintings), but it is still possible to get the impression of a connected decoration of walls and vaultings such as we seldom obtain. The paintings of the apse no longer exist, but the semi-dome doubtless contained the Saviour enthroned. The groined vaulting of the quadrangular part of the choir is filled with the genealogical tree of Christ. The pointed arches of the north and south walls contain two rows of pictures —the former the story of Cain and Abel, and the latter Abraham and the three angels, Abraham's sacrifice, Moses and the burning bush, and the lifting up of the brazen serpent; all, therefore, Old Testament types of Christ. Three lower rows are filled with lively narrative scenes from the legends of John the Baptist and S. Blasius. Large figures of both these saints stand facing the body of the church on the arch of triumph, which farther contains the Fall, in half-length figures, aloft on the side towards the choir. In the roof above the bay formed by the intersection of choir and transepts the Lamb of God forms a centre, and is surrounded by six scenes from the Gospels; Christ's birth and Presentation in the temple; the Maries at the sepulchre; the walk to Emmaus, the repast there; and the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, in connection with this appears the wall enclosing the New Jerusalem with its twelve towers. The spandrils contain eight prophets, supporting the whole. An arch leading to the south arm of the transept contains, below, large figures of the Madonna and S. Barbara, above, medallions of angels and prophets. In the vaultings Christ and Mary are enthroned, surrounded by angels and the crowned elders of the Apocalypse.

The lunette at the eastern end of the transept, broken by two windows, is filled by Christ in Limbus, the Resurrection, and between these two the Ascension; the southern and western arches by the Wise and Foolish Virgins: over each of these two groups is the colossal figure of an angel. The lower parts of the walls are covered by various legendary subjects and martyrdoms, as well as single figures of saints. Fragments of painting have also come to light in the nave.

The pictures were originally lightly and delicately coloured on a blue ground, but they are now too heavy and dull in tone. The artists succeeded in the composition by simplicity of arrangement, and understood how to combine a fitting solemnity with the power of telling the story attractively, and often even with much sprightliness and life. The several episodes of the story are naïvely introduced in the same picture, as in Herod's feast, where the daughter of Herodias appears three different times, first dancing, in an attitude which the artist might have seen among the strolling acrobats of his day; next, leaning on her mother's bosom and receiving her treacherous counsel; and thirdly, bearing the head of John the Baptist. The softer and slenderer proportions which mark the approach of the Gothic style already begin to appear, and also the attempt to give a tenderer expression to the heads. The cast of the draperies is quiet and dignified throughout.

To the twelfth century belong the remains of the Last Judgment in the eastern apse of the cathedral of Obermünster at Regensburg (*Ratisbon*), in southern Germany; but a somewhat later picture of the Outpouring of the Holy Ghost, which was lately found in the Anna chapel of the same church, is better preserved. The pictures in the granary near the church at Perschen, in the Upper Palatinate, are ascetic in conception, but well carried out in a severe style; their subjects are Christ in the *mandorla* (still the beardless type) surrounded by the Apostles; on the dome are two rows of pictures representing Mary with angels and female saints.[66] A larger series of early thirteenth-century pictures is to be found in the once royal chapel at Forchheim in Franconia: it contains prophets, the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Last Judgment, all tolerably well executed. To this time also belongs a stately but badly-preserved work in Bohemia, the decoration of the chapel under the south tower of the church of S. George, on the Hradschin at Prague.

In Austria should be mentioned a cycle of late twelfth-century pictures illustrating the childhood of Christ, in the tower arches and porch of the cathedral at Lambach. One or two scenes only, from the story of the Three Kings, which is told in detail, are still preserved: the costumes and conceptions are still quite after the Early Christian models, such as we find in the Catacombs. A magnificent work of German art from the extreme south-eastern frontier belongs to the close of this period; this is the decoration of the walls of the

nuns' choir in the cathedral at Gurk in Carinthia.[67] On the east wall, above the opening of the arch which looks into the nave, rises a painted structure, consisting of seven slender arcades on steps, which are ornamented with the lions of Solomon, and containing in the midst the seated Madonna and Child; over their heads are seven doves symbolising the gifts of the Holy Spirit;

Fig. 86.

behind and beside the back of the throne, eight crowned women representing the Virtues (Fig. 86). In the spandrils of the arch under the throne are two small figures of donors—Bishop Dietrich of Salzburg (we cannot tell whether the first or the second of that name), and Otho, the provost of the cathedral, who was elected bishop A.D. 1214, but died before his consecration; so the mitre is placed near his head, but not on it. Splendour and dignity of design have been attained here with the simplest materials; the gestures are expressive and entirely without stiffness; a transition towards the Gothic style

begins to show itself in the full angularly broken draperies, the slim proportions, the graceful architectural forms with very slender columns and rich arcadings, but more especially in the deeper feeling which the artist has expressed in the way in which he makes Mary caress her Child. The pictures on the two other walls of the eastern division no longer exist; of those from the story of Adam and Eve in the vaulting only three are preserved—the Creation of Eve, the Admonition of Adam and Eve, and the Fall: the nude figures are not unskilful. An arch with a picture of Jacob's ladder leads to the east end; in the three engaged arches are the Adoration of the Magi, the Entrance into Jerusalem, and the Transfiguration; with these a frieze with medallions of the fathers and saints; in the vaulting is the New Jerusalem, with angels, Apostles, and four large towers rising up towards the Lamb of God in the centre. Lastly, the spandrils contain figures of the prophets.

In France wall-paintings are not quite so common: there are fewest in the south, and the central provinces contain the most important existing examples. Those in the chapel at Liget (*Indre et Loire*), as well as figures of Christ and several saints in the old circular church of S. Jean at Poitiers, date from the beginning of the twelfth century.[68] A series in the church of S. Savin in Poitou (*Vienne*), and in which the architectural parts were all decorated with colour, seems still more advanced. The porch contains Christ enthroned, and scenes from the Apocalypse; the columns and architraves in the interior are painted with scrolls and streamers; the vaultings of the middle aisle contain scenes from the first and second books of Moses, with which are connected pictures in the choir from the New Testament. In the crypt we find legends of S. Savinus, the patron saint of the church, and of S. Cyprian. The compositions are of the utmost symmetry, and always carried out in the flat decorative style. The slimness of the figures, which, with all their crude incorrectness, begin to show motives of some insight, and even of some sentiment, point to the twelfth century as the date of these works. The scale of colour is very limited, with rough drawing in red-brown outlines; reddish and yellowish tones predominate.[69]

In Holland wall-paintings were discovered at the pulling down of the church of S. John at Gorkum (founded A.D. 1212, consecrated A.D. 1263); tracings of these are preserved in the Library at the Hague. They contained scenes from Genesis and the Gospels, and were examples of an extremely barbarous local art which had been but little affected by the Romanesque style of France and Germany.[70]

IV. PAINTINGS ON TIMBER ROOFS AND PANELS.—Painting on wood was specially used for the decoration of the flat ceilings of Romanesque basilicas. Although the number of the painted ceilings must, according to

literary records,[71] have been great, the constantly-recurring fires in mediæval churches have allowed but few to survive.

The oldest existing examples of such painting decorate the flat wooden ceiling of the church at Zillis in the Canton Graubündten. A double border of ribbon plait, zigzag and leaf ornaments, encloses one hundred and fifty-three square compartments containing figure pieces; those nearest to the choir contain personifications of Christianity and Judaism, then follow the kings of the Old Testament, and then scenes from the New. As each field allows room for only a few figures, the same subject sometimes extends over several. Fantastic animals, sirens, and sea-gods, fill the outermost circle. The pictures appear to be of the twelfth century, but are still rude and archaic, and the proportions of the figures weak.[72]

Among the best productions of the Romanesque style is the ceiling of the church of S. Michael's at Hildesheim. It was not executed at the time the church was built under Bernward, but dates as late as after its restoration in consequence of a fire, A.D. 1186 (Fig. 87). The subject of the whole decoration is the genealogical tree of Christ, the Stem of Jesse, which also appears, as we have seen, in the Mount Athos Manual, but the subject has never been more grandly designed in Western art than it is here. The large central fields of the ceiling, with round or lozenge-shaped borders, contain the principal incidents connected with the genealogy of our Lord. The first of these is the Fall, with figures of Adam and Eve; then Jesse asleep on his couch, with the tree growing out of his body. He is followed by his son David on his throne; then come three more kings of his house,—the representation following the account of S. Matthew and not that of S. Luke. The seventh field contains the seated figure of Mary, and the eighth and last, the Redeemer seated on a rainbow with an open book, and in the attitude of teaching. Medallions, placed between garlands of leaves in the outer circle, contain busts of other precursors of Christ, and room has been found for some in the spandrils of the large compartments. In the spandrils of the field containing the Virgin, however, the four Cardinal Virtues are represented, and in that containing Christ the symbols of the Evangelists, which also recur in the spandrils of the outer circle. Two continuous bands between this outer circle and the central fields contain the four rivers of Paradise, the four Evangelists, and rows of prophets, and between these also the Archangel Gabriel next to the Virgin: she is represented at the moment of the Annunciation, and is spinning, as is often the case in this subject. The treatment of the nude in the first principal picture (Fig. 87) renders it remarkable: correctness and real understanding of the human frame are not perhaps attained; the heads are too small, and knowledge of the structure of the skeleton is wanting, but the movements are not awkward, and there is a great advance upon the ugliness and rudeness of earlier work of the same kind. Anything that would have been offensive to prudish minds is, as usual in

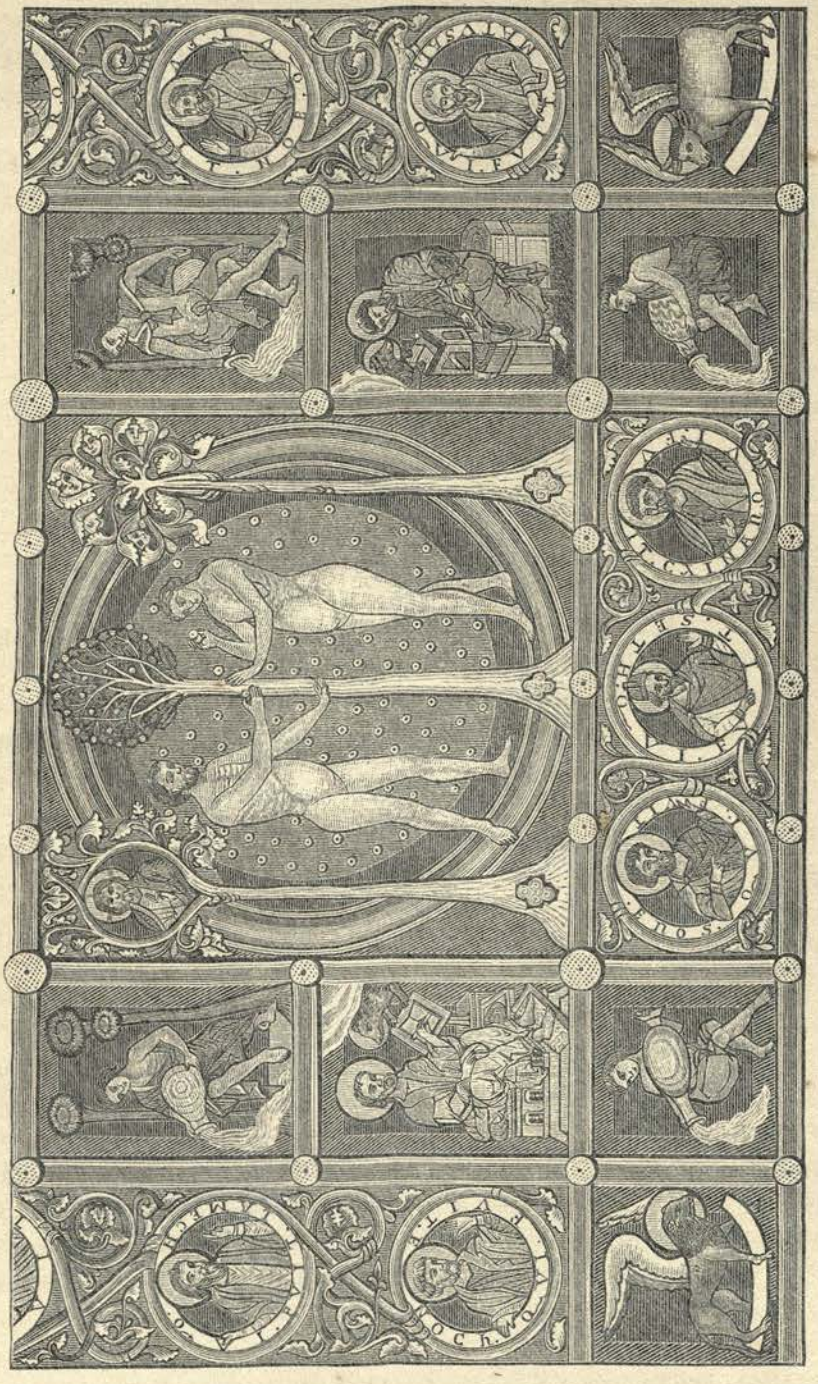

Fig. 87.

mediæval art, left out. The conventionalising of the trees is also characteristic. As a whole, the ceiling forms one of the foremost examples of severe architectural arrangement and artistic distribution in the whole range of mediæval painting. The principal figures rise to a noble dignity, the drawing is assured and light, despite heavy outlines and excessive richness of drapery; the pure colouring is harmonious and powerful.[73]

About this time independent panel pictures also appear in the churches, at

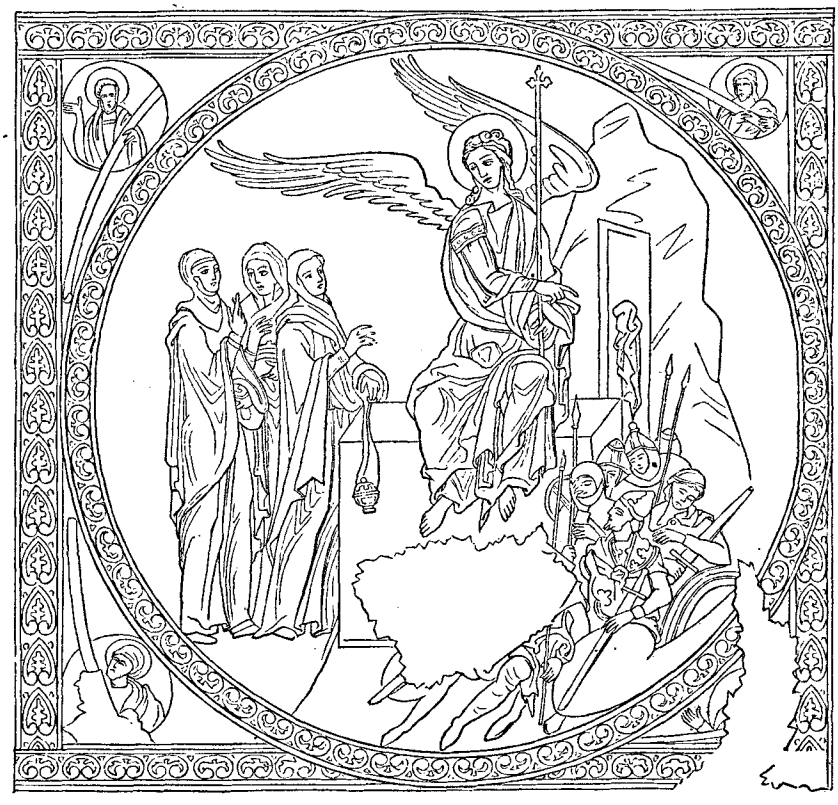

Fig. 88.

first not in the form of altar-pieces, but of *antependia*, which covered the lower part of the front of the altar, as a substitute for drapery. Two works of this kind from Soest belong to the beginning of the thirteenth century. One of these was formerly in the Walpurgis monastery, and is now in the Museum at Münster; it contains Christ enthroned with four saints; the other was taken from the Wiesenkirche, and is now in the Berlin Museum;[74] the central picture contains a Crucifixion with several figures, among which two are personifications of the Church and the Synagogue; and in the side compartments, which are of circular shape set in square borders, Christ before Caiaphas and the Maries at the Sepulchre. The paintings are on a gold ground, with smaller

pictures in the spandrils, and enclosed with beautiful leaf ornament. A Byzantine motive, appropriated and often repeated by Western art, has suggested the seated angel on the tomb; but the artistic value of this figure, the gently bowed head, the noble repose of the attitude, the hand pointing backwards across the knees, has been accentuated by the painter's own genius, and the tall figures, in their carefully elaborate draperies, are full of a refined and natural feeling (Fig. 88). A somewhat later *antependium* in the Church of our Lady at Lün, near Lüneberg, shows a similar style in the figures, but is already influenced by Gothic architectural forms. The centre contains representations of the Trinity and the Crucifixion, and at the sides four pictures from the childhood of Christ, and four from the Passion. In the cathedral at Worms we also find in the Baptistery two panel pictures dating from the middle of the thirteenth century; on one side of the panel are Peter and Paul, and on the other Stephen and a bishop, so that they must have formed the movable doors of a shrine or case for a sculptured figure. Remains of an antependium of stone occur in the shape of ten slabs of slate painted with the Apostles, in the church of S. Ursula at Cologne; one of them bears on the back the date 1224. They are painted in tempera, with heavy outlines on a blue ground, formerly ornamented with gold rosettes.

CHAPTER IV.

PAINTINGS ON GLASS.

Introduction of glass-painting—Its origin ; question of priority between France and Germany—Its technical methods—Its decorative style and treatment—Eleventh-century windows at Augsburg and Wenweiler —Eleventh-century windows at Le Mans—Twelfth-century windows at Angers and St. Denis—Twelfth-century windows at Chartres and Vendôme—Windows of the same period at Canterbury—Later examples at Strassburg and elsewhere in Germany—*Grisaille* system of glass-painting adopted to conform with the Cistercian rule ; examples in France, Germany, and Switzerland.

A NEW branch of art was developed during the Romanesque period in the shape of glass-painting. This art at first occupied a modest position compared to wall-painting, but soon became an essential part of the interior decoration of buildings.[75]

Glass-painting proper was preceded by a transparent mosaic made with pieces of coloured glass in purely ornamental patterns. This was in use as early as the first Christian times, and is as old as the employment of glass itself for windows. But it is not our purpose to inquire into the origin of the art. Real painting on glass began only with the discovery of a colour which could be applied to the material. Till then, the representation of true pictures on glass was impossible. The first examples that have come down to us are of no earlier date than the eleventh century, and even of this period examples are extremely rare. Historical records, however, show that glass-painting was carried on as early as the end of the tenth century, perhaps even earlier, but many ninth-century accounts leave it doubtful as to whether they refer to real pictures, or only to patterns of coloured glass. Not even the celebrated passage in a letter of acknowledgment from the Abbot Gozbert of Tegernsee (A.D. 983-1001) to Count Arnold, a benefactor of the monastery, is quite certain in its meaning. The writer congratulates himself in that, thanks to Count Arnold, the golden sun has for the first time shone down upon the pavement of the church through painted panes of many colours (*discoloria picturarum vitra*), so that the hearts of men have been filled with manifold delight in contemplating the variety and beauty of the effect.[76] Figure subjects are, however, distinctly mentioned by the monk Richer, of S. Remy at Rheims, when he says that Bishop Adalbero (A.D. 968-989) had lighted up the church with windows containing diverse histories (*fenestris diversas continentibus historias*).[77] Whether this art was first practised in France or Germany is a question that has given

rise to much debate. One French writer, Labarte, has lately assigned the priority to Germany, while, on the other hand, the same honour has been done to France by German scholars, and among them by Schnaase. In any case the general relation of the two countries towards the art is that expressed by the monk Theophilus, who speaks in the introduction to his Manual of the love of France for "the rich variegation of windows," and again says that "the French is the nation most skilled in this art."

The technical process of the new art, which Theophilus describes in detail, remains a combination of mosaic (only a mosaic of good-sized instead of minute pieces of glass) and painting. On a wooden table, upon which the design to be reproduced was exactly drawn, were laid sheets of glass; upon these the required outlines were first traced through in liquid chalk, and then they were cut out with a red-hot iron—the use of the diamond for cutting glass being not yet known. Various colours of glass were available; as red, blue, green, yellow, and violet. The pieces thus cut to the required shape were again arranged upon the table, and the drawing and shading needed within each piece were added in a dark enamel. For this shading only one colour was known, namely a black lead composed of oxide of copper mixed with equal parts of green and blue glass. The painting was then burnt in, and the separate pieces fastened together by a lead framing. Theophilus goes on to say how this single brown enamel-colour for shading can be made to produce three different effects according as it is either laid on in thick hatchings, or evenly spread in a thin tone, or broken by the scratching out of lights upon it. The method above described underwent no alteration till the end of the thirteenth century. For all its simplicity, it exactly meets the requirements of the art as practised according to its true laws. Indeed the art of glass-painting in its purity can hardly be said to have outlasted the continuance of this treatment.

The tapestry-like style, with ornaments and figures treated as though all on one plane, without perspective or recession, which prevails in mediæval wall-paintings, is also the rule in painted glass. Each window has the effect of a drapery or hanging placed before an opening in the wall, and possessing the advantage of transparency. Hence each has to be treated as a whole—to be separately framed and harmoniously divided. Single windows grouped or in correspondence must be made also to agree in general treatment, within which, however, there may be as lively a variation of separate motives as in the sculptured details of the architectural features. The decorative purpose demands a careful distribution of the several colours. Large spaces of one colour are avoided; the intensity of particular colours, depending on the various degrees of light which they transmit, determines the extent to which they are used and the modes of their combination. Narrow bands of neutral colour soften the contrasts of those more intense, and make it possible to use them near together. The black-lead pigment serves not only to express drawing and shadow, but also

to tone down the positive colours. Backgrounds are not uniform, but broken in some kind of simple and regular diaper. This was the only way of lowering the force of the blue which usually predominated in the ground, or the intense glow of the red. In the figure parts of the compositions the repetition of the ground-colours was naturally avoided, or at least limited as much as possible. When the grounds are kept dark and quiet, a lighter treatment is usual in the borders, with a greater variety in the colours and ornamental motives. Even if the circumstance that each piece or pane in the picture can be only of one colour leads to certain inconveniences—as, for instance, to that appearance of spectacles which, when the glass-painter wishes to show the whites of the eyes, results from the lead framing by which he has to separate them from the rest of the face (see Fig. 89)—even if this is so, the consequences are not particularly disturbing. The lead lines themselves become a part of the drawing, and in the same way the iron horizontal rods, with which all large windows were divided into smaller fields, often became the cause of a corresponding subdivision of the compositions, and produce then the effect of dark lines worked into the border of each such subdivision. The unerring mediæval instinct of style was thus in all cases able to make a virtue of necessity.

At first an essentially surface character, akin to that of textile work, prevails in the patterns of backgrounds and borders. If architectural forms are used, it is with great reserve, and only in such a way as not to interfere with the purity of the flat style of decoration. In the same way the figures are never more than slightly modelled, and never occupy more than a single plane. The designs are limited to a few single figures in repose, which are strictly composed within the border which binds the whole together, and not allowed to assert themselves in independent prominence. It is only on these terms that glass-painting is able to complete and harmonise the system of coloured decoration in an architectural interior. By help of colour the transparent and the untransparent surfaces of the structure are united into one mighty whole, of which the richness culminates in the windows, with their panes of many hues giving passage to the radiance of the day.

Remains of eleventh-century glass have been found both in France and Germany, the German remains being in truth probably somewhat the earlier. Five narrow upper windows in the cathedral at Augsburg are filled with pictures, which by their character should belong to about the middle of the eleventh century, and may therefore very well date from A.D. 1065, in which the church was consecrated under Bishop Embrico. These pictures represent five Old Testament figures, without any ornamental additions or coloured background, seen in front view, in postures of the strictest symmetry, with full oval faces, straight noses, small mouths, and large plump hands, and standing on hilly ground, indicated by a conventional leaf ornament raised in the centre (Fig. 89).[78] A kindred though somewhat later example may be seen

in the chapel of S. Sebastian in the rear of the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Neuweiler in Elsass (eleventh century). In a small semicircular-headed window stands the figure of S. Timotheus the martyr, seen in full front, in blue tunic and green cloak on a red ground; the hair is curiously treated in small curls, and the left hand raised with a ceremonial gesture. The whole is enclosed with a simple border of leaf-work.[79]

In France, the cathedral of Le Mans, a Romanesque building which was completed about A.D. 1093 under Bishop Hoël, and is said in old records to have lost its glass by a fire, A.D. 1136, still however possesses a fragment of the earlier period, which has been subsequently inserted in a window in the Gothic Lady Chapel at the end of the choir. The composition must evidently have represented the Ascension, although nothing is now visible but the twelve Apostles in two rows, and in the centre of the lower row the Virgin crowned. The figures correspond to the French miniatures of the time; they stand on hilly ground looking upwards, with outstretched arms, and with vehement, almost affected movements. The draperies are remarkable for the coloured horizontal bands which cross them everywhere, and from their tightness at the knees. Blue and red stripes alternate in the background; the borders are formed of leaf-work at the top, and of small yellow bosses on blackish fields at the bottom.[80]

Fig. 89.

From the beginning of the twelfth century stained glass becomes much more frequent in France. The cathedral of Angers still possesses four windows of the time of Bishop Ulger (A.D. 1125-1149), with scenes from the legends of the Virgin and SS. Catherine, Vincent, and Laurence, in small medallions, on a blue ground with broad borders. Still more important are the glass-paintings in the abbey church of S. Denis. The famous Abbot Suger (*b.* A.D. 1081, *d.* A.D. 1151) had decorated the walls of the church in their entire extent with painted windows, employing upon the work masters "of different nations,"[81] consequently Germans as well as Frenchmen—as indeed he had already in his service German enamel-workers from Lotharingia. Most of this beautiful work has disappeared by degrees, and since the destruction of the church during the Revolution, it has only been possible recently to restore single windows to their places in the choir chapels.[82] The choir of S. Denis, which was completed A.D. 1144, shows the first distinct beginnings of the Gothic style. But although the new architectural principles assert themselves in the ground-plan, in the vaultings, and in forms directly corresponding to construction, still they

have not yet affected the art of glass-painting. Only a more highly developed decorative feeling makes itself felt, here as at Angers, in contradistinction to older works. The dimensions are moderate; the ground is patterned with red stripes on blue, crossing each other so as to form diamonds, and enclosed within a light-toned leaf border; on the ground there are nine medallions, the three upper containing only decorative patterns, and the six lower, figure scenes. One window (Fig. 90) shows the Annunciation, with a figure of the abbot prostrate at the Virgin's feet, and in this attitude encroaching in an unusual way upon the border; the Adoration of the Magi; the Ark of the Covenant with the cross growing up out of it, at the top a half-length of Christ, and at the corners the symbols of the Evangelists; also Christ with a wheel on his breast containing the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the shape of doves, uncovering the personification of the Synagogue and crowning that of the Church. The two lowest pictures, from the legend of the Theban

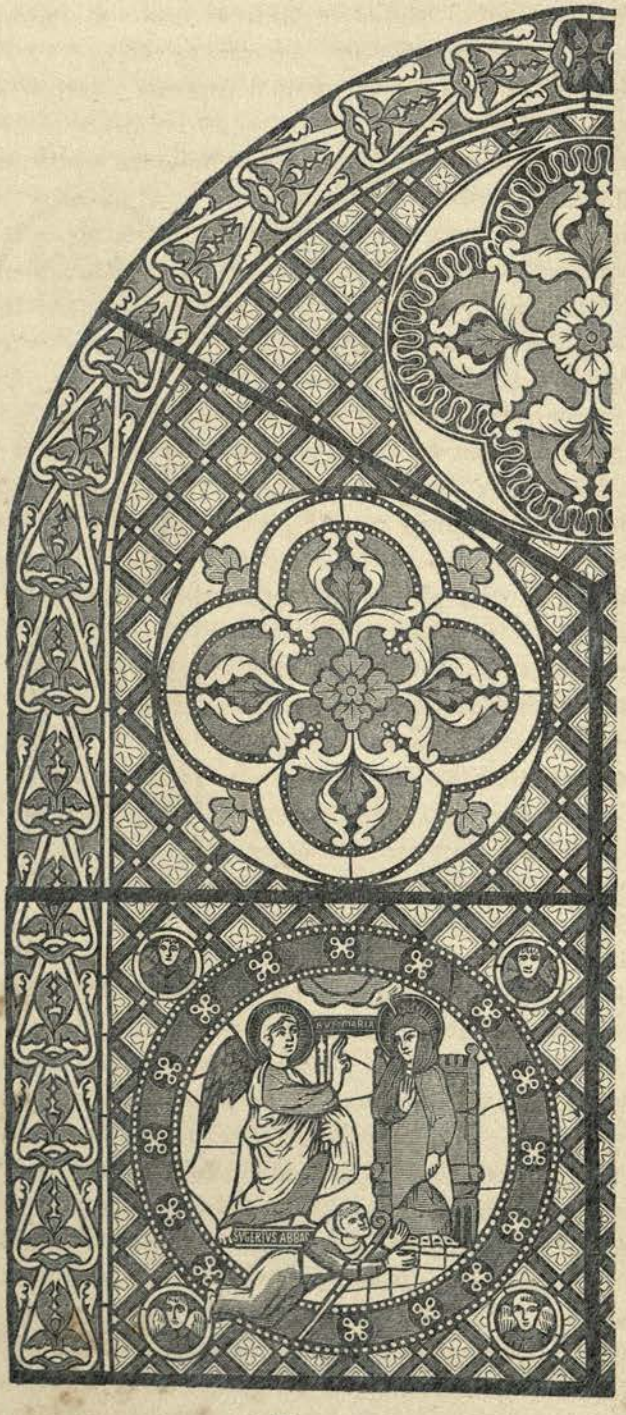

Fig. 90.

Legion, do not belong to this set; this is also the case in another window with subjects from the story of Moses, where a scene from the Apocalypse has been inserted which originally belonged elsewhere. Several windows are purely decorative in style, containing only griffins in lozenge-shaped fields.

We find the same style in some windows of S. Père (*Pierre*) at Chartres, of the time of the abbot Stephen (A.D. 1172-1193); and also in the abbey church of the Trinity at Vendôme, about A.D. 1180, where there is a Madonna and Child in a *mandorla* borne by four angels; this is interesting as an early attempt at a larger composition, but it fails from stiffness and unnatural attenuation of the forms.[83] Lastly, the most important remains of the period are three large windows in the west front of the cathedral at Chartres, which date from the building of the front in question (it was begun A.D. 1145). The lower part of middle window exhibits, in round fields alternated with square, scenes from the stories of the Virgin and Christ, and the upper part a Madonna similar to that at Vendôme. The two side windows contain the genealogical tree of Christ, as it is portrayed in the ceiling of Hildesheim, and also the Passion in small rounds. The Madonna alone is archaic and rigid, and stands on about the same artistic level as the sculptures on the doorway at Chartres; all the smaller paintings are much more free in style; while for splendour of colour these three windows far surpass all those of the best Gothic time in this cathedral.[84] While the earlier Romanesque style had filled its small windows with single figures, the larger windows of the late Romanesque and early Gothic styles in the twelfth century had necessitated another mode of treatment; and hence was worked out the ornamental or tapestry style proper, illustrated in the examples last described, in which figure scenes are almost always placed in small medallions and interstices, and a purely decorative arrangement prevails.

In England painted glass was introduced from France with the early Gothic style. Here the existing windows of the side aisles of the choir of Canterbury Cathedral, which was completed A.D. 1180, correspond with those of S. Denis.

Windows in the fully-developed Romanesque style are preserved in different places in Germany, but are not commonly of earlier date than the end of the twelfth or first half of the thirteenth century. To this period belong some fragments in the Strassburg Minster, which however, as is well known, lost so much that was precious during the bombardment, A.D. 1870. In the south transept stand the armed and knightly figures of SS. Victor and Maurice under plain round arches; the architectural border, too, which is here employed in contrast to the merely geometrical ornamentation of the French windows, is kept entirely in the flat style. But little later are the *Dux Achacius* and *Dux Marcus*, for whom a place has been made in the third north window of the nave, beside other figures of the fourteenth century; and also figures of those three kings in the west window of the north side aisle—*Henricus rex* (Henry I.), *Fridericus rex* (Frederick I. or II.?), and *Henricus Babenbergensis* (Henry II.)

These kings are represented in dignified attitudes, with slender proportions, the feet pointing downwards; each bearing the insignia of his kingdom, and richly apparelled in a long, wide-bordered tunic and the pallium. The quiet motives and regular style of the drapery show no traces yet of the Gothic vehemence, so that these figures contrast strikingly with the fourteenth-century examples, with which they are directly associated (Fig. 91). The old framings are not preserved.[85] Figures of princes of the house of Babenberg, with Romanesque frames, in the chapter-house of the Cistercian monastery of the Holy Cross in Austria, exhibit a similar style.[86] In North Germany should be mentioned the three choir windows in the church at Bücken on the Weser, also the middle choir window of the church at Leyden in Westphalia, the remains in the choir of the minster dedicated to S. Patroklus at Soest, and lastly two small fragments perhaps of a Stem of Jesse, in the church at Veitsberg, near Weida.[87] The three choir windows in the church of S. Cunibert at Cologne, completed A.D. 1247, supply a model of artistic arrangement and harmonious colour-effect. The centre window represents incidents from the stories of Mary and Christ, surrounded with pictures of the prophets; the two others contain the legends of Cunibert, the patron saint of the church. In the church at Heimerscheim on the Ahr the two circular windows in the centre of the choir are still enriched with pictures of this period, one with Gospel scenes like those of S. Cunibert, and the other with figures of saints.[88]

A peculiar principle of ornamentation had meantime been developed by the Cistercians. The rule of this order, which deprecated all pomp and splendour in the decoration of the house of God, forbade also colour and figure-painting in the windows.[89] But it seemed compatible with this rule to attempt to soften and break the light and produce a pleasant effect by purely decorative patterns in a grey monochrome. France possesses examples of this twelfth century *grisaille* glass in the convents of Boulieu (*Creuze*), Obasine (*Corrèze*), Pontigny, and others, but the finest are in the cloister windows of the cathedral at Heiligenkreuz (first half of the thirteenth century). These farther contain admirably-drawn Romanesque leaf-ornament in greenish-grey tones with brown shading, and a very slight and cautious use of brighter colours. In the cloister windows of the monastery at Wettingen in Switzerland this style is almost modified away. These windows probably date from the period between the first consecration of the building, A.D. 1256, and its second consecration after the erection of new annexes. By this time the rule of which we have spoken was not so strictly observed. The north wing of the cloister only belongs still to the thirteenth century, and even this preserves but few fragments of the early glass, which in the treatment of leaf-ornament stands on the borders of the Romanesque and Gothic styles, and is not in *grisaille* throughout, but occasionally admits other colours, and sometimes even figures, such as busts of Christ and Mary, and the Madonna and Child enthroned.[90]

Fig. 91.

CHAPTER V.

ITALY.

Introductory; anarchy of Italy in this age—Degeneracy of the clergy—Cities and a few monasteries the only homes of art—Character of architecture—Character of sculpture and painting—Rude Native or Italo-barbarous style; eleventh-century wall-paintings at Rome—Mosaic pavements in North Italy—Mosaic pavements in South Italy—Rude Italian miniatures; MSS. of the hymn *Exultet*—MS. poem in honour of the Countess Matilda—No improvement except that due to Byzantine influence; relations of Byzantium and Italy—Introduction of Byzantine productions and designs to Venice—Bronze doors ordered from Byzantium for churches and monasteries in South Italy, in the eleventh century—But manufactured by native Italian masters in the twelfth—Stimulus given to art by Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino—Nothing left of the monastery as embellished by his order—Extant remains of this age; LOWER ITALY—Wall-paintings of *San Angelo in Formis* at Capua—Probably executed by Italians under Greek influence—Wall-paintings at Foro Claudio, Calvi, and Barletta—Rarity of pictures in glass mosaic—Frequency of decorations in marble mosaic; their analogy with similar work at Rome—ROME AND CENTRAL ITALY; revival of glass mosaic in the twelfth century—Mosaic pictures in church of S. Clement—Of *Santa Maria in Trastevere*—Of *Santa Maria Nuova*—Style of these mosaics—Evidence in them of Byzantine influence, perhaps communicated from Lower Italy—Mosaics of the beginning of the thirteenth century in and about Rome—Mosaic of the Cathedral of Spoleto—Other and ruder mosaics of the same class—Panel-paintings, and especially crucifixes, under Byzantine influence—SICILY; assimilation of Greek and Arab elements; industries of silk and weaving—Embroidered imperial robes of Sicilian manufacture—The art of mosaic under the Norman dynasty; palace of Roger I. at Palermo—The *Capella Palatina*—The Cathedral of Monreale—Character of these mosaics—Total decline of art in Sicily in the thirteenth century—VENICE; her leaning towards Byzantine art—The mosaics of S. Mark's; their rich but heterogeneous character—Mosaics at Murano and Torcello—Mosaics at Trieste and Parenzo—Conclusion.

ITALY, in spite of her close political connection with Germany, had hitherto taken no part in the artistic activities of the North. Although the people united rare spiritual gifts with alertness of the senses and practical skill,—although the reminiscences of antique manners and culture still lingered among them, and a beneficent climate might naturally have awakened in them that free spirit of enjoyment from which the desire for art spontaneously springs,—yet art in Italy had sunk to a lower level than in almost any other country. While the northern nations were wrestling against barbarism, in enfeebled and exhausted Italy all moral and political ties were in a state of dissolution. While France and Germany were consolidating themselves into nations, Italy lay reft in pieces. Superior political authority could be exercised only by a foreign power—the German Empire—and that only in one part of the peninsula, while party warfare still went on between the petty territorial powers of Northern and Central Italy. Southern Italy was still under Greek rule, but later became in part the spoil of the Arabs and then of the Norman conquerors;

and when at last the Norman inheritance fell to the Imperial house of Hohenstaufen, that house was itself too much shaken on its own soil to be able to incorporate its South Italian possessions with the original constituent parts of the Empire.

To the general break-up of social discipline corresponded the deterioration of the clergy, whose ignorance, licentiousness, and want of religious feeling continually increased. The Papacy, which in all the rest of Christendom was revered as the highest spiritual authority, was for the Italians a temporal power like any other, and was tossed to and fro like a plaything in the strife of parties. Efforts to reform the Church from above downwards were due to foreign initiative, especially to that of the German Pope Leo IX., and encountered in Italy itself the bitterest opposition. Their persistent continuation under Gregory VII. led, however, in the long run to the excessive exaltation of the spiritual power, and therewith to the disastrous wars between the Papacy and the Empire.

In the midst of all this confusion one element alone in the body politic was capable of becoming the depository of national culture—namely, the towns. These developed themselves in a spirit contrary to that of feudalism, and based their progress on the traditions of ancient municipal institutions, on Roman law, and regular financial administration. They defended themselves at first within their own small districts, until in the second half of the twelfth century they acquired more extended political power by forming leagues with one another. Now, too, they became true homes of art, the practice of which in Italy was not in any decisive degree either determined by the Church or furthered by Courts. The prosperity of the cities—a prosperity resting on industry, trade, and commerce—this, together with their civic pride, called forth creations of art which, even when their purpose was ecclesiastical, bore the character of public monuments of the commonwealth. Besides the cities, there were also a few leading monasteries which in their character of free ecclesiastical communities exercised an important influence on art.

The efforts thus inspired by municipalities and monasteries were in the first place directed towards architectural monuments and their decoration. The special note of the Northern Romanesque architecture,—the complete organic working-out of the constructional scheme and its members, the uniformity and consistency of development which underlie local variations in the management of the style,—this note was indeed absent here. Separate districts in Italy preserve their separate characters, and are at most related in the general features of their architecture. The buildings of this age in Italy, even if in many places they appear merely as a continuation of early Christian architecture, or in others show the influence of Northern Romanesque, Byzantine, or Arabian examples, derive a peculiar interest from the variety of their plan, their happy proportions, in which the natural genius of an individual master often declares

itself, and also from their richness of decoration, in which we can still often trace the heritage of the antique world in technical secrets and in the feeling for design.

Italian sculpture and painting, on the other hand, remain on a lower level, and cling to the characters of rudeness and barbarism in a manner not exampled in the early works of northern nations. These, at least, have an inward purpose, and exhibit an earnest endeavour after expression, while Italian work of the same time is purely mechanical, produced by a mere customary trick of craftsmanship, and bearing the stamp of dull indifference and blunted sensibilities. Where the desire for something better arose, it only led at first to the acquisition of some foreign work of art. Trading and maritime towns like Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Amalfi, which had relations with distant countries and conducted the carrying-trade of the world, took advantage of their position to import foreign works, and rested satisfied with these.[91]

At Rome, where barbarism was at its deepest, and where even architecture at this period betrays its incapacity, we cease for a considerable time after the ninth century to find any traces of activity in mosaic work. No important monuments of art have been left by the periods of sweeping Church reform under Leo IX., and of war against the Empire under Gregory VII. A few wall-paintings in Rome and its neighbourhood form but a poor substitute for mosaics, and these are only slight sketchy productions, with flat figures and coarse outlines. Some in the Benedictine monastery of S. Elias, near Nervi, reproduce in subject and conception what we are accustomed to see in mosaics; they bear the signatures of two painters, brothers of the order, from Rome, named Johannes and Stephanus, as well as that of the nephew of the former, Nicolaus; they probably belong to the tenth century. The little church of *San Urbano alla Caffarella*, an ancient mausoleum near the Via Appia at Rome, contains scenes from the life of Christ and from sacred legend, a Christ enthroned between Peter and Paul, and a Crucifixion with figures; an inscription of doubtful authenticity mentions as author one brother Bonizzo, A.D. 1011.[92] Wall-paintings from the church of S. Agnes, with scenes from the legends of SS. Catherine and Agatha, have been transferred to the Christian Museum of the Lateran. Paintings in the lower church of the basilica of S. Clement in Rome belong to various periods, but the latest do not go beyond the eleventh century; they contain chiefly legendary scenes from the stories of S. Clement and the Slav apostles Cyril and Methud; the work is poor and in a bad state.[93]

A skill which was practised on about the same level, almost exclusively in Italy, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was that of mosaic work for pavements. Of this the pavement of S. Gereon's at Cologne has already shown us an offshoot; it is an example of the survival, in a very rude form, of what the ancients called *opus vermiculatum*, that is, mosaic made with little

rods of stone. This kind of work habitually begins by the demarcation of outlines; here also it adopts the same procedure, and exhibits clumsy figures scantily coloured within coarse black outlines on a white ground.[94] This kind of work probably originated at Ravenna and spread thence, chiefly over Northern Italy; examples are to be found in S. Michael's at Pavia, on the monument of the Countess Matilda (*d.* A.D. 1115) in *San Benedetto di Polirone* at Mantua,[95] in the cathedrals of Pesaro, Cremona, Novara, Ivrea, Aosta, and in the church of S. Savino at Piacenza. The subjects are noticeable, inasmuch as they are the same which had been chosen for this purpose ever since the days of early Christian art. The mosaic pavement of a church founded A.D. 652 at Sur (*Tyre*), which was excavated and brought to France by Renan, contains medallions of the Months, Seasons, and Winds; and in the same way we constantly find in the Italian mosaics personifications of the Year and the Months, and frequently also scenes of country occupation corresponding to the several months, like those with which we are familiar in miniatures (Pavia, Piacenza, S. Benedetto, Aosta).[96] There are also allegories of the triumph of the Virtues over the Vices, or of the Vices at war with each other (Cremona); lastly, we find even the mythological subject of the Labyrinth with Theseus and the Minotaur, who is represented as a Centaur (Pavia).

Some mosaic pavements in the South are much more barbarous still; that, for instance, in the cathedral of Otranto, executed A.D. 1163-1166, under Bishop Jonathas by a priest named *Pantaleon*, and another in the cathedral at Brindisi, founded A.D. 1178 by Archbishop Giulielmo. In both of these the principal divisions are formed by gigantic trees resting upon elephants, and extending far into the nave, the branches are alive with animals of all kinds; these motives are borrowed from the designs of Oriental carpets. In the centre aisle at Otranto there are medallions with the signs of the zodiac, the months, battle scenes, and other profane subjects, while the south aisle exhibits Paradise and Hell, the former with the souls of the blessed in the bosom of the patriarchs, and the latter with Satan enthroned, devils, and the souls of the damned with serpents wound about them. At Brindisi there remain only some fragments, with pictures from the Old Testament side by side with scenes from the legend of Roland, which was revived again at that time by the Crusaders. The rudeness and weakness of the swollen figures cannot be outdone, and the design is wanting even in a just feeling for decorative arrangement.[97]

Miniature-painting also remains at a very low stage during the whole of this period. The art was less encouraged for purposes of courtly luxury in Italy than elsewhere, and was not until the fourteenth century brought to such a degree of perfection as to be comparable to the works of the northern nations. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Italian illumination contents itself in the main with rude, slightly coloured pen-drawings, and in the ornamental initial letters is surpassed even by the works of the contemporary

Lombard school which we have already considered. The most interesting of these sketchy productions are the different copies of the *Exultet*, a hymn for Easter night, so named from its opening word; among them, those in the Minerva Library in Rome and in the cathedral treasury at Pisa belong to the eleventh century, and those in the Barberini Library at Rome and in the cathedral at Salerno to the twelfth.[98] The subjects generally represented are the Fall, the Crucifixion, the victory of Christ over Hell, his descent into Limbus, also the Pope, the Emperor, and other exalted personages for whom prayers were inserted; and again, personifications of the Earth, with bulls, deer, and even serpents, sucking at her breasts, religious ceremonies, such as the reading of the hymn itself, which a priest unrolls from a staff; the consecration and lighting of the Easter taper; lastly a picture, suggested by the last, of the breeding of bees, the habits of bees being taken as a type of the discipline of the Church. The pictures are upside down in the text, so that they could be rightly seen on the portion of manuscript which hung down from the roll while the priest read. The outlines are coarsely marked and rudely coloured, the figures awkward and without settled proportions, the heads quite devoid of expression, and yet the motives have occasionally the merit of lively action. We discern an echo of Carolingian work in the ornamental borders round the text as well as in the initial letters.

It is needless to enumerate more of these rude Italian miniatures. We will only say one word of a Vatican manuscript, dated A.D. 1115, of the poem of Donizo in honour of the Countess Matilda.[99] This copy was executed for the countess herself, and corrected by the author, a monk of Canossa; it is also on a very low artistic level, but shows some care at least. The dedication picture exhibits Matilda enthroned, and Donizo handing her the book; the remainder of the pictures give her genealogy, and members of her family in various situations. One in which the Count Tedaldus and the Countess Julia are enthroned at the top of the page, with their sons at the bottom (Fig. 92) is a particularly characteristic example. The standing figures are stiff, and those sitting are kept too much in the flat; they are drawn mechanically but yet affectedly—witness the figure of Tedaldus with the impossible position of his legs. The faces are all of one paltry mould, the shape a weakly rounded oval, the nose short; a heavy awkwardness of gesture accompanies the expressionless heads; the costumes are carefully executed, but hang on the figures in a rough, formless way, without any attempt at a cast of drapery. The folds are only indicated by black or red lines, the flesh tones by coarse, ungradated patches of red, and the colouring is harsh and crude in spite of a body-colour of uniform impasto. The pictures are not more barbaric than the Latin of the poetry.

The Italians were not capable of working their own way out of this rudeness of conception and execution. An improvement in their works

first begins with the appearance of a Byzantine influence. We have traced the operation of a similar influence in Germany, where, by holding up

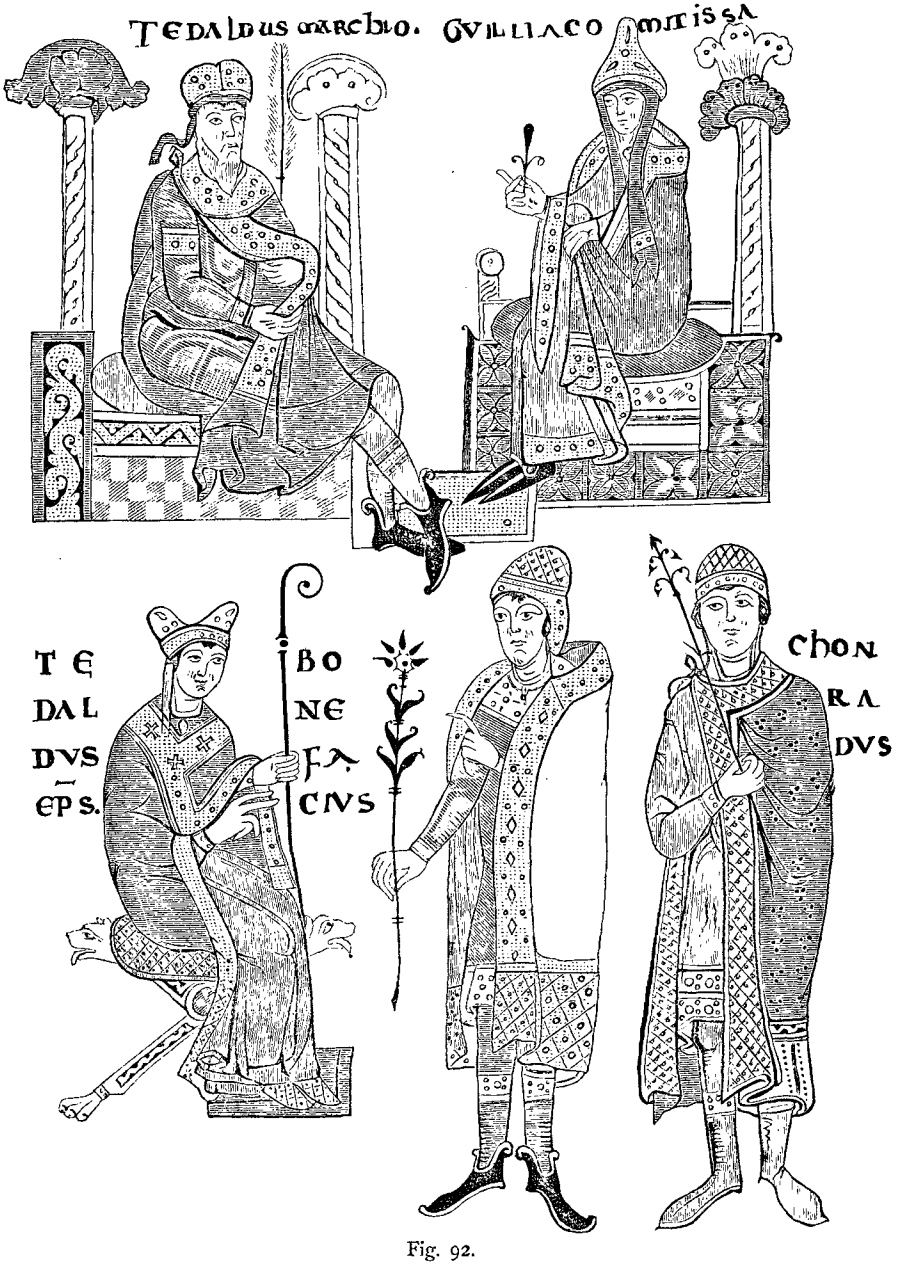

Fig. 92.

good models, it gave an impulse to original creation, and appears always assimilated and transformed without having led to a bald imitation of foreign examples. In Italy, however, matters stood otherwise, and foreign influences for the present supplanted the native power of production instead of re-vivifying it.

We have seen that writers on the history of art have often gone too far in trying to prove the influence of Byzantine upon Italian work in much earlier times. Existing monuments have taught us that there can be scarcely any question of this influence even in the period immediately following the iconoclastic disputes. The relations of Italy with Byzantium, however, were continued, in spite of all differences, through the political connection of part of the peninsula with the Eastern Empire, as well as through pilgrimages, and the intercourse necessary for trade and commerce. We know too, as a fact, that very many Byzantine monks had made their way to Italy in the days of the iconoclastic schism ; and that Pope Paul I. (A.D. 757-768) founded the monastery of SS. Stephanus and Silvester at Rome, and established there Greek monks, who observed their own ritual.[100] But there are no traces existing of any art exercised by such colonies of monks. If many Greek expressions relating to art appear in the Roman *Liber pontificalis*, this is not a point of great importance, since certain technical words were common to all nations then as they are now. The same may be said of many formulæ of the Church, and of some Scripture names. Just as from the earliest days of Christianity there had been in use a monogram of Christ formed of Greek initials, so in later times the employment of Greek characters for certain Bible names and words in a manuscript does not necessarily point to a Greek authorship.

At a somewhat later period, however, that is, occasionally after the beginning of the tenth, but to a much greater extent after the beginning of the eleventh century, we do find, both from historical sources and from the monuments themselves, undoubted evidence of the influence of Byzantine art in Italy.[101]

Venice, in whose hands was the chief part of the maritime commerce with the East, constantly imported objects of luxury, and among them also objects of art, from Byzantium. It was natural, therefore, that the monumental works of art intended to decorate the public buildings of the city should be ordered from Constantinople, where they could be bought in the highest degree of perfection. The order for the great enamel altar in S. Mark's, the *Pala d'oro*, probably dates as far back as the Doge Pietro Orseolo (A.D. 976), although the work may have only assumed its present form by a restoration in the twelfth century. When S. Mark's, the greatest monument of the city, was rebuilt in the eleventh century, the work was carried out according to a Byzantine ground-plan and Byzantine designs, which makes of it a building unique in Italy. As its columns were brought from Greece, so its details and decorations generally are also in the Byzantine style.

We also find still the evidences of orders for Byzantine works of art, especially in Southern Italy, where the most important existing monuments of this origin are various bronze gates, executed not in beaten work like the Italo-barbarous gates of the church of S. Zeno at Verona, but with designs

engraved, and having their lines inlaid with silver, after the manner of Oriental damascene work. Most of these, according to inscriptions, were dedicated by members of the rich and famous family of the Pantaleone in Amalfi, a town which for maritime trade and commerce stood until A.D. 1135 in the same rank as Genoa, Pisa, and Venice. The door of the cathedral at Amalfi was completed before A.D. 1066. The abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, according to the testimony of his biographer Leo, had the doors of his abbey church made at Constantinople after the same pattern at the expense of Maurus, son of Pantaleon, and sent thither the necessary measurements. Again, according to their inscription, the doors of the pilgrim's church of *Monte San Angelo* at Siponto, were completed A.D. 1076 in "the royal city" of Constantinople, those of Atrani at Amalfi A.D. 1087, and those of Salerno A.D. 1084, in the same city. Lastly, Maurus of Amalfi, one of the same family, presented a similar work A.D. 1070 to the church of *San Paolo fuor le mura* in Rome, where it was injured by a fire in the year 1822, but was found again in 1873, and is now to be seen in the monastery. In this case even the name of the bronze-founder, *Staurakios*, is given in a Greek inscription. Some Greek words occur, too, in other inscriptions on these works, but Latin is much more common; the Byzantine metal-workers conformed themselves in these matters to the nationality of their employers.[102]

What makes it necessary for us to consider these authenticated works of Byzantine origin, although they do not belong immediately to the branches of art which are our proper concern, are the conclusions to which they point as to the results of such a transplantation of Byzantine art to Italy. If works of this class were supplied exclusively from Constantinople in the second half of the eleventh century, by the beginning of the twelfth century we find artificers of Lower Italy themselves practising the craft. On the doors of the mausoleum of Boemund (*d.* A.D. 1111) at Canossa stands the signature of one Rogerius of Amalfi; on the principal door of the cathedral at Troja, completed A.D. 1119, and again on the south side door, completed A.D. 1127, Oderisius of Benevento names himself as the master. These examples are of the same workmanship as the Byzantine doors, and closely allied to them in style, but they also show Arab influences in the ornamentation. Later, however, this beaten work takes the shape of sculpture in high relief, as in the great door of the cathedral at Ravello, completed A.D. 1179, the small door of the church at Monreale in Sicily, and that of the cathedral of Trani; the inscriptions on all these give the name of Barisanus of Trani as maker. Some Greek words are still to be found in these inscriptions; in general the proportions, the drapery, the types of the heads, and also the iconographical treatment of some of the Scripture scenes, still correspond with Byzantine style, but greater life in the composition and the strong sculpturesque relief are new.

Commissions, such as those we have mentioned, for works of art from Con-

stantinople, always came from individuals of wealth, distinction, and political or ecclesiastical eminence; the Italian artists did not at first themselves feel the need of leaning on foreign help. But they knew how to learn from foreign models as soon as they were put before them. One man, whose efforts in this direction surpassed all others, and who took a prominent place in the history and spiritual life of Italy at that time, was the abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino, an account of whom is given by his pupil Leo in the Chronicle of the monastery.[103] The great abbot, of the noble house of the princes of Benevento, not only re-established order and discipline in his monastery, but also encouraged learning, and was bent above all on the artistic enrichment of his abbey. When with this object he set on foot the rebuilding of the church and monastery, A.D. 1066-1071, he sought everywhere for the best sources that money and power could procure. In Rome he was able, by his personal influence, his connections and his wealth, to obtain columns and other coloured marbles, taken evidently from ancient buildings. Other things he procured in Constantinople, where he sent his own brother with a letter of introduction to the Emperor, and with sufficient pecuniary means. As formerly he had ordered the bronze doors for his abbey to be made there, even before he contemplated its general rebuilding, he now commissioned a piece of altar-furniture in gold, set with precious stones and enamels, a bronze tabernacle with candelabra and hanging lamps, bronze choir-presses, great crosses of wrought silver, and many more such articles of church decoration. But for mosaic pictures and pavements in marble mosaic, he was forced to take into his service artists who came from Byzantium and carried on their work at Monte Cassino itself. His biographer says he did this, because Rome had let drop the cultivation of these arts for five hundred years and more (*quoniam artium istarum ingenium a quingentis et ultra iam annis Magistra Latinitas intermiserat*).[104] At the same time he took care that they should not still further decline in Italy by having a great number of young men in the monastery instructed not only in these arts, but also in goldsmith's work, in metal-work of all kinds, glass-work, modelling, carving in wood and ivory as well as in stone; from all which the happiest results ensued.

The modern Baroque building at Monte Casino has left nothing of the monastery as it existed at the time of Desiderius, except the doors above mentioned. The pavements of the church and many adjacent chambers were once adorned with marble mosaics; figure subjects decked the painted timber roof, mosaics filled the apex and arch of the tribune, and enriched the upper part of the vestibule and the façade, and beneath them in each case were paintings from the Old Testament; and lastly, the refectory too was adorned with wall-paintings. Let us turn now from examples that have disappeared, to those that have been preserved.

I. SOUTH ITALY.—For what has perished at Monte Cassino we must try to find some little compensation in the wall-paintings of the church of *San Angelo in Formis,* at Capua, founded by Desiderius, and consecrated A.D. 1075. Within the vestibule, in the semicircular tympanum over the principal entrance, is a half-length figure of the archangel Michael in full face, wearing a rich Byzantine court costume; over him the adoring Virgin within a circle upheld by two angels; the wall-paintings at the sides are occupied with the legends of the hermits Paul and Anthony. In the interior the Old Testament pictures, all but a few fragments, have disappeared from the side aisles; the middle aisle contains, first, figures of prophets in the spandrils of the arcades, and over the two rows of narrative pictures from the Gospels. The Crucifixion, with many figures, shows the established motives of Mary and John, the Sun and Moon, the soldier with the spear, the weeping Maries, soldiers, and those who cast lots for the raiment of Christ; the figure of Christ is undraped, but still represented upright with the four nails. The looks of sorrow and indignation are really well expressed in many of the figures. In the apse Christ is enthroned with the open book between the symbols of the Evangelists, under him three angels stand in devotional attitudes and ceremonial costumes, like the angel at the entrance; sideways from these are S. Benedict and the abbot Desiderius, with a square nimbus and the model of the church. Turning round to face the entrance wall, you find it adorned with the most important painting in the whole vestibule—a colossal and well-distributed composition of the Last Judgment (arranged as in Fig. 93). At the top, in the spaces next the windows, appear angels with shawms (1), and under these there runs a narrow frieze with figures rising from the dead (2). The centre of the wall is occupied by Christ in judgment seated within the *mandorla;* the gestures of the hands are those which are invariably used to express his calling the righteous to him, and motioning the wicked away (3). At each side are adoring angels bowing down to him (4), and under them the Apostles seated (5). The centre of the next tier contains three angels with scrolls, the midmost angel holding his sword aloft with both arms in an attitude of much grandeur (6); at either side stand the company of the Blessed, among whom bishops, princes, and ecclesiastics are to be seen (7), drawing the lost souls away in terror (8). The close of the design to right and left of the door represents the gardens of Paradise (9) and Hell (10). Satan is seen seizing upon the naked souls of the damned, and among them Judas, as they are thrown down into the jaws of the pit.[105]

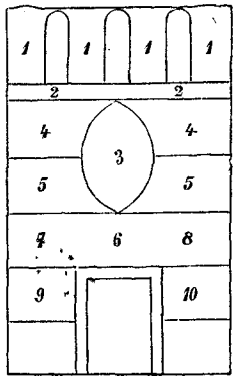

Fig. 93.

These paintings can scarcely have been executed by Greeks, but were very

likely the work of artists trained under Byzantine masters, whose influence shows itself not only in occasional Greek inscriptions, but even more in the severe architectural arrangement of the pictures, in the typical conception of certain scenes, as well as in the costumes and actions. The drawing however, is vulgar, the nude primitively treated, the handling coarse enough, and rendered inharmonious by the underlying green preparation which appears through the flesh-colour, and by harsh contrasts in the draperies. The Italian pupils of the Greeks could not at once shake off their native rudeness, and the Byzantines themselves no longer stood at the same high level as in the days of Theophano, when their influence touched the arts of Germany. They had already fallen into a mode of practice skilful indeed, but purely mechanical and lifeless.

These pictures of *San Angelo in Formis* are not isolated in Lower Italy. Next to them come those in the contemporary church of *Santa Maria la Libera* at Foro Claudio near Sessa.[106] The Virgin with the draped infant Christ is enthroned in the apse between two worshipping angels; below stand the Apostles separated by the archangel Michael. The gestures are solemn and noble, but the heads with their high foreheads are too ascetic. The Byzantine character is less prominent in works of a somewhat later date, such as the pictures in the crypt of the cathedral of Calvi, in the same neighbourhood, and in those of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Barletta on the Adriatic, both of which are of the twelfth, or even as late as of the thirteenth century.

The remains of mosaics in Lower Italy are unimportant. Of about the same artistic merit as the pictures in *San Angelo in Formis* is one of a Virgin and Child between John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, which was set up in the cathedral at Capua during a recent restoration, but originally belonged to the Benedictine church of S. John in that place, which was founded by Desiderius. An inscription now lost mentioned both Desiderius and his successor Oderisius, under whom the work was completed (A.D. 1087). Its bad preservation enables us to do it less than justice. A fragment in the cathedral of Salerno is better. This is a half-length figure of S. Matthew in a teaching attitude, with an open book and wearing a golden cloak. It is in the tympanum above the entrance door on the inside, and belonged to the time of the new building begun A.D. 1077 under Robert Guiscard, and consecrated A.D. 1084 by Gregory VII. The mosaic in the left apse near by, which had been greatly injured and is now restored, dates from the close of this period. It was presented after the middle of the thirteenth century by John of Procida, the famous physician of Salerno—called in the inscription *Gemma Salerni*—an adherent of the Hohenstaufen and prime mover of the Sicilian Vespers. At the top of the design appears the archangel Michael with outspread wings; under him, and smaller in size, sits S. Matthew, before whom kneels the diminutive donor; round about are the Apostles John and James and SS. Fortunatus and Laurence.[107]

Marble as well as mosaic workers had come from Byzantium at the call of the abbot Desiderius, and the encouragement he gave to purely decorative mosaic pavements most probably accounts for the new revival in Lower Italy of the *opus sectile marmoreum* of the ancients, and for the excellence of the work produced in this style a century later in the pavements of the cathedral of Salerno. And yet more, we find a flourishing school of decorative marble work spread over the greater part of Southern Italy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and at the same time a corresponding school in Rome and its neighbourhood. Here worked at this time the Cosmati, so called because the name Cosmas appears frequently inscribed upon the works of their school. They were families of marble-workers who often handed down their craft from one generation to another. In their inscriptions they repeatedly give Rome as their birthplace. Nothing farther is known of the origin of this school in Rome, but the similarity of forms and processes shows that the marble-workers of Rome and those of Lower Italy derived their art from the same source. Some of the South Italian examples, however, surpass the Roman in technical precision as well as in decorative variety and charm, as for instance, the two splendid pulpits in the cathedral of Salerno, presented A.D. 1175. Besides pavements, examples of this art are to be found in choir-presses, reliquaries, pulpits, candlesticks, and even in the inlaid decorations of whole cloisters, carried out, like those of *San Paolo fuor le mura* at Rome, with the greatest beauty and splendour of material. The peculiar characteristics of the work lie in this, that sculptures, which in some shape or another had hitherto played a prominent part in all combinations of this kind, have disappeared, and that the effect of the architecture and its several members is now supplemented simply by a system of surface decoration in marble mosaic. There is a special charm in this work from its happy revival of antique forms, as well as from its richness of colour and splendour of material. If Lower Italy and the Roman province show so much similarity of taste in this branch of art, it is no longer surprising to find them alike in other varieties of production.

II. ROME AND CENTRAL ITALY.—With the twelfth century the art of glass-mosaic had been revived in Rome also, where it had long lain dormant.

Three great and pre-eminent mosaic pictures belong to this period—the tribune of S. Clement's, the tribune and façade of *Santa Maria in Trastevere*, and the apse in *Santa Maria Nuova*. The basilica of S. Clement was erected under Pope Paschal II. (A.D. 1099-1118) above the ruins of an older and larger church, on a higher level. An inscription in the apse mentions Anastasius, at that time cardinal of S. Clement's, as having begun and completed the mosaic.[108] At the crown of the arch is a bust of Christ between the symbols of the Evangelists, farther back Paul enthroned with S. Laurence, and Peter with S. Clement, to whom he points out the picture of the Saviour. The Greek word AGIOS, in

Roman characters, precedes the names of both Apostles. Lower down appear the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, then the two cities, and starting from them a frieze with lambs (restored) runs round the apse. The subject of the picture in the apse is altogether new for such a position. Here, where the Church triumphant only had been wont to manifest itself, is represented Christ on the cross, not indeed in a manner intended to realise the humiliating circumstances of the Crucifixion, but with ideal glory and solemnity. The symbolism is explained in verses which set forth how the Church of Christ is like the vine, which would have withered under the law, but flourished under the cross. From a hill with plants there rises a blue cross, with twelve doves resting on its four arms ; the crucified Christ is undraped and fastened to the cross with four nails ; below him stand Mary and John. The four rivers of Paradise flow from the hill, deer are drinking of their waters, and along the lower border are ducks, peacocks, shepherds with their flocks, and a yard with fowls ; the whole upper part of the apse is covered with conventionalised garlands of leaves, meant to typify a vine without being really like it ; among them are scattered baskets of fruit and vases of flowers, and the remaining spaces between these are filled, in the lower part, with small figures of the Christian Fathers and other personages, higher up, with cupids carrying cornucopiæ or riding on dolphins, and quite at the top with birds.

The basilica of *Santa Maria in Trastevere* was rebuilt and received its mosaic —the most important of the period now engaging us—under Pope Innocent II., (A.D. 1130-1143), who appears in the apse as donor, holding in his hand the *aedicula* or symbolic model of a church, with six saints, most of whom are Popes ; the centre of the apse is filled with an imposing group of Christ and the Virgin crowned seated on sumptuous thrones and wearing golden mantles. The lower border again finishes with the frieze of lambs ; Isaiah and Jeremiah again appear, too, in the vaulting, this time with a stronger movement, and at the top are the symbols of the Evangelists on either side of a medallion with the cross. At the same height, on the front of the building, runs the frieze-like band of mosaic containing a seated figure of Mary giving the breast to her Child ; ten maidens in rich attire advance towards her.[109] It has been thought that these were intended for the wise and foolish Virgins, but the contrast is wanting ; only two of them are without lights. They all wear the nimbus, and are evidently saints coming to do homage to the Mother of God. The two small figures of donors next to the throne must be taken for Innocent and his successor Eugene III. (A.D. 1145-1153).

The mosaic in the apse of *Santa Maria Nuova*, now *San Francesca Romana*, on the site of an ancient temple of Venus and Roma, has hitherto been generally attributed to the ninth century, but its agreement with the works described is evident, and it must belong to the time of Alexander III., under whom a consecration took place on the completion of a rebuilding (A.D. 1160).[110] Four of

the Apostles stand here at either side of the Virgin, who is seen in full face enthroned and crowned, and holding the draped Child, of the proportions of an adult, in an animated position on her knee (Fig. 94).

The style of these works is altogether different from that of the Carolingian mosaics. They are not mere reproductions of early Roman examples, like that in the apse of S. Praxedis; in the compositions themselves many new incidents appear. The richness of ornamentation is further noticeable; a gold ground shines out behind all the figures, as it did in the Byzantine work, while the craftsmen of Rome long maintained their partiality for blue grounds. At

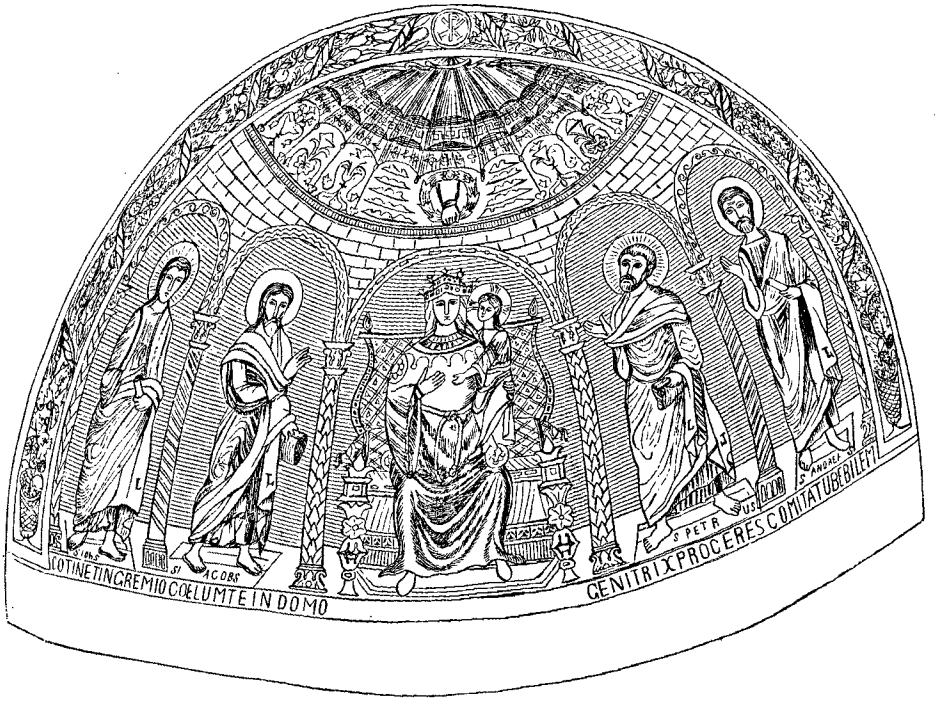

Fig. 94.

the crown of the vault a richly coloured tent-roof is always represented spreading fan-wise; next under this runs a wide border of plant ornaments and emblems, with the hand of God, or still oftener with the Lamb on a flower-cup in the centre. Luxurious wreaths of fruit and flowers, with ears of corn and grapes intertwined, encircle the whole design. The thrones are designed with peculiar richness and beauty of ornament. The feeling for ornament, which had indeed already shown itself in the picture in *Santa Maria della Navicella*, asserts itself even more emphatically still. And though the suggestion of this feeling may have come in the first instance from outside, it was evidently sustained and nourished by the study of the oldest Christian mosaics of Rome. We find these recalled especially by the vegetable forms;

on the other hand, in the columned arcades which enclose the single figures in *Santa Maria Nuova*—not unfitly, since each figure stands by itself, with no attempt at artistic connection,—in these we recognise the system of architectural decoration which we have already seen transferred by the scribes to the adornment of their manuscripts (Fig. 94). The figures still preserve a character of solemn severity, which, though conventional enough, constitutes an advance upon the barbaric shapes of the earlier epoch. Though the faces are all of one type, with long, straight, broad noses, unnaturally small mouths and staring eyes, they yet express the self-contained dignity which was desired; the gestures are constrained and set, but not without expression, and in *Santa Maria in Trastevere* they often attain to real nobility. The antique cast of the drapery, if meagre, is carefully studied. If the Madonna in *Santa Maria Nuova* is rigid and lifeless, that in *Santa Maria in Trastevere*, on the other hand, has a solemn dignity, and on the façade of that church a natural action appears in the relations of the Mother and Child. The technical method, too, is careful and solid, especially in the earlier instance,—as indeed external influences always act most powerfully at first. In *Santa Maria Nuovo* the jointing of the glass cubes already becomes coarser; instead of delicate shadows and half-tones, simple local colours appear laid on occasionally in rough patches without gradation and with heavy outlines.

In earlier periods we found no trace of Byzantine influence in the mosaics of Rome; but we have now become aware of such an influence revivifying an almost extinct form of art. We do not assert that this is directly due to Desiderius, who was Pope for a short time under the title of Victor III.—none of these Roman works date so far back as to his pontificate; but we do believe that the revival of art provoked by him in Lower Italy gradually extended itself to Rome. Certainly the artists there were not Greeks, but they were men who had come into contact with Byzantine influences.

Smaller mosaic pictures also appear from the beginning of the thirteenth century among the works of the Cosmates; for instance, the noble head of Christ, in the lunette of a side-door in the cathedral of Civita Castellana near Rome; the inscriptions designate this as the work of Jacobus, son of Laurentius of Rome. This same Jacobus names himself, together with his son Cosmas, as the author of a tympanum of less merit in the portico, now built into the garden-wall of the Villa Mattei. It belonged originally to *San Tommaso in Formis*, the church of an Order chartered A.D. 1818, and devoted to the ransoming of slaves, and exhibits the Redeemer between a black and a white slave.

To the end of this period belong the mosaics executed under Honorius III. (A.D. 1216-1227), and especially those in *San Paolo fuor le mura*.[111] The apse, which escaped the fire, contains a mosaic of Christ enthroned between two palm trees, surrounded by Peter, Paul, Andrew, and Luke; and a very small figure

of the Pope as donor; in the lower border is an altar between two angels and twelve Apostles and disciples. Of the façade, where once were enthroned large pictures of the Madonna, John the Baptist, and the two chief Apostles, only a few heads in the sacristy remain, but these bespeak a pure style of execution. In the types, motives, and drapery, the Byzantine tendency is still perceptible.

The same tendency appears quite as distinctly again farther north, in the great mosaic of the façade of the Cathedral at Spoleto, in which Mary and John stand at the side of the enthroned Christ. This work was executed A.D. 1207 by a master named Solsternus, who, in the self-complacent Italian manner, is described in the following inscription as the greatest master of the age:—

Hec est pictura qvam fecit sat placivra
Doctor Solsternvs hac svmvs in arte modernvs
annis inventis cvm septem mille dvcentis.

"Doctor," we should explain, is a word commonly used in inscriptions both in the Latin and Italian form (in which form it is also employed in the Commentaries of Ghiberti), to signify *master*. The lines above quoted are followed by a list, no longer clearly decipherable, of the *operarii* or assistants who worked under Solsternus.[112]

The mosaics in the tribune of the Baptistery at Florence show already somewhat more original character in the heads, as well as less conventional drapery; especially the large figures of the Virgin and John the Baptist in two compartments of the vaulting, which is also agreeably divided by four columns with kneeling men, and contains in the centre the Lamb surrounded by eight Old Testament figures;[113] they were executed, according to the inscription, by a Franciscan friar Jacobus, A.D. 1225.

To the same general artistic movement as these mosaics, though accompanied with rude execution, belong several other wall-paintings at or near Rome; while in the dome of the Baptistery at Parma, Northern Italy possesses a grand cycle of pictures dating from the first half of the thirteenth century.

Among panel-pictures in which Byzantine influence appears, though in a far less pleasurable shape, we may notice a number of large crucifixes cut out and painted, and used in churches as a substitute for works in wood-carving; examples are to be found at Lucca, Pisa, and elsewhere.[114] The body of Christ in all droops heavily from the cross, and is ascetic and ugly to the point of repulsiveness. The ends of the upper arms of the cross are worked in rounds containing half-length pictures of God the Father, Mary and John, and sometimes at the sides there are also painted little Passion subjects. Several crucifixes by Giunta Pisano are characteristic of the class, and especially one signed with his name in S. Ranierino at Pisa, where he is proved by documents to have lived between A.D. 1202 and A.D. 1255.[115] The endeavour to call out the strongest emotion of the spectator by the expression of cruel torture is carried here to

the farthest point. Byzantine influence may be recognised in the treatment of the body, as well as in the consistency of the vehicle employed.

III. SICILY.—A peculiar and exclusive school, having very little to do with the rest of Italy, flourished in Sicily, also under Byzantine influence. As a consequence of the continuance of Byzantine supremacy, the Latin element here retired more and more into the background beside the Greek; and when the Arab conquest had been effected in the early half of the ninth century, the cities still preserved, under the rule of the conqueror, their Greek character and ancient institutions and industries. Sicily early took over from the Byzantines —at least as early as the tenth century—a set of artistic industries which first originated in Greece, but were afterwards adopted by the Arabs also, namely the industries of silk and weaving. Again, after the Norman conquest (A.D. 1071), the Greek and Arab elements still continued to subsist in the population, the Greek and Arab languages held their own beside the Latin, the established industries continued to flourish, and the silk manufacture was encouraged in Palermo in close connection with the Court.[116] The workshops were close to the royal palace. Thence issued the most splendid products, which found a market throughout all the West, and by the side of which the manufactures of other countries seemed mere amateur attempts. Especially beautiful were the dresses embroidered in gold, sometimes with conventional animals in the Arab style, sometimes with figure-pieces of a Byzantine cast, severe in drawing and highly finished in technical execution.

The sumptuous robes of the Emperor Henri II., in the Cathedral treasury at Bamberg, are probably of Sicilian manufacture. This imperial mantle bears an inscription, from which it would appear that Ismael of Bari had had it made, and apparently as a present for the Emperor, before whom he had appeared in Rome to seek for help against the Greeks (A.D. 1014). The design, embroidered in gold on purple, represents Christ enthroned, surrounded by angels and the signs of the zodiac; the inscription calls this design *Descriptio totis orbis.* Another robe is adorned with crowned figures on horseback, a third with the representation of the act of Redemption in small circles.[117] The Hungarian coronation mantle presented (A.D. 1031) by King Stephen the Saint and his wife Gisela, sister of Henry II., to the church of Huhlweisenburg for use by the priests at mass, is so closely allied to the examples already mentioned that its origin cannot but be the same. It is now an open cloak, but was originally a closed *casula*, which fell over the body in a bell shape. It has three representations of Christ and one of the Madonna, each time within a *mandorla*, the Apostles in circular borders, friezes with prophets and animals, and lastly, on the lowest border, Stephen and Gisela surrounded by other royal effigies.[118]

But side by side with the Byzantine the pure Arab taste continued to exist; to the most beautiful examples of this style belong some pieces of the German

Imperial state costume, made, according to their inscription, at Palermo, in the treasury at Vienna; these consist of the coronation mantle, with two gigantic groups of fighting animals, entirely in the flat conventional style, dating from A.D. 1132, and a white silk alb from A.D. 1181.

Our subsequent remains of Sicilian painting, from the beginning of the twelfth century, consist of mosaics. Their style seems to show that the earliest examples, which are also the best, were executed by mosaic workers and designers from Constantinople itself. Subsequently these were probably assisted by native workmen, their pupils, drawn from the Greek and Arab population of the island. Considering the extensive series of works here produced, it is natural that some of slight merit should find a place beside others severely drawn and carefully wrought, and that on the best kind the inscriptions found should be principally Greek, on the inferior kind Latin.[119]

Roger, son of the first Norman conqueror, assumed the title of King of Sicily, and to his brilliant reign (A.D. 1030-1154) belong the finest examples of Sicilian mosaic. A rich decoration with leaf-ornaments and animals may still be seen in one of the chambers of the palace at Palermo; it is like those that used once to ornament the Imperial palace at Constantinople. Larger and connected series of pictures appear in the churches. These buildings, in the architecture of which early Christian, Byzantine, and Arab elements, are fantastically blended, are everywhere covered over with mosaic pictures, beginning between the pointed arches of the nave arcades, filling the whole upper wall, extending to transept, choir, and central dome, bringing once more before us the Byzantine mode of decoration in all its splendour.

The *Cappella Palatina* in the royal palace at Palermo contains the most beautiful of these decorations.[120] The building was begun A.D. 1132, and most of the mosaics were finished by A.D. 1143. The pavement, choir-presses, and lower panelling of the walls in marble and porphyry surpass in finish, if that were possible, even the works of the South Italian mainland. In the upper part, the pictures on the first wall contain a full-length figure of Christ enthroned between Peter and Paul; the centre nave has figures of prophets between the arches, and scenes from the Old Testament; on the side aisles are the stories of Peter and Paul, and in the transept the Gospel history. Grandest of all are the exhibitive and devotional compositions closing in the end. In the main apse the Virgin prays with uplifted hands enthroned among saints: and in the vaulting there is a gigantic half-length figure of the Saviour teaching, and two corresponding half-lengths of Apostles in the side apses. The Annunciation is depicted above the arch of the tribune, then come niches with saints in the drum of the dome, and above, in the dome itself, stand dignified figures of angels with large wings, and the centre shield again contains a picture of Christ (Fig. 95). Some pictures from the legend of the Virgin, in the church called *La Martorana* (*Santa Maria dell' Ammiraglio*, A.D. 1143), belong to the same period;

Fig. 95.

and also those in the presbytery of the cathedral of Cefalù, completed, according to an inscription in the apse, under King Roger (A.D. 1148).[121] The semi-dome of the apse is here again filled with the bust of Christ; on the wall immediately below appears Mary between angels, and two lower bands contain the Apostles; while the walls and arches of the presbytery are decorated with busts and figures of Old Testament personages and saints.

The great mass of ornament produced in Sicily during the reign of King Roger is a lasting witness of his exemplary government, under which, thanks to regular administration and sound finance, the island enjoyed the highest prosperity. Court patronage of art, on the other hand, was interrupted during the licentious reign of his successor William I., who was sunk in Oriental luxury. But again, under his grandson William II. (A.D. 1166-1189), the last prince of this house, there arose at Palermo the cathedral of Monreale, begun A.D. 1172, at once as the witness of the private munificence of the king and the chief ecclesiastical monument of his dynasty. The mosaics in this church, though perhaps not all technically so well executed as their predecessors, yet form a series more striking still by reason of their extent and richness. Stories from the Old Testament fill two rows along the upper walls of the nave from the entrance; they are bordered above by a rich ornamental frieze with busts of angels; the side aisles, and the transept as the continuation of these, contain the whole of the Gospel story; the scenes from the childhood of Christ find their place just at the arches of the central dome above figures of Patriarchs and Prophets; the Annunciation surmounts the arch of the tribune, as in the *Cappella Palatina;* and again, as there, the vaulting of the apse is occupied by a colossal half-length of Christ, while on the wall below this sits the Virgin enthroned, but this time with the Child, and between two rows of saints. Two dedicatory pictures of the king, first as crowned by Christ, and next as presenting the model of the church to the Madonna, are placed in the transept over chairs of state.[122]

The Sicilian mosaics are free from all the barbaric features of Italo-Mediæval art. The old Byzantine tradition prevails in them, according to which everything is prescribed and unalterable,—the types, the choice of motives and figures and the mode of conceiving them, the arrangement of the picture in its given space. However deeply studied this arrangement may be, it nevertheless appears invariably simple, so that the eye of the spectator quickly finds itself at home, and is not distracted by subtlety of relation or opposition between the parts. For the same subject the same arrangement reflects itself in its general features again and again; there is no question of such novelty or variety of motive as we find among the mosaics in the tribunes of Roman churches from the beginning of the twelfth century. The principal figures are dignified and solemn, well proportioned, and not too attenuated. Motives of great beauty and nobility often appear, as in the

angels in the dome of the *Cappella Palatina.* Other heads, it is true, are lifeless and ascetic, that of Christ particularly, and in many of the saints too the expression of dignity is often carried to the point of grimness. Details, such as the structure of the hands, often show want of knowledge. The cast of drapery is correct and skilful, but often artificial. The narrative pictures, especially those from the Old Testament, allow themselves an agreeable liveliness in the actions. Great precision is shown throughout in the fitting of the glass cubes, a point in which these Sicilian mosaics far surpass those of Rome at the same period. The gold ground everywhere prevails, and the colours are finely brought into accord with it; the modelling is powerful, with delicate greenish-grey shadows in the flesh; all the colour effects attainable by the art, as shading with a second colour, and laying on the lights of the draperies in gold, are brought into requisition.

But from this time forth the painting of Sicily declined. The old skill may continue to assert itself in other directions under the Emperor Frederick II., but, as a natural consequence of his intellectual attitude, great undertakings in ecclesiastical architecture came to a standstill, and with them ceased the opportunity for developing farther the art of mosaic. By and by the fall of the house of Hohenstaufen, the despotism of Charles of Anjou, the strife of parties and the ascendency of the feudal nobility, made an end of the prosperity, and with the prosperity of the art, of Sicily. And when, in the following epoch, an independent revival of Italian art began, Sicily had no part nor lot in it.

IV. VENICE.—Venice was at this time in a very similar position to Sicily. Detached from the Italian mainland of Italy, her importance and wealth were founded on her commerce with the East, and we have already spoken of her leaning towards Byzantine art.

Every epoch since the eleventh century has contributed to the mosaics of S. Mark's; the traditional practice of the art lingered on in Venice down to its revival in our own time, and side by side with the works of the Middle Age, the Renascence set up mosaic pictures from the designs of Titian, Tintoret, and their contemporaries. S. Mark's therefore fails to show a uniform scheme of decoration in the spirit of the time in which the building itself was erected.[123] For this reason if for no other, these mosaics would stand far below the connected and comparatively well-preserved Sicilian examples, which for the rest they do not approach in technical excellence. What is old among them is a kind of patchwork; nevertheless, the very multitude of these pictures on gold grounds, covering the walls, domes, and vaultings of the church and its dependencies, convey to the spectator, in their overpowering splendour, the impression proper to a great scheme of decoration on the Byzantine principle. In the vestibule we find scenes from the Old Testament—the Creation, the story of Joseph, in animated but unskilful compositions from the eleventh to the

twelfth centuries; in the chapel of S. Zeno are the legends of Peter and Mark, in the Baptistery the story of John the Baptist, and in its dome the Saviour enthroned, surrounded by two circles of angels. In the eastern dome of the church itself stands a medallion of the beardless Christ (a type very unusual elsewhere in Italy) surrounded by the Virgin, Prophets, and other personages of the Old Covenant. This example is nearest to the antique tradition, and probably belongs to the eleventh century. The decoration of the central dome seems rather later; it contains a picture of Christ ascending to heaven, enclosed by an inner circle of Mary, the Apostles, and angels, and an outer circle of personified Virtues. On the walls we find biblical and legendary scenes as well as single figures of saints, some of which go back to the thirteenth century. The figures are stiff and rather weak, and the narrative pictures are lame, though with a superficial air of life and movement.

The same school was represented in other places in the neighbourhood. The apse of the cathedral in Murano contains a colossal picture of the Madonna seen in front, with hands raised in supplication: this has also a Greek inscription. A mosaic from the church of S. Cyprian at Murano, built A.D. 1109, was bought by Frederick William IV., and now adorns the *Friedenskirche* at Potsdam. In the apse is Christ enthroned, surrounded by Mary, Peter, John the Baptist, and Cyprian; a medallion with the Lamb of God between the archangels Raphael and Michael crowns the arch.[124] The cathedral of Torcello possesses several mosaics in the interior; the apse contains the Virgin and Child, with the Apostles underneath; at the side of the arch is the Annunciation; on the entrance wall a colossal Last Judgment, designed after the Byzantine manner, which is shown by its agreement with the directions given in the Mount Athos Manual.[125] Thus we see in the lower part of the picture, and corresponding to the gate of Hell, the door of Paradise, at which stand an angel on one side, and Peter as doorkeeper on the other, the forgiven thief from the cross, and the Virgin as intercessor; also Abraham with the souls of the just.

A similar school of mosaic, influenced by the art of Venice, practised at Trieste. The side apse of the Cathedral in that place contains a twelfth-century mosaic of the Madonna enthroned with the archangels Gabriel and Michael, and the Apostles underneath.[126] At Parenzo, a port of Dalmatia which was conquered by Venice temporarily A.D. 1192, and permanently A.D. 1267, the Cathedral also exhibits a mosaic picture. Here the semi-dome of the tribune again contains a Madonna with two angels, but in this case they are attended by several saints and donors. These are designated by inscriptions—Euphrasius, said to have been the first bishop of Parenzo and founder of the church, with the model of it in his hands, and as an archdeacon, Claudius, who is not known to history, with his young son Euphrasius. The work probably belongs to the thirteenth century, and indeed

to the time of Bishop Otho (A.D. 1256-1282), as it entirely corresponds with the smaller mosaics of the ciborium, on which there is an inscription mentioning him as the donor.[127]

To sum up the result of our survey of Italian painting in this central period of the Middle Age,—we have certainly perceived that in comparison with other nations, Italy falls distinctly behind in original power and initiative. But a country which, in consequence of its physical position, was the centre of all the trade and commerce of the Mediterranean, did not fail to profit by its position. Its inhabitants understood how to acquire and adapt. From antiquity they had at least preserved the taste for dignified luxury, and a capacity for culture which enabled them, by turning to account the impulsions received from outside, to raise themselves from their state of barbarism, to re-animate many of their ancient traditions, and especially to take pride in the continued practice of one of the most brilliant and effective of decorative crafts, the craft of mosaic, wherein, at a time of otherwise low vitality, the Italians still had something in which they were superior to all the other nations of the West.

APPENDIX.

1. [The period of history included in this section may be taken as beginning with the establishment of the Saxon dynasty of Emperors (coronation of Otho I., A.D. 962), and as ending with the downfall of the Swabian or Hohenstaufen dynasty and the rise of republican liberties in Italy (death of Conrad IV. and Florentine Year of Victories, A.D. 1254). It is here comprehensively designated as the Romanesque age, because of the splendid development of the Romanesque style of architecture which took place both in the North and South of Europe about A.D. 1000, and because the characters associated with that style continued to be reflected in the works of painting until the middle of the thirteenth century, although in building, a new style, the pointed or Gothic, had been adopted, at least in the North, soon after the middle of the twelfth.]

2. See Springer, A. H., *De artificibus monachis et laicis medii aevi*, Baur, 1861 : or in German in *Mittheilungen der k.k. Centralcommission*, 1862, p. 1.

3. For instance, Richardus Mundrichingensis, who signs his name as the writer of the MS. *Necrologium Reinhardi abbatis*, from the monastery of Zwifalten (see chap. ii., *ad fin.*); or the inscription on the pulpit of the Cathedral at Bitonto, completed A.D. 1209, *Hoc opus fecit Nicolaus sacerdos et magister*, (see Schulz, A. W., *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, vol. i. p. 76); or again, *Bertoldus pictor frater noster*, and *Bertoldus m. n. c. magister pictor*, from the Chronicle and the Necrology respectively of the monastery of Zwifalten, in *Mon. Germ.* SS. x. p. 103.

4. This Rugerius, according to an acute recent conjecture, may probably be identical with the monk Rogkerus of the Benedictine monastery of Helmershausen on the Diemel, who is mentioned in original documents as the artist of a miniature altar of precious workmanship executed for Heinrich von Weil, Bishop of Paderborn, A.D. 1085-1127, and now in the Cathedral Treasury of that place. The latest text of Theophilus is that edited by Dr. A. Ilg, with introduction and translation, as vol. vii. of the Vienna *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte.*

5. The fragment of the Anonymus Bernensis has been edited by Hermann Hagen, as an appendix to Dr. Ilg's edition of Theophilus *supr. cit.* The treatise of Heraclius, also edited by Dr. Ilg, forms vol. iv. of the same series of *Quellenschriften.*

6. Authorities to be consulted in connection with the present chapter, in addition to those on the history of miniature-painting in general referred to in Appendix to Part ii., Book I., note 44, are as follow :—Kugler, Fr., *Gesch. der Malerei* (for English ed., see Appendix to Book II. section i. note 1); Id. *Kleine Schriften;* Waagen, *Handbuch der niederländ. u. deutsch. Malerschulen;* Id. *Kunstwerke u. Künstler in Deutschland;* Id. in *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, i., 1850; and for illustrations, Förster, E., *Denkmale deutscher Baukunst, Bildnerei und Malerei*, 12 vols., Leipzig, 1855-1869.

7. Stuttgart, *Oeffentl. Bibl.*, Bibl. fol. 23 (reproductions in Hefner-Alteneck, J. von, *Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters*, I., Pl. 50-53, 74, 75). Munich, Cimel. 20 (reproductions in Kugler, *Kleine Schriften*, i. 76, and Sighart, *Gesch. der bild. Künste in Bayern*, p. 50). S. Gallen, *Stiftsbibl.*, 863. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 9448 (see Labarte, Pl. 70).

8. Munich, Cimel. 53. Beneath the two first pictures of Evangelists appears the inscription, *Deus propitius esto Uodalrico peccatori*, and the same inscription occurs in an analogous book in the British Museum (*Harleian*, 2970).

9. We find at the Imperial Court of the Saxon dynasty not only Italian scholars, but also Italian artists, such as the painter Johannes, whom Otho III. had summoned to decorate the Royal Chapel at Aachen, and who went on afterwards to work at Lüttich. According to documentary accounts of this Johannes, the Emperor gave him a bishopric in Italy, which, however, he afterwards abandoned.

10. *Casus Scti. Galli* in *Mon. Germ.* SS. ii. p. 123.

11. As, for instance, at Toul during the bishopric of S. Gerard (A.D. 967-994): see *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. iv. p. 501.

12. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 8851. The portraits are severally inscribed *Henricus rex Francorum. Otto imperator Aug. Romanorum. Otto minor imperator Augustus.*

13. Thietmar iii. cap. 1, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. iii. An ivory relief at the Hotel de Cluny (No. 387) represents Otho II. bearded; his Greek wife Theophano receiving the crown of life from Christ in the presence of a donor, Johannes.

14. Gotha, *Herzogl. Bibl.*, 19. This book came originally from the monastery of Echternach in Luxemburg—a monastery of importance in the history of art from its early Romanesque church and its illuminated MSS. See Rathgeber, *Beschreibung des herzogl. Museums zu Gotha.* Specimens of the miniatures in Hefner-Alteneck, *Trachten*, etc., i. Pl. 57. The cover is figured in Quast and Otte, *Zeitschrift für christliche Archäologie u. Kunst*, vol. ii., where Quast rightly observes that the words *Otto rex* and *Theophano imperatrix* must signify not Otho II. with his wife, but the young Otho III. with his mother.

15. Munich, Cimel. 58. See Giesebrecht, *Gesch. der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, vol. ii. p. 609 (4th ed.); and for reproductions, Förster, E., *Denkmale*, etc., vol. ii.; Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges d'archéologie*, where mention is also made of a Gospel-book of the same Emperor, Otho III., formerly in the Cathedral Treasury at Aachen, afterwards in private possession in that city (specimens in Hefner-Alteneck, Pl. 47 *sqq.*)

16. Munich, Cimel. 57, Lat. 4452.

17. Munich, Cimel. 60, Lat. 4456. Specimens in Förster, *Denkmale*, and Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges*, p. 61.

18. Munich, Cimel. 56 and 59.

19. *Ibid.* 57.

20. Stuttgart, *Oeffentl. Bibl.* Bibl., fol. 21.

21. Munich, Cimel. 179, Lat. 15713.

22. Munich, Cimel. 54, Lat. 13601. Specimens in Cahier, *Nouveaux mélunges*, p. 15; Förster, *Denkmale*, vol. ii.

23. Bremen, *Oeffentl. Bibl*, renewed from the abbey church. See Müller, H. A., in *Mittheilungen der k.k. Centralcommission*, 1862, p. 57 (woodcuts).

24. Berlin Museum, Print-room, No. 6.

25. Commentary of Haymon, Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 12302; reproductions in the works of Bastard and Louandre. Noailles Bible, eleventh century, Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 6.

26. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 8: reproductions in the works of Bastard and Louandre.

27. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 58, 58 *bis*; *ibid.* 252; reproductions in Bastard.

28. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 9436; reproductions in Bastard.

29. Consult Passavant, J. D., *Die christliche Kunst in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1853; Waagen in *Jahrbücher für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. ii. p. 1; Tailhan, J., in Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges*, p. 330 *sqq.*; and for reproductions in colours (but without mention of the origin of particular examples) the sumptuous State publication *Monumentos Arquitectoñicos de España*, Madrid, 1859 and subsequent years.

30. Both of these books are in the *Brit. Mus.*, Add. MSS. 25600, 11695. See Palæog. Soc., Pl. 95, 48.

31. Oxford, *Bodl.* 579; *Brit. Mus.*, purchased 1861; *Brit. Mus.*, Cotton, Tiberius, vol. 4; Paris. *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 943.

32. *Brit. Mus.*, Cotton, Tiberius, C. vi.; Oxford, *Bodl.*, Junius, xi.

33. Lambeth, *Archiepisc. Libr.*, 200; *Brit. Mus.*, Harleian 2904.

34. *Brit. Mus.*, Cotton, Vespasian, A. viii.

35. At Chatsworth, published by John Gage in *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.; specimens in colour-printing in the works of H. Noel Humphreys and Westwood.

36. Cambridge, *Trin. Coll.*, B. 10. 4; Rouen, *Bibl. Munic.* (see Gage in *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv., and reproductions in Westwood).

37. Oxford, *Bodl.*, 717. London, Society of Antiquarians (specimens in Shaw, *The Art of Illuminating*); Paris, *S. Gèneviève*, A. 25, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 11534,5.

38. Boulogne, *Bibl. Munic.*, 26; see Westwood, Pl. 37-39, and Palæog. Soc., Pl. 97.

39. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 15675; reproductions in Louandre; Brussels, *Bibl. de Bourgogne*, 2035.

40. *E.g.* Westphalia, a Gospel-book from Hardehausen in the Library at Cassel, MSS. Theol. fol. 59, and another from the convent of nuns at Meschede, in the Library at Darmstadt, MSS. 1640; Cologne, a splendid copy of the Epistles of Jerome, painted for the Archbishop Frederic (A.D. 1110-1131), Cathedral Library, 29; Palatinate, a Gospel-book from Limburg on the Hardt, also in the Cathedral Library

at Cologne (218); German Switzerland, the Psalter of Notker Labeo, *Stiftsbibl.* 21, which, besides the rude David of our illustration, contains a subject of the Madonna and Child, and admirable initials in black and red; Bavaria, a Gospel-book, written by the Abbot Ellinger of Tegernsee (A.D. 1017-1051), and another very similar, both in the Library at Munich (Lat. 1800, 828); two Gospel-books in the same library, from the monastery of Niederaltaich at Straubing (Cimel. 163, 142); and an Antiphoner, probably of the end of the eleventh century, from the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter at Salzburg, distinguished by the extraordinary number of its illustrations (Salzburg, *Stiftsbibl.*)

41. See Engelhardt, Ch. M., *Herrad von Landsperg*, etc., 1 vol. 8vo, and 1 atlas fol. with 12 plates, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1818.

42. Bought by King George of Hanover from the Cathedral Library at Prague; see Ambros, *Der Dom zu Prag*, 1858, p. 293, and Culemann, F., in *Neue hannöv. Zeitung*, 1861, Nos. 222, 224.

43. In the King's private library at Stuttgart, No. 412. Woodcuts in Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, vol. i. p. 69 *sqq.*

44. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 17961. Labarte, Pl. 91.

45. Reproductions in Quast and Otte, *Zeitschrift für christl. Kunst und Archäologie*, vol. ii. Pl. 11.

46. See Heider, G., in *Archiv für Kunde österr. Geschichtsquellen*, v. p. 541. A French MS. Bestiary of about A.D. 1200, in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, is of peculiar value and beauty. Others at Brussels and Paris are described by Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. ii.

47. Stuttgart, *Oeffentl. Bibl.*, Brev. 4, No. 125; Bibl. fol. 56-58; Hist. fol. 415.

48. Berlin Museum, Print-room, MSS. 52.

49. Woodcuts in Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, i. 84, and Sighart, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste in Bayern*, p. 274. Concerning Conrad, see *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. xvii. p. 613 *sqq.*

50. Munich, Lat. 17400. 51. *Ibid.* Lat. 17405, 17403.

52.
Supplicat hic si quid minus apte forte rescripsit,
Huic ignoscatur super hoc veniamque precatur,
Namque laboravit solus foliumque patravit,
Et qua dignus erat scribens mercede carebat.

53. See Weerth, E. aus'm, *Der Mosaikboden in S. Gereon zu Köln*, etc., plates; Bonn, 1873.

54. See Revoil, H., *Architecture romaine du midi de la France*, iii., p. 38, Pl. 78 *sqq.*

55. See Didron, *Annales archéolog.*, vol. x. p. 61 *sqq.*

56. See Jubinal, Ach., *Les anciennes tapisseries historiées*, etc., Paris, 1838; Cahier and Martin, *Mélanges d'archéologie;* and especially the coloured reproductions by the Arundel Society.

57. Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, i. pp. 583, 635.

58. There is in the Berlin Museum a rich collection of drawings and tracings from mediæval wall-paintings. See Schnaase's *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, vol. v., 2d ed., edited by A. Woltmann, and the unfinished work of Hotho, *Gesch. der christl. Malerei;* Stuttgart, 1867.

59. For coloured reproductions of the Oberzell paintings, see Adler, F., in Erbkam's *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, vol. xix.; of those at Salzburg, Heider, G., in *Jahrbuch der k.k. Centralcommission*, vol. ii. p. 18, *sqq.*, figs. 1 and 2.

60. Weerth, E. aus'm, *Wandmalereien des Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden*, with excellent reproductions.

61. For a detailed account see Reichensperger, A., *Jahrbücher des Vereins für Alterthumsfreunde im Rheinlande*, vol. xi. (1849), and Weerth, E. aus'm, *op. cit.*

62. Figured in Schnaase, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste*, vol. v. p. 514; and in colours, Gailhabaud, *L'architecture * * * et les arts qui en dépendent*, vol. ii. Pl. 63-66.

63. For these examples see Aldenkirchen, J., *Die mittelalterliche Kunst in Soest*, Pl. 1, 1 b; Lübke, *Die mittelalterliche Kunst in Westfalen*, Pl. 28, 30; and Förster, *Denkmale*, vii.

64. For specimens of the paintings at Halberstadt, see Quast and Otte, *Zeitschrift*, ii., Pl. 12, and Förster, *Denkmale*, 1; and for the Goslar examples, Mitthof in *Archiv für Niedersachsens Kunstgeschichte*, vol. iii.

65. Examples in Gailhabaud, vol. ii. Pl. 69, 70.

66. Sighart, *Gesch. der bild. Künste in Bayern*, pp. 201, 262, 263.

67. See plates in *Mittheilungen der k.k. Centralcommission*, 1869, p. 92, for the Lambach examples; and 1871, pp. 126-141, for those at Gurk.

68. See Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. raisonné de l'architecture française*, vii. 69; and for the paintings at Poitiers, the *Archives de la Commission des monuments historiques.*

69. See Mérimée, *Notice sur les peintures de Saint-Savin*, Paris, 1845; and De Caumont, *Abécédaire, Architect. relig.*, p. 281 *sqq.*

70. Janssen, L. J. F., *De muurschilderijen de S. Janskerk te Gorinchem*, 1858.

71. For example, those at Petershausen, and those painted in the cloister at Reichenau under the Abbot Witigowo; see *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. xx. p. 638, and iv. p. 621.

72. See Rahn, R., *op. cit.*, and in *Mittheilungen der Antiq. Gesellschaft zu Zürich*, xxxvi. (1872), with plates.

73. See Kratz in Quast und Otte, *Zeitschrift*, ii. p. 82, and the coloured reproductions published by the same writer in 1856.

74. The former example is figured in Didron, *Ann. Archéol.*, xvii. p. 180; the latter in Quast and Otte, *Zeitschrift*, ii. p. 283, Pl. 15, 16 and again in Förster, *Denkmale*, viii.

75. For the history of glass-painting consult Gessert, M. A., *Geschichte der Glasmalerei * * * von ihrem Ursprung bis auf die neueste Zeit*, Tübingen u. Stuttgart, 1839, 8vo; Wackernagel, W., *Die deutsche Glasmalerei*, Leipzig, 1855; Unger, F. W., art. *Glasmalerei*, in Ersch u. Gruber, i. 69, p. 39; Langlois, E. H., *Essai historique et descriptif sur la peinture sur verre ancienne et moderne*, Rouen, 1832; Didron, E., *Histoire de la peinture sur verre en Europe*, in *Ann. archéol.* 23, 24; Labarte, iii. S. 327; Bucher, Br., *Glasmalerei*, in *Geschichte der technischen Künste*, i. Stuttgart, 1875; Viollet-le-Duc, in *Dict. raisonné de l'architecture française*, ix. p. 373. For large coloured illustrations, see especially Lasteyrie, F. de, *Histoire de la peinture sur verre d'après ses monuments en France*, Paris, 1853-1857; also Lévy, Edm., *Histoire de la peinture sur verre en Europe et particulièrement en Belgique*, Brussels, 1860, fol.

76. Pez, *Thesaurus anecd.* vi. p. 1, p. 122.

77. *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. iii. 613. For other testimonies, see Unger, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

78. See Herberger, Th., *Die ältesten Glasgemälde im Dom zu Augsburg.* By this author the windows in question are dated too early; by some other writers, as Kugler and Schnaase, too late.

79. See the plate in Lasteyrie, *Notice supplémentaire*, p. 311.

80. On the windows at Le Mans, see, besides Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, Hucher, Eug., *Vitraux peints de la Cathédrale du Mans*, Paris, 1865; and Parker, letter with illustrations in *Archæologia*, xxxiii. p. 359.

81. See his own account in *De rebus in administratione sua gestis*, cap. xxii., in Duchesne, *Hist. Franc. SS.* iv. 388.

82. Lasteyrie, Pl. 3, and Labarte, Pl. 94.

83. Figured both in Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, and Gailhabaud, ii. Pl. 77 *sq.*

84. Excellently figured in Lassus, J. B. A., and Duval, A., *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres.*

85. See Guerber, V., *Essai sur les vitraux de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*, Strassburg, 1848. This author, from whom we have borrowed our illustration of one of the kings in the west window in the north aisle, has substituted for the present Gothic window one of earlier Romanesque form, of which he professes to have discovered the traces. For this he is blamed by Lasteyrie; but the restoration at any rate corresponds to the design of the other windows mentioned in the text, those with figures of knights in the transept (Lasteyrie, Pl. 17).

86. *Jahrbücher der k.k. Centralcommission*, iii. Pl. 23-27.

87. See *Mittelalterliche Baudenkmäler Niedersachsens*, 1866, pts. 11, 12; and Klopffleisch, Dr. Fr., *Drei Denkmäler mittelalt. Malerei*, u. s. w., 1860.

88. The Cologne windows are indifferently figured in Boisserée, *Denkmale der Baukunst am Niederrhein*, 1842, Pl. 72. For the Heimersheim windows see Müller, F. H., *Beiträge zur teutschen Kunst. und Geschichtskunde*, i. Pl. 9.

89. Art. 82: *fenestrae albae fiunt et sine crucibus et picturis.*

90. For the *grisaille* windows in France see Texier in Didron's *Ann. Archéol.*, x; for those at Heiligenkreuz, Camesina, *Glasgemälde, u.s.w., des Cisterzienser-Stiftes Heiligenkreuz*, Vienna, 1854; and specimens in *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des österreich. Kaiserstaates*, vol. i.; for those of the monastery at Wettingen, Lübke in *Mittheilungen der antiq. Gesellschaft in Zürich*, vol. xiv. Pl. 5.

91. Consult Rumohr, *Ital. Forschungen*, vol. i.; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, vol. i.; Schulz, H. W., *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien, herausgegeben von* F. von

Quast, Dresden, 1860; Salazaro, D., *Studj sui monumenti dell' Italia meridionale, etc.*, Naples, vol. ii.—still in course of publication.

92. Agincourt, Pl. 94 *sq.*

93. See Roller, Th., in *Rev. archéol.*, 1872 *sq.*

94. See Weerth, E. aus'm, *Der Mosaikboden in S. Gereon zu Cöln * * * nebst den damit verwandten Mosaikboden Italiens*, Bonn, 1873; and Müntz, Eng., in *Revue archéol.* xxxii. (1876), p. 400.

95. D'Arco, C., *Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova*, Mantua, 1857, Pl. 1.

96. Compare Durand, J., in Didron, *Ann. archéolog.*, xxiii. *sqq.*, plates.

97. See Schulz, *op. cit.*, 261, 302, Pl. 45.

98. See Agincourt, Pl. 53-55, and Förster, *Denkmale ital. Malerei*, vol. i. Pl. 11 *sq.*

99. Rome, *Vat.* 4922. See *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. xii. p. 348 *sqq.*, with three plates. Agincourt, Pl. 66.

100. Anastasius, *Liber pontif.*, in Muratori, *Rerum Ital. SS.*, iii. p. 173.

101. For the discussion of the relations between Byzantine and Italian art in this age see Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, vol. ii. dissert. 24; Rumohr, *Ital. Forschungen*, vol. i. p. 282; Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, iv. p. 699, and vii. p. 237.

102. For these Byzantine bronze doors in Southern Italy consult Schulz, *op. cit.*, particularly vols. i. p. 242 *sq.*, ii. p. 245 *sq.*; also Schulz's fellow-worker Strehlke, in Quast and Otte's *Zeitschrift für christl. Archäologie u. Kunst*, ii. p. 100 *sq.*

103. Leonis Marsicani et Petri Diaconi *Chronica monasterii Casinensis*, edited by W. Wattenbach in *Mon. Germ. SS.* vii. p. 551.

104. The true reading has been established by Rumohr, *Ital. Forschungen*, i. p. 287. *Intermiserat* signifies neglect rather than total disuse, and the date indicated points to the beginning of the decline of the arts in Italy.

105. Schulz, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 170, Pl. 70 *sq.* Salazaro, *op. cit.*, i. Pl. 7 and 9.

106. Salazaro, i. Pl. 11. 107. Salazaro, Pl. 22; Schulz, Pl. 82, figs. 1, 2.

108. Reproduced in Rossi, *Musaici cristiani.* 109. Gutensohn and Knapp, Pl. 44.

110. So Rossi, from Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Script.*, iii. p. 451.

111. Gutensohn and Knapp, Pl. 45, 48.

112. The name of the last of these seems to read Diotesalvi Petroni. Concerning this Sienese master, consult Rumohr, *Ital. Forschungen*, ii. p. 23.

113. Förster, *Denkmale*, i. Pl. 14.

114. *E g.* the Crucifixion in the *Cappella del Martirologio* of *S. Paolo fuor le mura;* the representations from the legend of Constantine in the *Cappella S. Silvestro*, erected under Innocent III., A.D. 1130-1143, beside the church of *Quattro Coronati* (Agincourt, Pl. 100); the pictures of the time of Honorius III. in the portico and on the inner west wall of *S. Lorenzo fuor le mura;* the paintings in the *Sacro Speco* at Subiaco, which belong partly to the time of Innocent III. (A.D. 1198-1216), and partly to Gregory IX. (1227-1241).

115. Rosini, Pl. 3.

116. Falcandi, H., *Hist. de rebus gestis in Siciliæ regno*, in Muratori, *Rerum Ital. SS.*, vii. p. 256.

117. See Bock, *Die Kleinodien d. h. röm. Reichs*, Pl. 41-43. In the Bavarian National Museum at Munich is a dalmatic with clasps belonging to this suit of vestments.

118. Bock, *op. cit.*, Pl. 17. The inscription runs: *Casula haec data et operata est ecclesiae St. Mariae sitae in Civitate Alba anno ab incarnatione Christi MXXXI. indictione XIV. a Stephano rege et Gisela regina.* The word *operata* should not be taken, as it has hitherto been taken, to signify that Gisela worked the robe with her own hand.

119. See Springer, A., *Die mittelalterliche Kunst in Palermo*, Bonn, 1869.

120. For description, with beautiful coloured plates, of the Cappella Palatina, see the work in course of publication by Terzi, A., Cavallari, S., etc., *La Cappella di S. Pietro nella Reggia di Palermo.* A coloured view in Koehler, H., *Polychrome Meisterwerke der ornamentalen Kunst in Italien.*

121. See, for both these examples, Serradifalco, Duca di, *Del Duomo di Monreale e di altre Chiese Siculo-Normane*, Palermo, 1838.

122. See Gravina, D. B., *Il Duomo di Monreale illustrato e riportato*, etc., Palermo, 1859. The witness for the fact that the church and its mosaics were completed before the death of the king, A.D. 1189, is Ryccardus de Sancto Germano, *Chronica*, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, SS. xix. p. 323.

123. See Kreutz, G. and L., *La Basilica di S. Marco in Venezia*, etc., Venice, 1843 [republication announced.]

124. See Jordan, Max., suppl. to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy*, German ed., i. 357, with extract from Sansovino, *Venezia descritta.*

125. Specimens in Förster, *Denkmale*, i. Pl. 13.

126. Haas, K., in *Mittheilungen der k.k. Centralcommission*, iv. (1859), p. 173, 204, with plate, publishes this mosaic, but supposes the Apostles to be of older date.

127. Eitelberger, R. von, in *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des österr. Kaiserstaates*, i. p. 205 *sqq.*, with plates.

BOOK II.

MEDIÆVAL PAINTING.

SECTION III.

FINAL OR GOTHIC PERIOD (ABOUT A.D. 1250–1400.)[1]

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Transformation of art in thirteenth century—The last an age of German ascendency; the present, of French—Unbroken spiritual unity of Christendom; Church, knighthood, and *bourgeoisie*—Art passes from the hands of the priests into those of the trade corporations—The Confraternity and the Guild—Scope allowed to individual treatment—Limits set to individual self-assertion—New spirit of civic energy and life—Of scholastic subtlety and ingenuity—Of human sympathy and affection—Expression of sentiment the great aim of Gothic painting—Studies of Gothic painters; sketch-book of Villard de Honnecourt—Predilection of Gothic painting for flowing forms, swaying movements, and sentimental tenderness—Its reflection of chivalrous and feminine ideals—Its introduction of jest and mockery—Tendency of these characters towards exaggeration in course of fourteenth century—Signs of incipient and incongruous realism—Attempts to represent the third dimension.

IN the thirteenth century mediæval art underwent a great transformation. A new style of building, of which the origins can be traced back beyond the middle of the twelfth century, had by degrees gained the ascendant, first in France and afterwards in other countries. The Romanesque had been superseded, and the Gothic reigned in its place. Upon this transformation of one art there followed, not indeed immediately, but after a perceptible interval, a transformation of all the rest. In France throughout the period of Early and during a part of the period of Mature Gothic, in Germany during the period of what is called Transitional architecture, the characters of sculpture and painting still continued essentially Romanesque, and it is only after the best days of the French Gothic are over that a decisive change of feeling manifests itself in these arts.

During the Romanesque period it had been Germany that took the lead and set the standard in architecture, and still more in the other manual arts. Gothic, on the other hand, is French in its origin as in its development. The great days of the Empire and of Imperial Germany were over. The politics of Italy had absorbed the strength of the last rulers of the house of Hohenstaufen. They had been constrained to make concession after concession to their feudal inferiors. The temporal ambition of the Popes had mined the ground beneath their throne. Henceforth only the semblance of their sovereignty could be maintained, and that only for a time. The aureole of empire, which had shed its last effulgence about the heroic person of the second Frederick, sinks with his tragical decline to rise no more, although the people would not believe that he was gone, and awaited still the second coming of their Imperial lord and judge. In proportion as the process of disruption advanced in Ger-

many, a counter-process of integration and union was advancing in France. The position of authority, for which the national monarchy had long striven, it obtained under Philip Augustus (A.D. 1180-1223). That king found means, with the support of the bishops and the communes, to keep within bounds the great feudal vassals of the state, to divert into safe channels the energies of the knighthood, and to assert the independence of the kingdom. In the face of Papal aggression even the devout S. Louis maintained unshaken the privileges of his crown. The capital of the monarchy, Paris, already began to grow into a capital of the world, a centre of industry, culture, and science. The influence which now went abroad from France over the rest of Europe was only a part of those wider influences which she began to wield over the entire West. In France the institutions of chivalry had taken shape, and since the Crusades—which also had had their origin in France—those institutions had become common to other lands. It was France that dictated the forms of courtly society among the great, their fashions of costume, deportment, and address, and the codes and principles of the chivalric Art of Love. From France minstrels took both the matter and the mode of treatment alike of the love-lay and the epic tale. In other languages it was a sign of distinction to introduce words and phrases from the French.

The spread of such influences was made the easier by the increasing love of travel and intercourse between nations. The sense of the unity of Christendom was still at this time stronger among men than their consciousness of separate nationality. The constitution of the Church and the enthusiasm of religious faith were common to all Western humanity. And one rank of men at least in all nations—the knighthood—were united in still closer bonds by the brotherly institutions of their order. Lastly, the ranks of industry and commerce, the trading and manufacturing populations of the towns, were everywhere simultaneously shaping themselves into a new power. To this power, to the *bourgeoisie*, belonged henceforward the exercise of the manual arts. Nevertheless sculpture, architecture, and painting did not give expression to the spirit of any single class as poetry had given expression essentially to the spirit of the knighthood; these arts rather gathered into themselves at this period the spirit of all classes and of the entire nation.

In painting, although no new technical acquirement was added to those which the art possessed in the Romanesque period, we find nevertheless a change of conception, of feeling, and of employment. The art, for one thing, emancipates itself from the direction of the priestly order, and this though the enthusiasm of religion be still never so universal, though the power of the Papacy be still never so great, and though the mendicant orders, with their vast popular influence, constitute new and potent instruments in the hands of that power. In accordance with the encyclopædic spirit characteristic of all culture and discipline in the Middle Age, the artists of that age, and especially those who

were members of the religious orders, had been habitually at home in several different arts, and sometimes in all at once. This now ceased to be the case, especially in the countries north of the Alps. The masters of the new age, belonging to the middle classes of the towns, were specialists, each limited to his own craft. The painters worked at wall-painting, and afterwards, when easel pictures came more into fashion, at panel-painting. Beside them there were the "shielders," properly shield-makers, but also saddlers and makers of everything belonging to horse-furniture; their functions included the painting as well as the making of shields or scutcheons; and thus they had in their hands a certain branch of easel-painting, one which did not trench upon the ecclesiastical sphere, and remained in the condition of a handicraft rather than a fine art. Again, there were the painters on glass, who were grouped with the glass-blowers; there were the miniature-painters and illuminators. As the system of trade associations developed itself, various more or less nearly related crafts would group themselves in one, in order not to stand in a worse position than stronger corporations. Thus it often happened that the painters were joined by the carvers, joiners, parchment-makers, gold-beaters, goldsmiths, and so on, or by some if not all of these. Occasionally, as at Basel, the barbers too came in.

In the early stage of these trade associations, the stage at which they were known merely as Brotherhoods or Confraternities, each had its altar in some particular church, and its members celebrated festivals and funerals in common. But the Brotherhood contained within itself the germ from which the regular Guild took its development. The guilds became corporations with definite political rights and obligations, including the obligation of military service for purposes of defence, and above all with judicial authority in trade matters.[2] The several trades were confederated, but managed their affairs without mutual interference. Each master practised his special craft with the help of the associates whom he had trained, and brought up his apprentices in the same craft. That any one should exercise another trade than his own was contrary to rule and custom. The technical tradition of each craft was firmly established, and came to the help of weaker hands, while to those more gifted it afforded a sure foundation for their skill. As each town had its own trade corporations, special schools formed themselves by degrees; but the results of their exclusiveness in relation to each other were modified by the custom of travelling from place to place during apprenticeship. The leading masters, too, did not always remain tied to one spot, but often became attached to the persons of princes, and received at their courts appointments which occasionally released them from the restraints of the guild. Essentially, however, art in this age had its roots in the life of the cities, the course of whose material and political development was favourable to its growth.

Up to this time not only the art of Byzantium, but to a certain extent that of the West also, had been dominated by a hierarchical, a sacerdotal style.

But now popular sentiment began to acknowledge that the artist's own mode of conceiving a subject had a certain claim side by side with tradition and sacerdotal prescription. Durandus, bishop of Mende, in the south of France, whose *Rationale divinorum officiorum* shows what the idea of ecclesiastical art was in the thirteenth century, expresses himself in these significant words:[3] "Various subjects from the Old and New Testaments are painted according to the discretion of the painter, for (here he quotes Horace)

. . . . *Pictoribus atque poetis*
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas."

Religious subjects continued to form the great bulk of the material of art; and painters as well as sculptors looked upon the decoration of churches as their principal task. They still created cycles of great and comprehensive symbolic pictures under the influence of theological ideas. But within these limits, the artist himself could now work with much more independence.

Individuality of conception in our modern sense is not, indeed, to be found. The work in no case stands as the personal expression of a definite artistic temperament. The personality of the producer is still cast into the shade by the thing produced. Fewer names of artists are known to us in this even than in the Romanesque period, in which not only chronicles, but inscriptions, much oftener hand down the names of those who were industrious in the art, and especially of those the scene of whose industry was in a monastery. But in the new age art had become the occupation of ordinary citizens, an industry like any other. Each painter took his position modestly as a member of his guild, and did not concern himself with trying to outshine his fellows.

But if the genius of the individual artist was thus kept from asserting itself, not so that of the order to which he belonged. These artisans of the towns were full of a fresh and energetic spirit. They held by tradition more from practice and trade custom than from theory or set purpose. They stood in the midst of life, and took their impressions from direct intercourse with nature. Poetry had filled their imaginations with new ideas and emotions, and the delight of the age in pageants and festivals, which turned into a dramatic show all the events of ecclesiastical or political life, kept those imaginations continually nourished. A delight in living, a vein of luxury and even of hearty animalism, manifests itself in all classes, the clergy not excepted; and though once and again put down by ecclesiastical asceticism, which now assumes peculiarly fanatical forms, this vein always re-appears,—there is always a reaction and a revival.

Hitherto art had been master of but one form of expression, that of devotional solemnity, of ecclesiastical austerity, of reverential sublimity. This was now abandoned, and with this disappears much of the earlier majesty of Christian art. Wherever the theological spirit prevails, we now trace the

influence of the new scholastic modes of thought, which aim at subtle combinations and significant juxtapositions of incident such as we shall presently find in the picture-Bibles of this age—at mysticism, in a word, of conception—and thereby forfeit the simplicity and repose of earlier art.

Strength of religious sentiment, we know, is characteristic of the entire Middle Age, and religious sentiment, in the days of which we have now to treat, is in no degree enfeebled. Nay, it receives from the spirit of the time a character more enthusiastic than ever. But man no longer prostrates himself automatically in blind surrender to his creed, he accepts and holds it with deliberate consciousness. He draws the objects of his worship more nearly within the grasp of his understanding; he invests them with a gentler dignity, and informs them with the breath of purely human affections, of piety, devotion, loving-kindness. The note of humility, of nothingness in presence of the divine, is still predominant; but humility has thrown off the mask of stony abasement, and scope is gained for the expression of a certain definite scale of emotions—emotions which touch by their timidity, and of which the simpleness is half the charm.

Now, if for the purpose of depicting human beings, either separately or in determined groups and scenes, the artist wishes to develop a language for the expression of emotion, there is only one means open to him—a closer grasp and observation of nature. In the age which we are now approaching, the painter's knowledge of nature remains but scanty. He does not succeed in fathoming and mastering her aspects; but his eyes are opened to them so far as is demanded by the expressional phenomena which it is his great motive to represent; since it is not yet for their own sakes, but only for the sake of giving expression to a particular range of sentiments, that he seeks to imitate the realities of the world.

The manner of study adopted by the artists of the thirteenth century is exemplified in a precious sketch-book of the French stone-mason Villard de Honnecourt, in the National Library at Paris.[4] Of strict drawing from the figure, or close study of the nude, there is no question; if the artist in any instance works from a model, he succeeds but very imperfectly in reproducing it. Between him and the object before him, tradition is still a welcome interpreter. Among travelling sketches are some taken from works of art; but direct references to nature are also to be found; thus to a sketch of a lion, which to our eye looks extremely heraldic, the artist has appended the remark, "N.B.—Drawn from life." And elsewhere we find other animals studied also from life, and groups or single figures caught also from nature. But the forms are never thoroughly grasped, the individual features are never thoroughly realised. As a kind of substitute for true knowledge of form we find an observance of formal proportion and rhythm, of which the purpose is to make the pictured lineaments agreeable to the eye. Mediæval

art had by this time quite worked itself free from the Byzantine code of human proportions, which it had indeed at no time repeated in any except a vague and variable way. We gather from Villard's sketch-book how by accommodating the human body to definite geometrical figures, such as triangles or segments of circles, a formula had been provided, which even the least skilful could apply with some measure of success, for regulating the scale of the several parts, the measurements of the limbs in movement, the modes of constructing groups, and so on.

Even in his representations of the nude, inadequate though they may be, a painter of this period knows how to avoid the repulsive rudeness of his predecessors. And by far the greater number of his figures being not nude but draped, he is able to get on well enough with the scanty knowledge he possesses of the osseous structure of the body. The form gains from its drapery; the old dry conventional reproduction of the antique cast of folds has given place to an agreeable flow of lines and sweeping disposition of masses. Still more than the facts of form, the facts of movement are observed from nature. The head inclines lightly this way or that, the limbs disengage themselves, the trunk sways upon the hips, giving a gentle undulation to the carriage. The one character universally prevalent is this softness of flow; as in truth the expressions which the artist of that age strove to render were not those of energy, of active and deliberate will, but those of brooding mildness, of pensive and tender modesty.

Herein it is that the art of the Gothic period bears most forcibly the impress of the chivalrous temper—a temper not confined to the chivalrous classes only—and especially of that predominance of the feminine element which characterised an age when the pride of Arms was indissoluble from the sworn service of Love, and when Mariolatry imparted even to religion the character of an impassioned devotion to Woman. Nay, the habits of chivalry came to reflect themselves more and more closely, not only in the general temper of art, but also in its particular embodiments. Hence sacred subjects gradually lose their traditional aspect, and secular occasionally creep in. The whole realm presided over by the Lady *Aventiure*, the whole world of chivalrous song and tale, is reproduced in pictures. Even here, however, expression goes little if at all beyond the bounds we already know; and hard as the painter may try to please by the imitation of life, still he cannot succeed with scenes of dramatic exertion, with situations where the actors exhibit promptitude and strength of will, as well as he succeeds with the passive life of mere moods and sentiments.

Along with the feeling for sweetness and charm comes up the feeling for fun and mockery. Art turns for subjects not only to the tales of chivalry, but to the fables of the brutes, and by and by fastens on many an aspect of every-day life as well. Such humours are depicted usually in unobtrusive corners, but always with vigour and point, and even in the more fantastic

order of inventions, the old spirit of demoniac grimness is now supplanted by a spirit of jest and roguery.

The best days of Gothic architecture ended with the thirteenth century. So far as painting is employed in the immediate service of architecture, the same may be said of Gothic painting too. But in other respects the changes in painting which set in with the fourteenth century are changes betokening not a decadence of the art, but the first stages of a new development. It is true that in the later Gothic the tendency to mechanical production increases,—a tendency encouraged by the new architectural conditions under which sculpture and painting were demanded for decorative purposes in a profusion which nothing but rapid production could supply, while at the same time the spaces at the disposal of the painter were individually so cramped that he could not always secure an independent artistic value for his work. It is true also that the predilection for slender and pliant forms was pushed in this age to excess, and here again something is due to the influence of architecture, which yielded more and more exclusively to the desire for altitude, wasting itself in constructive ingenuities, and carrying the pursuit of lightness and elegance to the point of a veritable volatilisation of masses. So, in painting, the gentle inclination of the body passes by and by into unnatural contortion, the expression of tender sentiment into that of puling sentimentality. The degeneracy of courtesy itself, the exaggerations and affectations of actual life, find their reflection, as in poetry, so also in the manual arts.

Lastly, the germs of realism already existing in art by degrees unfold themselves further. Artists venture upon a closer grip of nature and fact; and we discern the first attempts at a truly individual treatment, especially in the features of the face. The consequence, wherever sculpture and painting are the mere servants of architecture, is generally so much deterioration the more; these realistic experiments do not harmonise with ideals of immaterial and attenuated grace. Besides, the realism is too casual and inconsequent, and rests on too little positive knowledge of nature, to be able to establish itself as an independent principle; though it none the less helps to prepare the complete revolution destined before long to ensue. The loosening of the bond between painting and architecture is a circumstance having also its advantages, since it leaves the former free to feel its way towards the recognition of its own proper laws.

Finally, after about A.D. 1350, there appear the first real signs of a recovery of that which had been so long completely lost, a conception of the true functions and capacities of painting—the first serious attempts to produce by means of that art the appearance of more than of a single plane, to imitate effectually the solidity of objects, and to exhibit them in true relations to their surroundings.

CHAPTER II.

MINIATURES.

FRENCH SCHOOL UNTIL 1350; illumination as practised at this time in Paris—Technical characteristics—Style of figures, faces, and borders—Examples of transition to new style—Of new style fully worked out; Psalter of S. Louis—Farther developments in fourteenth century—*Bibles historiées*—Life of S. Denis illuminated for Philip the Long—Introduction of *drôleries* into the borders of religious MSS.—Illuminated MSS. of secular and legendary subjects—Influence of French illumination upon English—GERMANY UNTIL A.D. 1350; German miniature-painting at this time influenced by but inferior to French—Early examples—Later examples; illustrated collections of *Minnelieder;* increasing French influence—MSS. of the *Biblia Pauperum* and other Bible illuminations—MS. *Passionale* written for the abbess Kunigunde of Prague—FRENCH SCHOOL AFTER 1350; first attempts at complete pictorial treatment—Encouragement of the art by Court and Royal princes—Names of artists; frequently Flemish—Early examples of this Franco-Flemish work executed for French princes—More advanced examples—*Livre des merveilles du monde*—MSS. from the library of the Duc de Berri; Bible, Hour-Book, and Psalter—Characteristics of these works; their choice of subjects—Office of the Virgin in *Bibliothèque Mazarine*—Prayer-book in collection of Duke d'Aumale—Translations from the Italian; classical subjects—Sketch-book of Jacques Daliwes—English work at this time; its subservience to the French—GERMANY AFTER A.D. 1350; new school at Prague under patronage of Charles X. and his Court—Character of this School—Examples at Prague—Patronage continued by Emperor Wenzel; examples at Vienna—Their character—Their reference to the person and habits of the Emperor—Missal of Sbinco Hasen von Hasenburg—MSS. executed for the Austrian Court—Inferiority of average productions in this age.

I. FRENCH SCHOOL UNTIL A.D. 1350.—The French were the first to open up new paths in painting as well as in architecture. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century a new and peculiar style of manuscript-painting developed itself in France—at first especially in Paris, which was the centre of learning, the seat of the University, and of many flourishing industries. The taste for handsome books was further encouraged by the luxury of the knightly order. Louis IX. (A.D. 1226-1270) led the way by founding a great library of books, of which most were newly transcribed for the purpose. The art of ornamental writing, as well as miniature-painting, had at this time passed almost entirely into the hands of laymen. A solid trade tradition established itself, and was strengthened by the increasing force of routine. The returns of the year 1292 in Paris mention thirteen illuminators paying taxes. The scribes themselves appear as the sellers of their own wares, the book trade not having yet been regularly developed. They took care, in doing their part of the work, to leave empty spaces for the illuminators to fill up with initial letters and pictures; and as the painter could not always be trusted to understand the text, written directions were given in the margin as to what subject

was to be represented. These marginal notes were generally rubbed out, but they are occasionally preserved, as in the Emperor Wenzel's Bible in the Royal Library at Vienna, in a copy of Wolfram von Eschenbach's poem of *Willehalm*, executed for the same prince[5] (Vienna, Ambraser collection), and in another *Willehalm* in the library at Cassel. In many cases this process of decorating a book dragged on for a long time, causing heavy expenses, and remaining unfinished at last. The names of the illuminators of this period are less known than those of earlier times. While in old days a monk skilled in painting used sometimes to sign his work, or to be named in the archives of his monastery, the new citizen-painters keep modestly in the background. The very few names of such painters that we know have come to us chiefly through old library catalogues.

The peculiarity of the new style which arose under Louis IX. consists, in the first place, in sharpness and dexterity of pen-drawing, which enables the artist to get certainty, tenderness, and distinctness, even in drawings on a small scale. The outlines were then filled in in body-colour, but without any modelling, each tint being laid on flat, without shading or gradation, and the details and indications of shadow only drawn in afterwards with the point of the pen. The outlines always remained visible. The natural vellum was generally left for the flesh parts, especially the faces, only that ungradated red patches are added on the cheeks, and slight touches of colour on the lips, hair, and eyes. Unbroken tints of colour predominate, such as bright scarlet and blue. The effect is cheerful and brilliant, but sometimes rather shrill. This manner of treatment seems to have arisen under the influence of glass-painting, to which the eyes of men were so much accustomed in this age. Miniature-painters, wishing to rival the joyous and luminous effect of painted windows, unwisely adopted some of those peculiarities which in glass-painting were the consequence of inevitable conditions—of the necessity under which the artist laboured to make a kind of mosaic with his pieces of coloured glass, to fasten them together with heavy lead-lines, to shade them with plain black-lead pigment, and to make the result a surface-pattern rather than a regular picture.

The style of the figures, which are generally on a very small scale, is the same as that which has been described above (p. 360); they are slender, gentle in action, and already a little swaying in carriage. The limbs are sometimes much contorted, and the motives border upon the fancifully affected. Energetic gestures succeed less well than soft; but the purpose of the artist expresses itself always in an unforced and natural way. The feet are small and feeble, the hands rather better understood, the faces of a delicate oval, with half-open eyes and arched eyebrows. In spite of the simplicity of the method, we begin to perceive an endeavour after facial expression, which, however, results in most cases in a merely conventional smile.

The set classical cast of drapery is given up, and the folds are arranged in rich and sweeping masses. The figure pieces are sometimes placed within the initials, filling the whole space, so that the body of the letter forms the border; sometimes they are inserted independently in the text, and in that case are enclosed by an architectural border in the purest Gothic—arcades filled in with geometrical tracery on slender columns, enclosed between flying buttresses and surmounted by steep gables. Gold predominates in these architectural frames, and gold sometimes still forms the background, but a coloured carpet-pattern of chequers or lozenges generally takes its place. The ornamental borders are formed of the thorn-leaf pattern, which came in at this time; tendrils ending in small leaves, generally of dull gold, and designed with just as much realism as the leaf-work in Gothic architecture, fill the spaces with graceful and flowing lines.

As transitional works from the early part of the thirteenth century, we may mention a Psalter at Paris, executed for the mother of S. Louis; it shows vivid expression, an execution more like drawing than painting, and a gold ground; also a Psalter at Venice, and again a third at Paris, in which large compositions, such as the Death of the Virgin, are treated with the old ornamental divisions without architectural borders, but the figures already show slender proportions, with softness and daintiness of motive.[6]

The new style, as we have called it, next appears fully developed in a psalter of S. Louis, which is astonishing for the number and uniformly delicate finish of its pictures; they include scenes from the Old Testament, from the Sacrifice of Cain and Abel to the Conversion of Saul, and the illustrations to the Psalms are placed in the openings of the initial letters (Fig. 96). The courtly as well as the military life of the thirteenth century is here livingly depicted; the conceptions are fresh and natural, but wanting in vigour and bluntness; the treatment, we feel, is crippled by the conventionality of court manners and the prevalence of a deportment refined to the point of affectation.[7] A book not to be compared to this, but interesting because it is dated, is the *Abbreviatio figuralis historiæ*, executed A.D. 1287 for the abbot Yvo of Cluny. Coming from one of the most celebrated French monasteries, it shows that these institutions kept up their activity in such arts side by side with the lay workshops.[8]

The effort after tenderness and charm increased subsequently, and from the beginning of the fourteenth century the almost harsh brightness of the colours was softened by the use of more delicate and broken tones; and although the manner of sharply drawing with the point is still preserved, attempts at modelling begin to show themselves. A splendid work of this class is the Treasure-book of the abbey of Origny in Picardy; it was begun A.D. 1312, during the rule of the abbess Héloise de Conflans, and is now at Berlin;[9] it contains fifty-four pictures from the legends of S. Benedicta, the patroness

of the abbey. The limbs are far too emaciated, and the wrists often unnaturally thin; in incidents of emotion the turning up of eyes and drawing up of eyebrows pass all measure; but an amiable grace of sentiment makes up for many shortcomings; with the exception of patches of vermilion, the tones are on the whole tender and broken; the flesh parts are shaded with

Fig. 96.

a reddish tinge. The ground within the simple border is almost without exception formed of gold-leaf (Fig. 97).

An artistically interesting class of manuscripts, which at this time came into vogue in France, is that of picture-Bibles. The *Bible historiée* took in France something like the place taken by the *Biblia pauperum* in Germany, but was arranged in a different way. While in the *Biblia pauperum* the leading subjects are taken consecutively from the New Testament, only that each

is accompanied by two others which prefigure it from the Old, in the *Bible historiée* it is the Old Testament which is illustrated consecutively, from the

Ce eſt enſi ome me dame ſaincte
benoiſte dieu endonne en ledours de la machine
a maandes li dyeus la fieu dune hache ẽ le chaple. ẽ
celle mort laime de ſi ẽ ſu pꝛee ẽ pendis.

Fig. 97.

Creation down, only that each subject is associated with another from the New which brings out its symbolic significance in reference to the work of redemption through Christ. The text is generally in French, and limited to a short explanation of the illustrations. A manuscript of this class from the beginning of the fourteenth century is preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna; it

stands artistically on about the same level as the Origny *Thesaurus*, but the colouring is fuller, stronger, and more harmonious. It opens with a large principal picture representing God the Father measuring the earth with a compass to satisfy himself that all is in order. Each of the following pages contains, and always on one side, eight medallions on a gold ground; beneath each narrative picture in these medallions comes a symbolical one, while small square fields between them are generally filled with busts of angels; the whole is on a diapered ground, so that the arrangement resembles in its divisions that of a painted window.[10]

The date of a life of S. Denis in three volumes at Paris is certified by the dedication picture at the beginning of the first volume; it represents King Philip V. (*the Long*, A.D. 1316-1322) to whom the abbot Ægidius of S. Denis is handing the manuscript. The treatment of the legendary scenes here is rather monotonous, although the stories are told with an exaggeration of detail; the affected grace of the motives is almost more striking, but the little pictures which recur everywhere among the larger ones, in a kind of predella, are really original. In these the scene of the story is indicated by a view of Paris with houses and fortifications along the river, and this scenery is enlivened by constantly changing motives from every-day life; in the water we see boats and people bathing; in the houses the goldsmith at his toil, the money-changer at his business, the miller carrying sacks, the beggar seeking his bread from door to door, the unlading of wares, the rolling of a truck across the bridge, or the sally of a mounted knight with hawk on wrist. These are the first beginnings of real *genre*-painting. At the same time animation is given to the lovely tendril-work of the border with its tiny realistic leaves, by birds balancing themselves on the twigs, and by dragons and grotesque fancies of all kinds.[11]

These whimsical fancies or *drôleries* in the borders occur more and more frequently from this time forth, and their malicious fun appears even in manuscripts of solemn subjects. Masks peer out from among the ornaments; fantastic demi-brutes writhe from the branches. Strange monsters flout or fight one another. An ape leads a man by a chain and makes him dance; apes keep school; a hare carries the sportsman on the point of his spear; hares lay siege to a city. It is the topsy-turvy world of fable and popular tale, whose images the painting of the age has adopted from its poetry.[12] Scenes of love, the joust, the chase, are thrown in, with figures of monks and bishops, shepherds and sportsmen, jugglers, beggars, and nuns. Mocking whimsicality claims its place here just as in the gargoyles of Gothic churches and in the carved seats of their choir stalls. Examples particularly saucy and entertaining are contained in two large Latin Bibles, the Jaromirsch Bible, a manuscript of French origin in the Bohemian Museum at Prague, and a Latin Vulgate in three volumes, written at Mons (Bergen) in the Hennegau, and now at Stuttgart

(see Fig. 98).[13] But a French missal in the Library at the Hague surpasses everything else of this kind. Wolf, fox, and goat wear the cowl, confess one another, and say their prayers to Satan; women, centaurs, and monkeys fight together; the unicorn takes refuge in the maiden's lap; a woman with a spindle runs after a fox who has stolen the goose. Occasionally small Scriptural scenes also appear; then the allegory of the wheel of Fortune, and Death with an arrow riding on an ox. Here, too, as in the Bibles last mentioned, the large religious pictures are artistically no match for these comicalities. A dedication picture at the end exhibits the donor, *Johannes de Marchello*, abbot of the Præmonstratensian monastery of S. John at Amiens, in the act of receiving the book from the hands of the scribe, *Garnerus de Morolio;* an inscription at the top of the picture gives their names and that of the illuminator, *Petrus dictus de Raimbaucourt*, and also the date A.D. 1323.[14]

This careful and finished handling, this luxurious getting up, continued to be

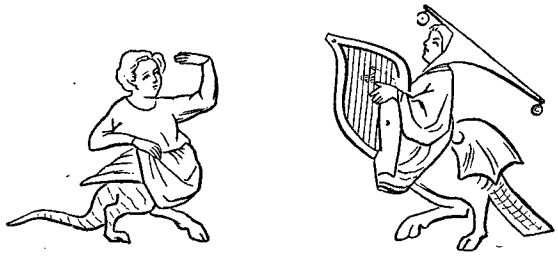

Fig. 98.

confined almost entirely to books of devotion. But at the same time poems of chivalry, stories in the vernacular, didactic poems and chronicles, began to be illustrated more than formerly, and though the execution of these was slight, they suffice to show the taste of the time, and to give lively pictures of the most varied incidents. A History of the World, *Les Histoires de Roger*, at Paris, is a good example of this style; also a manuscript of the French poem *Le vœu du paon*, at Donaueschingen, and one of the *Histoire d'Alexandre* in the Brussels Library, with ninety-two pictures of battles, duels of giants and monsters, and so on, executed in slightly-coloured pen-drawings. A Brussels manuscript of the book of poems called *Miracles de Notre Dame et Vies des Pères* shows a somewhat similar treatment, together with a very charming Gothic style. At the close of the first poem, Gautier, the master who had rhymed the book, appears writing it, and also presenting it to the Madonna. Here we find illustrated stories, such as the legend of Theophilus, which we know through Conrad von Scheiern, and the story of the abbess with child; also, and twice over, a legend very characteristic of the fancy and humour of the time, that of the monk who carves such a hideous image of the devil, that the latter himself appears to the artist in a fury and attempts revenge. Two copies of the *Breviari d'amor* by Ermengaud

de Beziers, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, contain religious representations of an allegorical and mystical character, as also do various manuscripts of the Apocalypse with commentaries, among which the *Scriptum super Apocalypsim* at Prague is of peculiar value, though the illustrations are only drawn with the pen.[15]

In England, although active intercourse with the arts of France had long subsisted, the old taste in miniature-painting still held its own, and in that country the new style which had arisen in France by the middle of the thirteenth century did not make way until its close.[16] From that time forth, however, English works were produced as good as the best French of the same period, such as the Psalter of the monk Robert of Ormsby from Norwich, and two other Psalters in the British Museum.[17] The last of these two especially has many charming motives; it contains a great number of Bible scenes on a patterned ground, and on the whole may be classed with the Origny manuscript, though the style exhibits sometimes a still more mannered grace. Here we still find simple primitive colours, as vermilion and blue; but in other English manuscripts tender broken tones, light pink for example, are preferred. The shading and details are rendered, as in France, by meagre pen-work on surfaces filled in with body-colour. The Gothic taste prevails often even to excess in the proportions and movements. All these books contain also exhibitive religious compositions treated with a solemn dignity. Certain allegorical subjects seem to belong specially to the English school, as for instance the representation of the Tree of Vice with the serpent between Adam and Eve, placed as a pendant to the Tree of Virtue, round which are grouped personifications of the four Cardinal Virtues. The borders, which are peculiarly rich, occasionally contain serious subjects, but oftener the rarest comicalities. Pictures with animal subjects recur often; such as the unicorn and elephant fighting, the unicorn taking refuge in the maiden's lap (a well-known symbol of Mary's virginity), also sirens and combats of fabulous animals. Lastly, in one of the London Psalters above named, the legend of the three Dead and the three Living, to which we shall return later on, is also to be found.

II. GERMANY UNTIL A.D. 1350.—In England, Spain, and the Netherlands, miniature-painting at this time became entirely dependent on the French school, neither could Germany escape the same influence; but the German miniatures after the middle of the thirteenth century are far behind the French. This branch of art had flourished so long as it worked under the old conditions, and according to the unbroken Romanesque tradition. But the tradition was now exhausted; the activity of the monasteries in the illumination of manuscripts ceased, and by the lay hands into which it passed the art was carried on in a mechanical and amateur manner, and without the guidance of any fixed school prescription. The French taste was indeed taken up, but in a coarser shape, and with less encouragement from the upper classes.

An early example of this period may be seen in the manuscript of the *Sachsenspiegel*, with rough pen drawings, in the Library at Heidelberg.[18] Several manuscripts of poems from the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries are also noteworthy. The style of drawing that we found before in the Berlin *Eneidt* and in the manuscripts from Scheiern still exists in a Munich collection of songs from Benedictbeuren, with its outline drawings on a coloured ground, and emaciated figures which already betray the influence of the new style in their movements and in the setting of the heads. The subjects represented are the wheel of Fortune, the story of Æneas and Dido, tipplers, chess-players, draught-

Fig. 99.

players, and dicers. The same taste also prevails in the *Parcival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach, in the same library, which has pictures in outline still more slightly tinted on a gold or coloured ground, and, lastly, in two manuscripts of the *Tristan* of Gottfried von Strassburg (also at Munich): the richest of the two, dating from about A.D. 1300, not only represents lively scenes of knightly life, but in the exaggerated sentimentality of the expressions breathes the very spirit of the chivalry of that age. The heads, with their languishing eyes, are childish, but meant to be sweet, and there is a distinct striving after grace in the motives; the men are beardless, the hair carefully arranged, the draperies flowing but not understood, the horses rudely drawn, and the indications of landscape quite primitive. The backgrounds are coloured with a full brush, but otherwise the drawings are, as a rule, but slightly touched with colour. The sea-voyage (Fig. 99) is a characteristic example of these miniatures.[19]

After this appears the French style, in which the outlines become filled in with flatly-laid body-colour, as in the two famous collections of *Minnelieder* at Stuttgart and Paris. The motives, often taken from the songs themselves, are rather monotonous in the former, but the pictures in the Paris manuscript, which

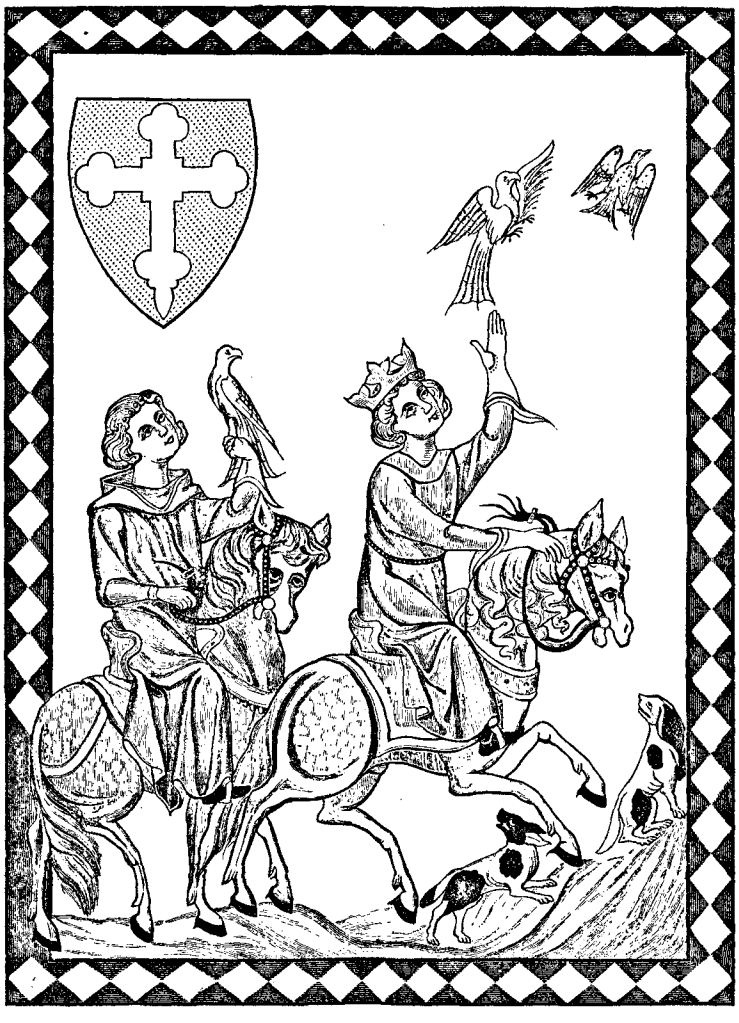

Fig. 100.

is somewhat later (fourteenth century), are not only much more numerous (amounting to one hundred and fourteen) but also on a larger scale and richer in design. We find here the Emperor Henry and King Wenzel of Bohemia on their thrones, the latter surrounded by other minstrels; King Conrad the Younger (*Conradin*) riding to the chase (Fig. 100); Margrave Otho of Brandenburg playing chess with a lady; others joust while ladies look on from a verandah;

Count Kraft of Toggenburg mounts a ladder to his mistress's window; Heinrich von Stretlingen leads a fair lady to the dance; the minstrel Walther von der Vogelweide sits meditating cross-legged on a stone; the schoolmaster of Esslingen keeps his school; Kristan von Luppin fights with the Saracens. The Battle of the Bards is represented at Klingesor in Hungary. But there has nowhere been either the intention or the power to give true portraits in these pictures. Nothing except the situation and the costume is really characteristic. The lapdogs of the ladies and the horses of the knights are not unskilfully rendered, but are often painted capriciously blue or red; landscapes, buildings, and fortresses are only indicated. Everything is full of life, spirit, and freshness, and pleasant to look at, though rude and slight. The sentimental vein again predominates; even in stirring battle scenes the motives are mannered, although there is an attempt to represent the passions of fear, anxiety, and the like. Expression in the faces is sought by drawing up the corners of the mouth and slanting the eyes crooked. Instead of the diapered backgrounds of the French miniatures the ground here remains uncoloured, and instead of the delicate execution on a minute scale we find a broad, confident, but quite rough treatment. In the Stuttgart manuscript, as well as in the oldest and best pictures of that at Paris, the colour is fresh and brilliant; but while in the former the shadows are only drawn in, in the latter we find a broad coloured shading laid on with the brush, as well as an occasional application of gold and also of silver.[20] A still more completely French style appears in a manuscript of *Willehalm* at Cassel, written A.D. 1334 for the Landgrave Henry of Hesse. The outlines are carefully coloured, the shadows are given in a darker tone of the local colour, the grounds are either gold or patterned, the draperies have a Gothic flow, and the costume of the time is accurately reproduced. The horses are rudely drawn, and the movements awkward in spite of the best efforts to make them life-like, but quiet positions are often felt with tenderness and charm.[21]

Among the manuscripts of the *Biblia pauperum*, the German counterpart, as we have said, of the French *Bible historiée*, one in the convent of S. Florian in Austria is characteristic of the first half of the fourteenth century.[22] Thirty-four representations, extending from the Annunciation to the Death of the Virgin, contain in a central circle the story of the Gospel; next to this the half-length figures of four prophets and writers of the Old Testament, and at the side two Old Testament subjects prefiguring that of the principal picture. In these the strong division between events *ante legem* and *sub lege*, under the old Covenant and the new, is not insisted on as it was insisted on so early as A.D. 1181 in the enamelled altar of Nicolaus of Verdun in Klosterneuberg, or again later in the printed *Biblia pauperum* of the fifteenth century. The *Speculum humanæ salvationis*, in the Cathedral Library at Kemsmünster, and the *Summa caritatis* in the monastery of Lilienfeld, which, dating from the time of the Abbot Ulrich

(A.D. 1345-1351), differ from the manuscript above named in the capricious introduction of new types, and the forced explanations in the spirit of later learning. A picture Bible of another kind is one of Bohemian origin in the Library of Prince Lobkowitz at Prague, the first part of which dates from the close of the thirteenth century. The stories of the Old Testament from the Creation down are here treated in slight drawings, occasionally lightly coloured. Personifications, according to the old usage, also occur. The architecture is still essentially Romanesque, with the exception of occasional Gothic motives in the canopies. The Old Testament stories are followed by the miracles and passion of Christ, scenes from the Apocalypse, martyrdoms, and at the end, added at a later time, detailed representations of the legend of Wenzel. The young man *Vellislaus*, who kneels before S. Catherine, towards the end of the book, is evidently the donor, and not, as formerly assumed, the artist.[23]

Fig. 101.

In Bohemia, which

was at that time a flourishing country, thoroughly imbued with German culture, was produced also one of the best early fourteenth-century manuscripts of the German school, the *Passionale*, written A.D. 1312, for the Princess Kunigunde, Abbess of S. George at Prague. On the dedication page appear, together with the enthroned abbess, the Dominican Colda as author and the Canon Benessius as transcriber of the book. Small marginal drawings explain the legend of a bride who is carried off by robbery and thrust into a furnace, but presently rescued by her knight, who slays the robber (Fig. 101, from which has been omitted the last scene, representing the coronation of the bride). The armour of the knight, with the cross and symbols of the Passion, comes first. An introduction extending from the Creation of Eve to the Fall is followed by a detailed representation of the life and sufferings of Christ; at the end come allegorical illustrations to a treatise on the heavenly mansions, which was added to the book A.D. 1314. The technical method here used is not at all French, but rather a broad transparent style in water-colour, shaded with the brush. The figures are slender, with long hands, and often lumpy draperies. But what is most significant is the wrestling with form, the striving after animation and spiritual expression. The grace of the French style is indeed wanting; harsh movements and exaggerated features appear; but the artist had something to say; and, in spite of all shortcomings, knew how to imbue with a grand pathos such figures as the Mother of Sorrows, or the young man raised from the dead appearing to his mother. Fourteenth century Gothic already prevails in the architecture.[24]

III. FRENCH SCHOOL AFTER A.D. 1350.—In the middle of the fourteenth century there appeared in France an altered style, which was indeed in all respects a development of the preceding, but differed from it in this, that it worked out a really pictorical method of treatment. Instead of drawings filled in with flat coats of opaque colour, we have now properly modelled work in *gouache*. The artist works with the brush, and with it gives shadow and relief to objects, expressing their form by a modification of their coloured surfaces instead of, as formerly, only by the direction of their bounding lines. A flesh tone of great tenderness and fine modelling is introduced, whereas hitherto the nude has been merely represented by spaces left blank in the vellum. Strong, bright colours are combined with broken tones in the draperies, and with all their richness are wrought into an agreeable harmony. Like the glass-painters of this period, of whom we shall speak later, the illuminators often work in grey monochrome, producing a sculpturesque effect by force of shading, while the flesh tones only are lightly coloured, and other colours or gilding appear but occasionally in the borders of dresses, in details, or on the ground beneath the feet of the figures. This new pictorial feeling invited to a more accurate observation of nature, although artists still succeed better in the mild and winning than in the energetic

and robust. Sometimes even an endeavour after individuality may be perceived; thus a true portrait of a donor is often introduced. Ideal drapery, but broader and more effective than heretofore, is still used for sacred personages, but in the accessory figures of religious pictures, in scenes from chronicles and romances or classical antiquity, which last become more numerous as the ancient writers are more translated—in these the costume of the time fills even a greater place than formerly, and is treated, as are all details, such as furniture, fittings, architectural canopies, and surroundings, with great precision. The backgrounds, on the other hand, still remain just as they were, coloured in diapers or chequers, with an occasional use of gold. It was not till the close of the period we are considering that artists felt the necessity of developing and suggesting the real surroundings of nature also, by the introduction of conventional trees, hills, Gothic buildings, and blue sky; in all which linear perspective is barely attempted, and atmospheric perspective not at all. The earlier taste still continues in the initials and border ornaments; the thorn-leaf pattern, into which little coloured flowers are by degrees inserted, is enlivened by birds, and sometimes by angels, and then by comical incidents which are inexhaustible for humour and charm. (See Fig. 102, a border from a Psalter executed for the Duc de Berri). The illuminated manuscripts of this group are important to the history of painting, as it was in them that the effort at complete painting first makes its appearance in the Western Europe of the Middle Age. They lead directly to the Flemish realism of the fifteenth century.

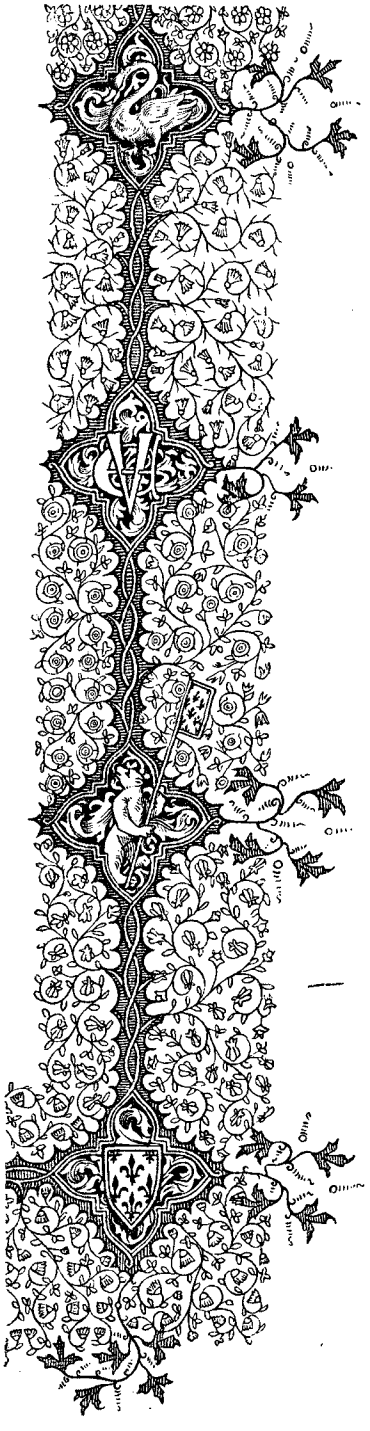

Fig. 102.

This new style of art was a creation of the Court, and was chiefly developed in the service of the king and princes of France. The French King John (A.D. 1350-1364) was already a lover of books; and the taste was

handed on to his four sons; to King Charles V. (*d.* A.D. 1380), whose library in the Louvre contained as many as nine hundred and ten volumes; to John Duke of Berry (*d.* A.D. 1416), to whose patronage were due many of the finest manuscripts of the time, although in the destruction of his castle of Wincestre, by order of the mad King Charles VI., a great deal was lost and the remainder dispersed; to Louis, Duke of Anjou; and to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and afterwards Count of Flanders. Other Courts as well as other great nobles followed the royal example.[25] These libraries consisted firstly of religious books of all kinds, which were always the most splendid; to the chapel belonged the Missal, the Gospel-book, the Psalter, and various choir books; to the private oratory a Breviary, a Missal, and various forms of Prayer-books. Then there were also works on astronomy, animals, plants, hunting, jousting, court ceremonies, and the art of war; moreover romances of chivalry, poems, chronicles, and by-and-by translations from the Italian, especially from Boccaccio and Petrarch, as well as from the ancients, especially Livy and Valerius Maximus. These books were preserved carefully among the plate and jewellery; the cost of getting them up and their value in money were considerable. The various princely libraries were much alike, and all contained much the same books. The patron by whom the book was ordered was often mentioned in a dedication, or indicated by arms and devices in the borders. Those belonging to the Duke of Berry generally contain a note by his secretary Flamel; many are also marked with his autograph, "*Jehan.*"

The names of the illuminators are seldom found in the books themselves, but sometimes in chronicles, or in account-books and inventories. Sometimes they were not properly illuminators by trade, but painters, or even sculptors. In the service of princes a man might overstep the limits as to the division of labour laid down by the rules of his guild. Among those named are several from the Netherlands, *Andrien Beauneven* from the Hennegau, who is held up by Froissard as a paragon in sculpture and painting; *Jacquemart von Hesdin*, *Paul von Limburg* with his two brothers, all in the service of the Duke of Berry; *Johann von Brügge*, a painter to Charles V. There appears also the name of a French illuminator, *Magister Johannes Nichasius Gallicus*, who was in the service of the Duchess of Brabant. Brabant and Flanders were at that time closely allied to France in matters of art, and from the constant intercourse between the countries there arose the political union of Flanders and Burgundy. As therefore this style of miniature-painting evidently grew out of the French school of the thirteenth century, it would be going too far if on the strength of these names (which can generally be only doubtfully connected with existing works) we regard this as a specifically Flemish school established on French soil.[26] But the Flemish artists may indeed, even at that time, have greatly contributed to the development of the specifically picturesque and realistic spirit of the art.

To the most ancient examples of this Franco-Flemish school belong a trans-

lation of Livy made for King John; also a missal now at the Hague, in which there is only a partial departure from the old style, but an endeavour at least to follow nature more closely begins to show itself in the subordinate figures, and pen outline has already given place to brush work. According to a notice on the last page, this work was completed A.D. 1366 by the illuminator *Presbyter Laurentius* of Antwerp, living at Ghent. To about the same time belongs also an illustrated Bible in Paris, with two thousand five hundred and sixty-four pictures, from the possessions of the ducal house of Burgundy. The death of Duke Philip of Burgundy (Nov. 21, 1361) is here inserted by an early hand; this Duke was the predecessor of the French Prince Philip the Bold, on whom King John conferred the vacant fief. The dainty little pictures in grey monochrome are full of fancy, and treated with spirit all through the book; they differ from the Gothic taste of the first half of the century, at least by the naturalness of motive in the minor personages.[27]

The manuscripts executed for Charles V. of France are more advanced in style. Take first, for instance, a large French Bible now at the Hague, which contains a dedication picture of the king, with his attendant Jehan Vandelar handing him the book, and also a great number of Bible scenes. According to a statement on the title-page the dedication picture was executed with his own hand, A.D. 1371, by the court painter of Bruges. Also the same king's Bible and the French *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, both at Paris; the last was completed for the king A.D. 1374.[28] In the dedication picture we find the king and queen seated under a double Gothic arch before a red diapered background, and surrounded by their children, who are all fair and dressed in blue garments, upon which simple gold lilies are strewn in a purely decorative way, and without regard to shading; in front of the central column, and on a smaller scale, sits the scribe looking up to the king who dictates to him. With the exception of one larger subject, the Coronation of the king, the pictures are all small, with stone-coloured draperies. The faces are uniform, with long noses, the flesh-tone light and tenderly rendered, without letting the pen-work anywhere appear, but the figures are still emaciated and Gothic. Better is a French translation of Aristotle made for the same monarch A.D. 1376 by Raoul of Orleans (the writer of the above-mentioned Bible of 1371), with the heads more varied, the motives natural and life-like, and signs of a more careful conduct of light and shade. The picture at the opening of Book X., God the Father blessing a personified Ethic, belongs to the most refined productions of the period.[29]

A Prayer-book of Philip the Bold of Burgundy contains only a few unimportant but extremely dainty little pictures. The *Officium Beatae Virginis* in the British Museum, a Prayer-book of Margaret of Bavaria (A.D. 1389), wife of Philip's son *Jean sans Peur*, is a richer example.[30] The same Duke John the Fearless made his uncle the Duke of Berry a present of one of the most remark-

able books of the time, which had also probably been executed for his father Philip the Bold, as he seems to be the person intended to be portrayed, along with the older prince, in the dedication picture at the head of one of the writings contained in the volume. This is the Paris manuscript of the Book of the Wonders of the World (*Le livre des merveilles du monde*), containing the travels of Marco Polo, William de Mandeville, Hayton, and others. Here were opportunities enough for representations of real life. Various incidents of travel are illustrated, and not only negroes and elephants appear, but also the fabulous beings ascribed by legend to foreign lands—men with umbrella feet, men with but one eye, women with beards, men with the heads of dogs, tame swine with human heads, and dragons and monsters of every kind. The great Khan is depicted at table with the members of his Court. In the descriptions of the Holy Land, Bible scenes, such as the Crucifixion, also find a place. The artistic importance of the work is not great, the figures stand feebly on their legs; the colour is cheerful but not powerful; in the backgrounds, however, landscape has already completely gained the upper hand.[31]

Such a book as this already comes near the Flemish work of the fifteenth century. There are other works which surpass it in finish and even in the composition of the figures, but they follow the earlier French tradition in the backgrounds, ornaments, and distribution of the colours, as for instance the books executed for the Duke of Berry himself. One of the earlier among these —a two-volume Bible in the British Museum—contains, besides a number of narrative subjects, an unusually splendid title-page embodying the whole cycle of sacred and profane knowledge. Here are the seven Liberal Arts with the ancient philosophers who severally represent them, and above, the three Theological Virtues, the Trinity, and a number of Saints.[32] Some books of devotion in Paris are still more beautiful, especially a small Psalter belonging to the Duke, which can be recognised as identical with the No. 1049 of his library catalogue. The note against this manuscript in the catalogue, *Il a plusieurs histoires au commencement de la main de maître André Beaunepven*, would refer to the representation of the twelve Prophets and twelve Apostles seated facing each other in pairs at the beginning. All the draperies are stone-coloured, but otherwise the treatment is purely pictorial—the impasto heavy, the faces executed with finished delicacy, the expressions sentimentally mild, verging indeed upon the lackadaisical, but showing at any rate that tendency to pensive inwardness which is characteristic of the whole period. The hands are sometimes weak, the feet are hidden by the draperies, but otherwise the bodies are well understood. The cast of drapery is Gothic, but in no way exaggerated. The stone architecture, too, of the late Gothic thrones is carefully carried out, and the grounds are diapered in gold and colours. The two vignettes which follow farther on in the text reproduce motives which had been long in use for some of the principal Psalms; as David kneeling with a harp before Jehovah in

a round-arched chapel (*Blessed is the man that hath not walked*); David sitting in his chamber and pointing to his forehead, while Christ appears above (*The*

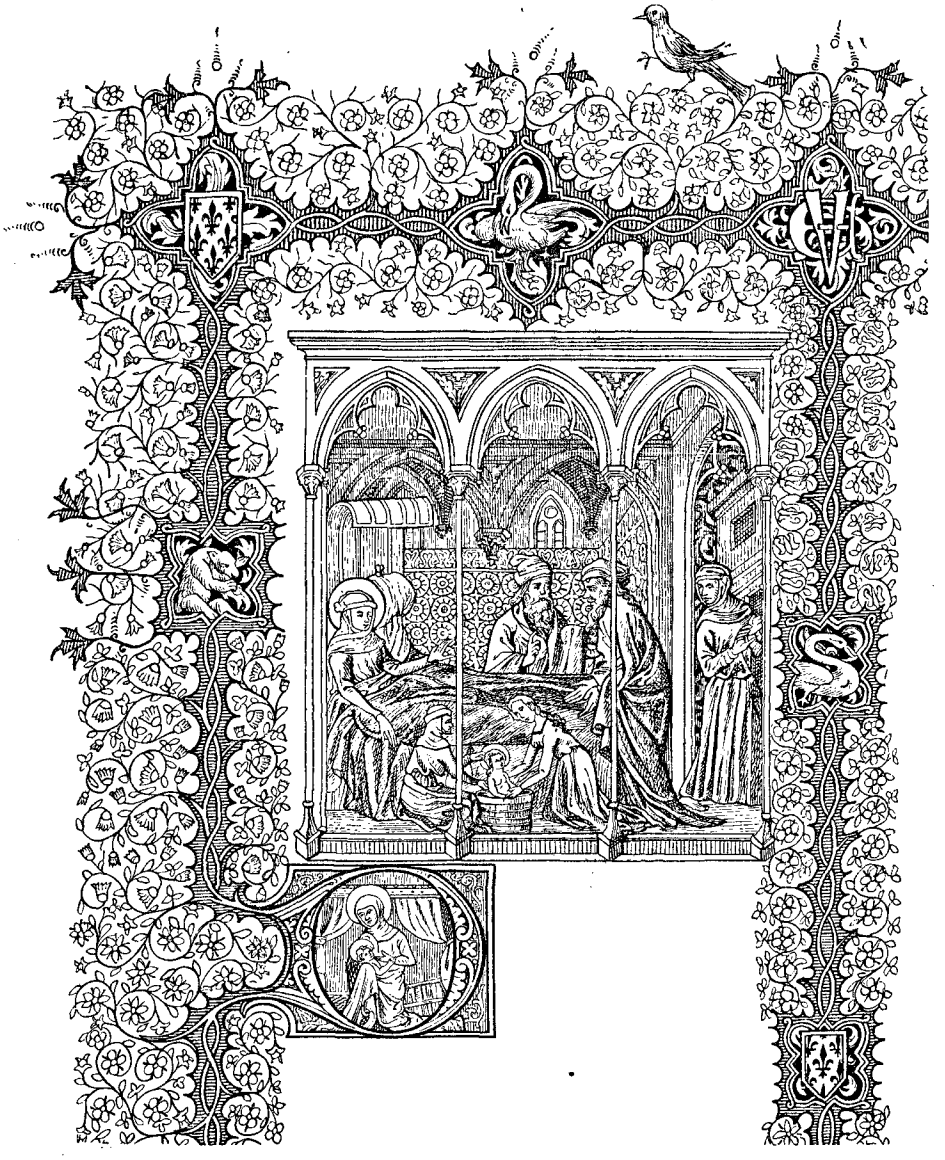

Fig. 103.

Lord is my light); David in prayer to God (*I said I will take heed to my ways*); David appearing naked on the waters near a rocky coast (*Save me, O Lord*); then playing on a musical instrument (*Be glad*); three priests singing (*O sing*); God the Father and Christ both alike and seated in blue draperies, on the throne between them is the dove, which the angel sends forth (*The Lord said*

unto my lord). But the best little picture is one of the fool (*The fool hath said*), who stands almost naked, swinging a club with one hand and putting a piece of bread in his mouth with the other; the drawing of the head is of the utmost tenderness, and the attitude perfectly natural; there is a landscape background, over which the sky is only rendered by a diaper.[33]

Still more sumptuous is the so-called Great Book of Hours (*Grandes Heures*) of the Duke, not completed, as Flamel points out, until A.D. 1409, and evidently identical with a manuscript inventoried in the property of that prince, and valued at 4000 *livres tournois*.[34] It contains pictures by Jacquemart von Hesdin. Our reproduction (Fig. 103) shows a prettily designed Birth of the Virgin, with the child in a bath, in a room of which the perspective is not bad, seen through late Gothic arcading. From this picture we also get an idea of the charming ornamentation of the borders. Small bright-coloured flowers appear among the graceful tendrils of the thorn-leaf pattern; birds, and here and there butterflies of the most delicate finish, perch on the twigs or flutter about, showing the awakening feeling for nature. At the beginning of the main divisions the *armes et devises* of the Duke always recur, as here, on small shields; the *fleur de lys*, the letters VE referring to the pet name Oursine (*Ursine*) which the Duke had given to his wife (*Jeanne de Boulogne et d'Auvergne*), also the emblems of the bear and swan (*ours, cygne*) as a rebus on the same name. Sometimes also the motto *le temps venra*. In the borders elsewhere—for all the pages, even of the ordinary text, have ornamental borders—we find room made for lovely little angels and rare caricatures, as, for instance, a monkey examining water in the character of a doctor, a tippling monk whose body terminates in four feet, a bishop, also with the feet of a quadruped, wearing a bellows for mitre (Fig. 104). The borders of the calendar at the beginning are also worth notice. At the top of the page for each month there is a stately building, on the battlements of which the personification of the Church appears; on the left S. Paul is always represented in different positions, on the right an emblematical picture of the Month, underneath the Synagogue, as an architectural construction, between the figures of a Prophet and an Apostle; the former continually takes away a stone till the building falls down by degrees. Illustrated calendars of the same kind appear in two other Prayer-books of the same school and period —in the Psalter of Louis, Duke of Anjou and King of Jerusalem and Sicily (A.D. 1390), and a Breviary of Belleville in two volumes, in which a detailed explanation of these pictures precedes the text.[35]

Fig. 104.

The last work belonged later to the Duke of Berry; both may be counted among the most precious of the whole period, and are inexhaustible in their wealth of pictures. The figures are dainty and expressive even while they are

on the smallest scale; the heads are admirably modelled, and full of individual life. The painting in opaque colour is clear, tender, and yet of full body; only occasionally the blue and vermilion are too opaque, and do not allow of effective shadows. The choice of subjects is often very curious. In the Belleville Breviary, as indeed the preface states, under the seven large initial letters of the Psalter are represented the seven Sacraments, and at the sides the seven Virtues and the seven Deadly Sins. In the Prayer-book of Louis of Anjou, the dedication picture represents the Duke in bed and in his night-shirt, but crowned, surrounded by courtiers, and receiving the book from an ecclesiastic; the borders are filled with seventeen smaller Bible scenes. The Duke appears again more than once, and the picture has always distinctly the character of a portrait. Besides the funeral service, we also find at the end of the book an illustration of the legend, so familiar in the literature of that time, of the three Living and three Dead, or the *moult merveilleuse et horrible histoire que len dit des* 3 *morts et des* 3 *vis.* The three Dead, among whom may be recognised the Duke himself, appear opposite the three Living as their doubles or reflections.

All these books, however, are surpassed by the *Officium beatæ Mariæ Virginis* in the *Bibliothèque Mazarine;* its origin is unfortunately not certain, but in it also appear the three lilies of the royal arms. The Evangelists, with their writing-tables, are genuine studies of character. S. Mark, for instance, appears as a comfortable elderly ecclesiastic, who sits busily at his work with an air of slight ill-temper. The rooms in which they sit are complete interiors, occasionally giving a view into the adjacent room or into the court with its well. The seven larger pictures from the legend of the Virgin, with which may be ranked also David, the Crucifixion, the Outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and the Service of the Dead, are always encircled by quite small side subjects, which complete the composition or continue the narrative of the principal picture. First and loveliest is the Annunciation. In one of the eleven small pictures belonging to it, Mary sits beside Joseph on the garden-seat spinning, and between these little pictures, which open like flowers in the border, float angels with lettered banderoles, while other angels scatter flowers from above. The gestures and attitudes of the slender figures are always of an inimitable grace and suavity, the exquisite little heads with light yellow hair breathe a charm of sweet feminine loveableness which we shall not find surpassed in the panel pictures of the school of Cologne. There is throughout a fine feeling for proportion, distinction in the draperies, and a scheme of colour full of harmony and freshness; the diaper of the background is already displaced by landscape.[36]

The most magnificent, perhaps, of all French Prayer-books is one in the possession of the Duc d'Aumale. The school is here seen at its highest point, before the consistent realism of the later Flemings gave the art a new turn. The recurrence of the bear and swan as emblems of the family of Oursine shows that this book was executed for the Duke of Berry, but in his last

days, so that it was still unfinished at his death (A.D. 1416), and many of the pictures all through the book were added by a separate hand not earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century. It is supposed, therefore, that this is the fragment referred to in the last inventory of the Duke as: *Plusieurs cahiers d'une tres riches heures que faisait Pol de Limbourc et ses freres*, and valued at 500 *livres tournois*. The pictures of the Months in the calendar, most of which belong to the original work, have already developed here into what they habitually are in the following period, large pictures of every day life with many figures, and filling whole pages. In the month of January the Duke is represented at table. The landscapes, too, even the winter landscape for February, already show a cultivated feeling for that branch of art.[37]

Lastly, noteworthy books of another kind are—a French translation of Boccaccio in the Vatican, finished for Charles VI. A.D. 1414, and having a vignette for each story,—also the poems of Christina of Pisa in the British Museum; from the dedication picture we see that this was painted for a Queen of France, who sits enthroned and surrounded by six ladies of her court, while the kneeling poetess presents her with the book. Here we find representations from the classical myths after the fashion of the day. Polyphemus appears as a northern giant, Jupiter wears the crown imperial, Apollo is an elegant knight breaking off a twig of the laurel-tree into which Daphne has been changed. Fortune turns her wheel; Galatea, though half under water, wears court dress. The backgrounds are still covered, for the most part, with a pattern. A number of battle-scenes are but lamely handled.[38]

The sketch-book of Master Jacques Daliwes in the Berlin Library seems to contain designs for miniatures. It consists of twelve little wooden tablets, on which are Scripture scenes and various studies of heads shaded with the brush, and with the high lights in white. The landscape parts are skilfully conceived and broad in treatment. The book dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the sketches seem to belong to the very limits of that period, and to lead directly towards the full-blown realism of the following epoch.[39]

The English school is also at this time entirely under the influence of the French. The characteristic instance is the Salisbury book, a fragment of a lectionary in the British Museum. It was executed for John Lord Lovel of Tichmeish, who bequeathed it to Salisbury Cathedral, A.D. 1408. On the first dedication picture, the author, brother John Sifrewas, presents the book to Lord Lovel. Both the figures show individual character. This is followed by a number of religious pictures, chiefly enclosed in the initials. The borders are in thorn-leaf pattern enlivened by flowers, scutcheons, and large floating figures of angels.[40]

IV. GERMANY AFTER A.D. 1350.—A corresponding development had now gradually crept into other schools as well as into the French. During the

second half of the fourteenth century, works had been produced in Germany far surpassing the unskilled and mechanical creations of the earlier period. Here, as in France, had come into especial prominence a school which had its seat at a royal Court,—the school, namely, of Prague, dating from the time of Charles IV. Germany had now, for the first time, in the territories of the House of Luxembourg, a great capital, which, though in the very centre of the Slav country, was itself strongly German, as were the trading and industrial classes of Bohemia in general. But in the days of Charles IV. it was not only traditional German art which flourished here, but influences came in from other countries as well. The object of the Emperor was to concentrate at his capital the culture of all Europe. He profited by his education at the French Court. The wife of Charles IV. of France was the sister of his father King John of Bohemia, and he himself had for his first wife Blanche of Valois, sister of Philip VI. He brought his early French impressions with him to his own country, and in after life, too, his relations with the French Court were unchanged.

Nevertheless, French influence upon Bohemian miniature-painting can only be spoken of with limitations. It chiefly showed itself in the fact that fine French manuscripts brought at this time into this country served the native illuminators as models. They were at the same time familiar with other models from Italy. But the actual growth of the new school at Prague cannot be said to have depended directly upon the French school, but only to have been analogous to and nearly contemporary with it.

The Monastery of the Knights of the Cross at Prague possesses a Breviary, executed, according to an inscription, in A.D. 1351, by brother Leo, Grand Master of the Order, which still shows work in the style of the earlier period. The ground of the few pictures it contains is generally blue, with gold stars. Sometimes caricatures of the French kind appear in the borders, but the treatment is coarse enough. The drawing and style of the figures is late Gothic, and the technical method a thin water-colour *gouache*, the outlines put in first with a pen. Almost at the same time, however, we find in the ornamental parts careful brushwork in opaque colour and a finished taste. The finest example of this new style is the travelling Breviary (*liber viaticus*) of the Imperial chancellor Johann von Neumarkt, Bishop of Leitomischl, now in the Bohemian Museum at Prague. The title of Bishop of Leitomischl, which is repeated on every page, was given to the Chancellor between A.D. 1353 and 1364. The few pages that are richly decorated with figure-pieces always contain one Scripture scene in a large initial letter. Thus on the first page of this kind we see Christ enthroned with angels, and under him King David. But instead of merely the thorn-leaf pattern in the borders, appears a plant and flower ornament on a larger scale, and more richly coloured. Angel figures glide up and down the stems from which grow the plants and flowers ; fantastic animals also occasion-

ally peep out; half-length figures of Old Testament personages emerge sometimes from the cups of flowers, and on the lower border there are spirited little scenes, sometimes caricatures, sometimes illustrations of scripture; among them appears once and again the bishop himself on his knees, with his coat of arms. The colour is rich, blooming, and softly gradated, the flesh tints delicate, but redder than in the French schools. Unbroken vermilion and brilliant blue are

Fig. 105.

also used here, but a great number of other tones—purple, violet, and rich green, are blended with them. The general effect is blithe and bright.

A second manuscript in the Bohemian Museum is equally good as a work of art, the *Mariale* of Arnestus of Pardubitz, first Archbishop of Prague (A.D. 1344-1364); its two largest pictures are the Presentation in the Temple and the Annunciation (Fig 105). The attitudes and gestures show great tenderness, in spite of weak drawing in the hands and feet. The heads of the men are generally ruder, and remind one, with their thick noses and projecting cheek-bones, of the type which we shall find again in the panel pictures of the Prague school. The youthful and female heads are delightful from their sweetness and finely-cut eyes, which almost recall contemporary Italian work. The background is blue,

and in the carefully worked-out architecture there is an attempt, not indeed very successful, at perspective.[41]

This style, which was founded under Charles IV., still continued under his successor the Emperor Wenzel (A.D. 1378-1410). The splendid manuscripts executed for this patron are preserved in the Vienna libraries:—the Golden Bull, the German translation of the Bible in six volumes, prepared for Wenzel by order of the wealthy Martin Rotlöw, the copy of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*, written A.D. 1387, also as a present for the Emperor.[42] The extreme wealth of decoration in the last two works prevented their completion.

Here and there these works contain some larger subjects carefully executed, as, towards the end of the Golden Bull, a figure of Italy draped in gold, and with bared bosom lamenting before the judge, who sits cross-legged in a scarlet mantle; and in the Bible, the Emperor and his wife enthroned in

Fig. 106.

one of the initial letters, and a Creation of Eve, with charming expression and fine modelling of the nude figures, which are partly hidden by green plants. The bright colours and fine arrangements of broken tones in such pictures are very enjoyable. On the whole, however, a coarser provincial style is perceptible in the majority of the narrative scenes; they are lively, but not well understood, and the extremities are shapeless and weak. The background, above the landscape, is still gilt or patterned. While the French school at this time made more and more progress, the great artistic revival at Prague already began to stagnate, and in the works produced there we perceive the effects of the calamities which broke upon Bohemia with the reign of Wenzel.

In one point only these works are still as good as ever; that is, in the ornaments and border enrichments, which unite the old splendour with spirited flow and breadth of treatment. Among the coloured leaf-work, which is on a very large scale, we find in all these works comicalities of the most curious kind treated with great skill, and often superior to the larger pictures; they generally have direct reference to the royal owner of the book (Fig 106). Sometimes the Emperor is represented seated in the dress of the day inside his own initial, W, or else in an E, which refers to another person in company with whom he often appears—a bathing-girl barefoot beside the tub, wearing only a chemise. More frequently Wenzel sits in the bath, and is waited on by several bathing-girls. Occasionally, too, the girl appears with nothing on, or only a transparent veil. Wild men, a bird on a ribboned streamer, are the Emperor's emblems; bathing gear, bathing tubs, appear everywhere. The frank sensuality which appears in these pictures illustrates the character of the Emperor; it had long been customary to introduce jests of all kinds, even into religious books, but nothing comes up to the innocent way in which the sensual life in which Wenzel delighted is here unfolded on the very margin of his Bible.

At the close of this period we have a Missal belonging to Sbinco Hasen von Hasenburg, completed A.D. 1409 by Laurinus von Glattau. The initial letters contain Scripture motives, and are beautifully ornamented with flourishes, leaf-work, and little birds. In a larger picture of the Crucifixion with many figures, a noble originality of conception shows itself, and the expressions of S. John and the women are full of deep-felt beauty. The figures are very slender, but the movements good, and the colours very deep as well as luminous. This picture comes near the best French work, while the remainder, by another hand, are on a very small scale, and though neat and pleasing, unimportant and often hard in colour.[43]

The art of illuminating also flourished under the Court of Austria, and had reached an almost equal standard there. Its chief monument is the German translation of Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, written for Duke Albrecht III. of Austria. The paintings, however, were only finished later, as the Archduke William (*d.* A.D. 1406) and his wife Johanna of Durazzo, who came to Vienna

A.D. 1403, are portrayed at the end of the book.[44] The ornamentation is chiefly limited to the borders of the first pages of the prefaces and of the several books. The two columns of text are enclosed in leaf-work, either green or pink, with half-length figures; for instance, angels holding scutcheons. On the stems of the plants between the columns angels glide up and down. Small medallions in the borders, especially the lower borders, contain figure scenes which sometimes form a continuous design, as on fol. 163, the Last Judgment, with which are connected the parable of the Sower, the Fall, and two scenes referring to Judgment and Redemption. The larger initials are generally blue in the body of the letter, and formed of combinations of animal shapes. They also contain small figure subjects, as, on the first page, the restoration of the Vienna University by the Archduke, and the same theme is continued in the medallions below. A Last Supper in the letter U is remarkable for an original and natural conception of this subject. The composition is crowded, but every feature is full of expression; a gentle sorrow breathes from the face of Christ; the Apostles as they speak or eat are perfectly life-like and natural; one in the foreground wipes his knife on the tablecloth. Wherever the Archdukes appear, whether praying at the altar with their wives, in steel armour on horseback, or wrapped in the shroud and raised up within their coffins, they always have an individuality; and the expressive treatment of the little heads on quite a small scale and with fine flesh tones is just as admirable as the elaboration of the accessories and rich costumes.

Artistic perfection of this kind appears, indeed, only occasionally in Germany. The average work of the time, as it is represented in the rhymed History of the World at Stuttgart, by Rudolf von Hohenem, is much lower. The story was generally clearly told, and the picture full of life, but the attitudes are uncertain, the situations requiring movement are tame, the nude is poorly rendered, the faces grim. The execution aims at powerful modelling with strong lights, but is destitute of charm. The great revival of panel-painting on the Lower Rhine only found its echo later in miniature-painting; as, for instance, in a Prayer-book now in Berlin, written in Low German for the Duchess Maria of Guelders, and completed A.D. 1413 by brother Helmich at Marienborn, near Arnheim. The border ornaments are uniform, but the small biblical scenes, in spite of squat proportions, large heads, restless draperies, and patterned grounds, are treated in an extremely lively and spirited manner.[45]

CHAPTER III.

PAINTINGS ON GLASS.

Painting an art of popular appeal only as applied to architecture—Increasing importance of painted windows in the Gothic style: their distribution and decorative plan—Examples; Chartres; story of the Prodigal Son—General leaning towards the familiar and realistic—Transept windows at Chartres—Windows in other cathedrals of Northern and Central France—Somewhat inferior work in Southern France—French Switzerland and the Duchy of Burgundy—England—Germany—Change of style and introduction of architectural forms into glass-pictures—Beautiful examples in Cologne Cathedral—Windows of Strassburg Cathedral—Other examples in various parts of Germany—France; glass of this period most frequent in Southern cathedrals; in use also for private houses—Technical advances of glass-painting in the fourteenth century—In the fifteenth—At the Renascence; glass-painting violates its true conditions as it becomes more elaborate and accomplished.

INASMUCH as the only miniatures of real artistic merit were those produced at the demand of Courts, the only kinds of painting which really entered into the life and addressed themselves to the eyes of the people in general, were those dependent on architecture and applied to its decoration. Of the varieties of the art thus applied, glass-painting, since the development of the Gothic style, played the chief part, whereas in the preceding period it had only contributed side by side with mural painting to the total decorative result.

As soon as the Gothic or Pointed style had been consistently worked out, the windows in an edifice assumed much greater dimensions and importance than before. Instead of the single narrow openings, or at most groups of such, characteristic of the Romanesque and early Gothic periods, we now find large windows filling almost the entire space externally between the buttresses, and internally between the wall shafts, each divided inside by slender stone mullions, with symmetrically designed tracery in the arch. For windows of this size, even more than for those of the earlier time, coloured glass was necessary to soften the light and enliven the surfaces. The arrangement of the glass paintings within each separate window is decided by the architectural divisions of the window itself. Up in the arch, the geometrical spaces enclosed by the tracery are usually filled only with an ornamental coloured pattern or mosaic. The figure pieces are placed in the spaces between the mullions; they are sometimes large single figures of saints, bishops, and kings, filling the whole space, and sometimes series of narrative pictures on a smaller scale set in ornamental borders, and particularly in medallions. Each compartment is now treated, like the whole window space in the Romanesque style, as a separate hanging, and surrounded with a wide border. But besides this the window must pro-

duce the effect of a harmonious whole in colour and arrangement. Lastly, seen from within, the windows form a whole, not only in their pictorial effect, but also in the subjects they represent. The pictures from the Old and New Testaments or from various legends, the large single figures, the exhibitive and symbolical compositions, connect themselves together in one great epic cycle, which shows forth the whole substance of the Christian doctrine. From the west wall, from which usually shines down a great rose-window, the pictures follow each other in quiet sequence along the windows of the side aisles, and in the clerestories of the nave, between which yet a third row of pictures may be found when the triforium (or gallery carried in the thickness of the wall above the nave arcades) is pierced to the light. The large end windows of the transepts, too, afford space for complete and separate compositions, and the whole finds at last its climax and consummation in the choir with its girdle of chapels.

A complete cycle of this kind is not to be found existing in any one cathedral. But some in France still give a fair idea of the original scheme; and above all Chartres with its hundred and forty-six windows, the greater part of which belong to the thirteenth century.[46] Although this building is in a matured Gothic style, it has no traceried windows properly speaking, but as a first step to such, the windows are set in pairs, and above each pair in the clerestory is a large round window. The great rose window in the west front (over the three older windows already described) contains the Last Judgment, which it was also customary to place on the west wall in mural paintings. The upper windows generally contain single figures, Prophets, Apostles, and Saints; the lower windows scenes from the Passion, the story of Joseph, the legends of SS. James, Nicholas, Eustachius, Stephen, Thomas of Canterbury (in which Charlemagne plays a part), and a story of the holy shift of the Virgin; also the story of the Prodigal Son, which appears similarly in the cathedrals of Bourges and Sens. The narratives are given in a broad, agreeable, episodic manner, and are pleasing in spite of the small number of figures. The loose life of the Prodigal is told in a spirit like that of the old French fabliaux (Fig. 107). We see him making love, playing draughts on a board which stands upright in entire lack of perspective, sitting at table while dinner is served, till his fair friends at last have utterly ruined the youth, and turn him out of his bed into the streets. It is all done with the same mannered grace, the same soft and dainty actions, that we found in the miniature paintings of the same period.

But this decided inclination towards a familar and realistic style appears also in other places. The windows were not paid for out of the budget of works, but were the pious gifts either of individuals or corporations. And while private persons were represented as donors, kneeling in the lower parts of their windows, the guilds immortalised themselves by representing there

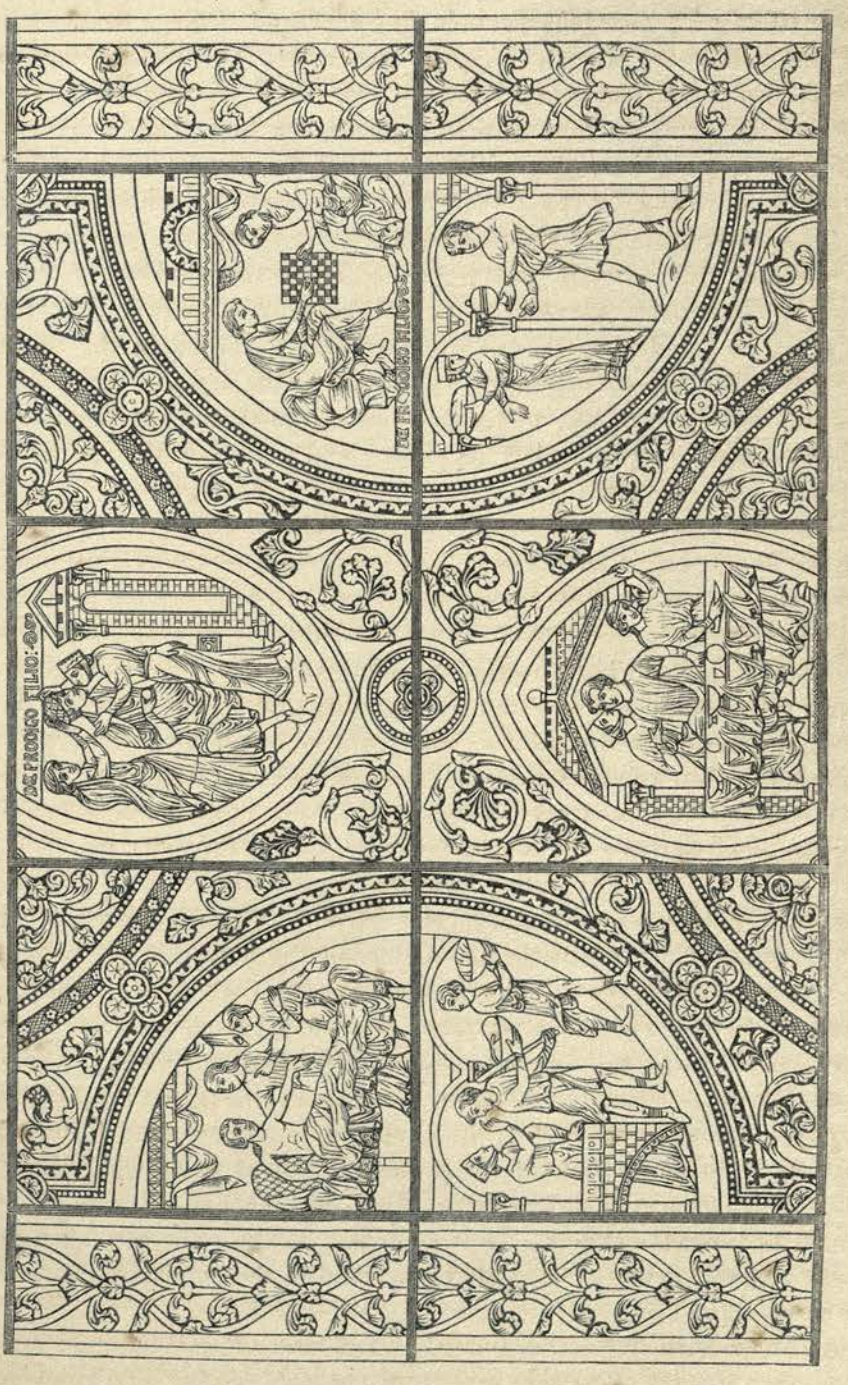

Fig. 107.

the functions of their craft. Thus at Chartres, as well as at Bourges and Amiens, we find builders and stone-masons, carpenters, joiners, coopers, shoemakers, butchers, and ropemakers at their work; the blacksmith shoes a horse,

the grocer and money-changer stand in their shops, the linen-draper measures out his wares to a customer. Such scenes are as historically interesting as from their freshness and naturalness they are artistically delightful.

The transept windows at Chartres give ample space for large compositions; in the rose window of the north transept the Madonna sits enthroned, enclosed in three circles, with four doves overhead and eight angels, twelve Kings, and twelve Prophets of the Old Covenant; in the south transept we see the Saviour in the attitude of blessing, with angels, the symbols of the Evangelists, and the four-and-twenty elders. The five lower windows contain, on the north side S. Anne among figures from the Old Testament, and on the south the Virgin between very singular representations of the Evangelists, riding on the shoulders of the Prophets.

The Cathedral of Bourges, with its double aisles, and three ascending stages of height in outer aisle, inner aisle, and nave, possesses a hundred and eighty-three windows, and in these there still remains a great quantity of thirteenth-century glass. The glass-paintings in the Cathedrals of Rheims, Amiens, Beauvais, Noyon, Soissons, Châlons, Troyes, Le Mans, Tours, Sens, and Auxerre, are much less complete.[47] A window of this period with the story of Joseph, in Rouen Cathedral, contains the signature *Clemens Vitrearius Carnotensis M.*, that is, Clement, master glass-painter from Chartres, which place must evidently have been a chief centre of this art. The windows of the *Sainte Chapelle*, or old Royal Chapel in Paris, are indeed restored throughout, but the remains of the old glass were used, and with so much true feeling for the original, that the interior of that beautiful building even now presents one of the finest existing examples of mediæval polychrome decoration. Here, too, when the French Gothic had reached its utmost perfection under Louis IX., the old arrangement of small medallions on a patterned ground is still maintained. The windows of Nôtre Dame in Paris fared worse, as their paintings were removed as early as the last century at the wish of the clergy; only the three large rose windows, and especially those of the transepts, in which the figures are kept subordinate by an essentially decorative treatment, still testify to the ancient splendour. The rose window in the north transept of Soissons is similar, but less elaborate. The provinces which were really the cradle of the Gothic style—the Isle of France, Champagne, Picardy, and after these Normandy, were also the chief centres of this branch of art.

Farther south we find schools whose productions are not fully equal to those hitherto under discussion; the windows in S. Radegonde at Poitiers, from the time of S. Louis, are not quite harmonious, because of their combination of coloured pictures with *grisailles*. The design of a Last Judgment, arranged between the spokes of an upper wheel-window, is remarkable. Of a kindred style are the windows of Limoges Cathedral.

French Switzerland, politically included in the Duchy of Burgundy, derived

its style from France in glass-painting as well as in architecture, as may be seen by the rose window in the south transept of the Cathedral at Lausanne, the only thing there spared by the Reformation. The favourite mediæval representations of Time and the World, with which we have become familiar in miniatures, and especially in mosaic pavements, is here transferred to a window. In a circular design we find the Months, the Signs of the Zodiac, the Sun and Moon, the Seasons, the Rivers of Paradise, the Winds, and the fabulous beings that were supposed to inhabit unknown quarters of the earth.[48]

In England, the Cathedrals of Salisbury, Lincoln, and York, are especially famous for painted glass of the Gothic period.

Windows of pure thirteenth-century Gothic are not numerous in Germany. Those in the choir of the *Elisabethkirche* in Marburg, though restored from fragments, are extremely beautiful. In the Abbey church of Alpirsbach in the Black Forest there are still some remains of the centre window of the Gothic choir. Two compartments of a window from the Abbey church of Wimpfen im Thale are particularly fine. They are now in the museum at Darmstadt. They contain scenes from the Old and New Testaments placed opposite each other, and also the mystical picture, taken from the *Physiologus*, of the lion bringing his young to life by his breath. The small choir windows with sacred figures in the church of S. Florentius at Niederhasslach in Alsace, belong to the time before the great fire of A.D. 1287. Lastly, some of the windows of the transept completed A.D. 1291 in the monastery of Klosterneuburg near Vienna, with Scriptural and symmetrical scenes, date from the end of this period.[49]

With the opening of the fourteenth century glass-painting underwent a decisive transformation in style, which was not, however, determined by any technical change of decorative feeling. The Pointed style, which proceeds entirely on a constructional basis, and from construction develops all form, had reached its furthest development and carried out its principle with complete consistency. As—with the exception of the leaf-work carving, which, with its realistic treatment, is not an organic part but only a decorative appendage of the architectural member which it adorns—as, with this exception, the entire scheme of Gothic ornament is in fact only a repetition in small of its constructive architectural forms, so painted imitations of those forms by and by assumed a chief place in window decoration. While the system of tapestry-like patterns in glass had lasted, the painting in the windows had formed a pleasant contrast to their architectural divisions, and presented a quiet surface among the multitudinous upward-struggling lines and masses of the general structure. This arrangement was now abandoned and replaced by the habit of imitating architectural structures in the painted glass itself. The structures thus represented in the glass-pictures consisted, in the lower parts of the window, of arcaded halls enclosing the several groups or single figures (which for the future were confined in general to this part of the design); above soared slender pictured columns,

flying buttresses, steep open-work gables and pinnacles, and it was only behind all these that the diaper was still inserted as a groundwork (Fig. 108). The dark sapphire blue of the old backgrounds was now commonly replaced by red.

No French monument shows this style with as much elegance and com-

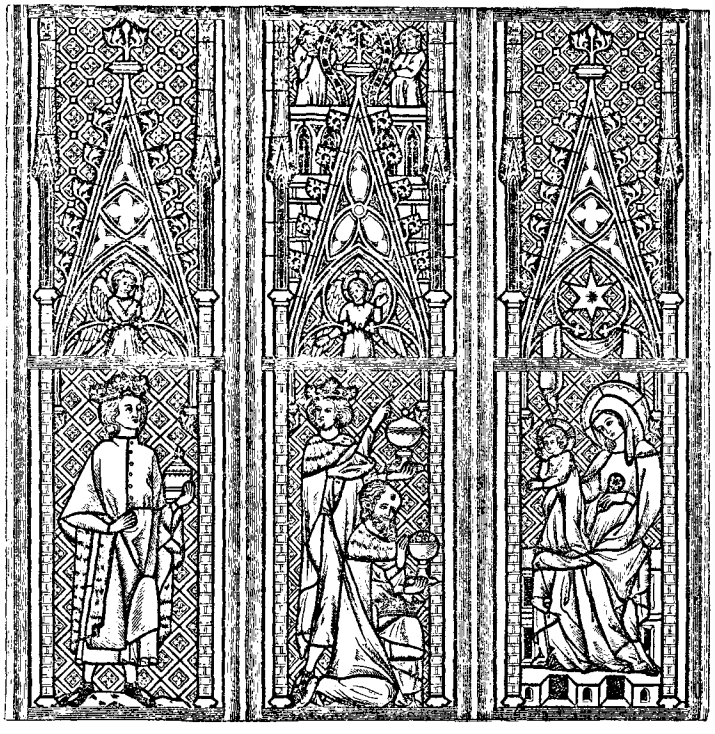

Fig. 108.

pleteness as the choir windows of Cologne Cathedral, placed there A.D. 1320.[50] It is true that a diaper pattern, treated in a purely mosaic style and without figures, maintains itself in the lower windows in the triforium, and partly even in the upper windows, but besides these the new principle appears in its utmost development, and offering a consistent, beautiful, almost over-wrought repetition of all the forms employed in the building itself. Within these painted architectural structures the lower arcades contain the Kings of Israel, but in the centre window the Three Kings kneel before the Madonna, and in the upper compartments are half-length figures from the Old Testament. Still more beautiful is the Adoration of the Kings in another window. Here one king only kneels before the Virgin, while the others occupy separate niches. The attitudes are quiet and noble, but not so solemn as formerly; the gentle inclination of the head and diminished severity of the chief motive betoken a change in the artistic conception; lively tones, especially a bright red, prevail in the draperies, and in

greater quantity too, while the shadows are only given by a few slight strokes; the halls and tabernacles are wrought in yellow, and shine in the transmitted light like gold. Through their openings appear backgrounds of ever-varying patterns, and their summits are enriched with coloured statuettes. The transoms of the window itself are often ignored, and quietly allowed to cross the principal composition, or the central gable of the painted building. But a just decorative feeling keeps this building always flat, and without any attempt at perspective in the design. The real limits of painting on glass may indeed be exceeded here, but the artists still move along the new line with a just relative feeling for the conditions of their art.

The Cathedral of Strassburg illustrates a similar tendency in most of the windows of its nave. These contain a connected cycle of pictures executed after the restoration by Master Erwin consequent upon the great fire in A.D. 1298. The line of the Jewish kings was set forth in the north aisle; in the clerestory of the nave appear two rows of Martyrs, female Saints, Popes, Bishops of Strassburg, all stately figures, and often—as in the case of King Charles of Provence, son of the Emperor Lothair (Fig. 109)—showing already more movement in the attitude and in the draperies, with motives sometimes vigorous if Gothically restless. The figures are always placed under rich canopies. The smaller windows of the triforium, most of which are restored, were filled with pictures of the ancestors of Christ. The windows of the south side-aisle date from the second half of the fourteenth century, and no longer carry out the old principle, as they contain narrative scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ; and with these may be classed one still later in the west end, in which we find a confused design of the Last Judgment not very well executed. The series of paintings in the upper windows is also interrupted here and there with later work, such, for instance, as the window in two compartments with the strife of Virtues and Vices, and a smaller and less well-preserved Judgment of Solomon, which with the windows of the bell-tower, containing the works of Mercy and the stories from Genesis, date only from the fifteenth century. The Chapel of S. Catherine off the south aisle, which was consecrated A.D. 1349, contains windows with Apostles and holy Virgins under canopies, which may be looked upon as the work of Master Johann von Kirchheim, as he appears in a document of March 10, 1348, as glass-painter to the minster.

A window from the monastery church of Seligenthal near Landshut, now in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich, contains scenes from the Passion, saints, and a figure of the foundress, the Princess Elizabeth (*d.* A.D. 1314) as abbess. The architectural framework is used here with taste and moderation, and the groundwork is a simple interchange of blue or red behind the figures. Among the finest works of this period may be counted the choir windows of the monastery church at Königsfelden in Switzerland, dating between A.D. 1324 and 1351, eight of which are still perfectly preserved.[51] In most of them

legendary scenes, figures of Apostles, and other subjects, are still represented in medallions after the old fashion, except that the tapestry style is not carried out with the purity and regularity of the earlier time; but in others containing the stories of Christ's childhood and of the Resurrection, the principle of an architectural framework is here also adopted (see Fig. 108). These windows differ somewhat from those at Cologne by a more pictorial conception and a richer grace in the figures. Sometimes there is an attempt even to make the architectural parts seem to project a little from the flat, and to base upon imitation corbels the floor on which the figures stand. The effect of the whole decoration is that of a regular pattern, and the law of rhythmical interchange is preserved; in windows facing each other the order of the colouring is always reversed. An altogether different principle prevails in the church at Niederhasslach, where the windows in the side-aisle exhibit paintings of the life and sufferings of Christ, the life of the Virgin, the martyrdoms of the Apostles, various legends, that of S. Florentius among others, and the strife of the Virtues and Vices. Here the system of medallions is adhered to, not in a uniform network, but arranged generally in a design round a larger central medallion, and extending over more than one compartment without any regard to the intersecting mullions. The windows in the nave of the minster at Freiburg im Breisgau, in the church of S. Catherine at Oppenheim, the Cathedral of Ratisbon, and also the beautiful glass-paintings from the same place in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich, cannot now be mentioned in detail.

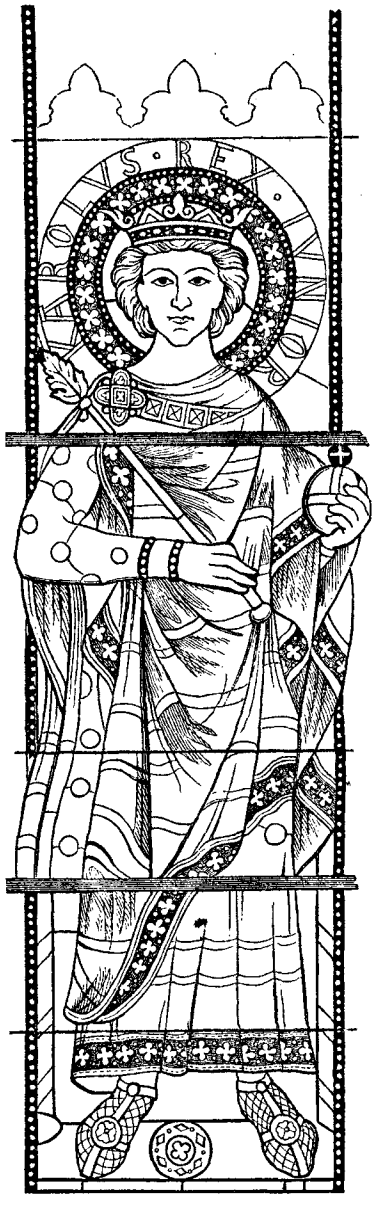

Fig. 109.

In France, this fourteenth-century glass is occasionally to be found in the Cathedrals of Beauvais and Evreux, but more frequently in the larger cathedrals of the south, in Limoges, Narbonne, Carcassonne. Glass-painting at this time lost its distinctively ecclesiastical character, and was more and more commonly used in chateaux and middle-class dwelling-houses.[52]

In technical methods also progress was made in the first half of the fourteenth century. First of all, another fusible pigment besides black lead was discovered with which it was possible to paint on glass,—a silver yellow, which is already used to some extent at Königsfelden. Besides this, the way to make larger sheets of glass was now understood, so that the mosaic style hitherto used could be dropped, on condition of painting in grey monochrome, with strong shading and the addition of yellow. Examples of this kind are to be seen in the windows of Chartres Cathedral, presented A.D. 1329 by a Canon named Thierry, and in one in the Cathedral of Evreux, with a kneeling figure of the donor, Bishop *Giefroy*, evidently Geoffroy III., de Faé (A.D. 1334-1340). But the execution here is too sculpturesque, and is not harmonious.[53]

Still further technical facilities were gained in the fifteenth century, especially by the discovery of a third colour, a flesh tone which much improved the modelling of the heads. To this was also added the resource of overlaying. If it had been long understood how to lay a red sheet of glass over a colourless one, a much greater variety was now attained by doubling glass plates of different colours. The upper plate was sometimes scraped partly out, and the hollow filled in with molten glass of another colour; and lastly the secret was known of fusing thin layers of different colours on to the two sides of a pane.

These technical advances corresponded to the more developed pictorial feeling of the day. Glass-painters were so much influenced by the art of the panel-painters, that they lost sight of the fact that the object of the two arts was entirely different. They no longer avoided the crowding of figures and recession of planes, or the attempt at perspective in architectural designs, while the old system of ornamental borders disappeared more and more. To this period belong the great majority of glass-paintings at present existing in various countries. Glass-painting thus took its place amid the new art-life of the sixteenth century. Technical progress continued to be made, the use of the diamond for cutting glass was learnt, new fusible colours were discovered, and the inventions and designs of the artists—among whom were often masters of the highest order—were skilfully reproduced. But the feeling for the special characteristics required by the technical conditions of this art was by this time lost. In the towns of German Switzerland cabinet-painting flourished at this time, and produced for the decoration of churches, council-chambers, or guild-halls, heraldic pictures on glass, with sacred or profane figures as supporters of scutcheons, some of them wrought after the designs of no less a master than Holbein. In Belgium gigantic windows were produced exhibiting complete compositions under great classical colonnades in full perspective, but without regard to the organic divisions of the window itself, or to the architecture of the edifice to which it gives light; as, for instance, those splendid pieces from the design of Bernard von Orley in the Cathedral of S. Gudule at Brussels. These

compositions may be masterpieces of art, and their technical accomplishment may deserve all recognition, nevertheless in them the true sense of the artistic style proper to glass-painting has disappeared, and has not yet been recovered, in spite of all the efforts at revival on which our own age is accustomed to congratulate itself.

CHAPTER IV.

PAVEMENTS, TEXTILE PRODUCTS, PAINTINGS ON WALL OR PANEL.

PAVEMENTS; unimportant character of their decorations in this age—MURAL PAINTINGS; little place for them in developed Gothic style; scanty remains in France—Encouraged by the Court in England; existing remains inconsiderable—Frequent but of coarse execution in Germany—Character of German mural paintings—Examples from the thirteenth century—From the fourteenth; Ramersdorf—Cologne—Upper Rhine and German Switzerland—Fanaticism and religious terror—Personifications of Death in painting—Painting in private dwellings; subjects of chivalry—Examples; castle of Runkelstein—TEXTILE PRODUCTS; tapestries and painted cloths for secular use—Tapestries and embroideries for Church use—PAINTINGS ON WOOD IN GENERAL; origin and use of the painted altar-shrine—Technical methods of painting on panel—Examples rare before A.D. 1350; more frequent afterwards—SCHOOL OF PRAGUE; foreign artists in employ of Charles IV.—Mosaic in Prague Cathedral—Wall-paintings in *Katharinencapelle* and Monastery of S. Jerome—Question as to their origin—Other wall-paintings; possibly the work of Nicolaus Wurmser of Strassburg—Local School at Prague; paintings in *Kreuzcapelle;* their subjects and character—Their authorship; *Magister Theodoricus*—Other analogous works—SCHOOL OF COLOGNE; its sentimental and enthusiastic spirit in contrast with the austere spirit of the Prague school—*Magister Wilhelmus*—Character and sentiment of this School—Its correspondence with the religious mysticism of which Cologne was a centre—Altar-piece from church of S. Clare—Similar examples at Berlin; Munich; Nuremberg; Cologne Museum—Idyllic and Courtly Madonnas—Example at Frankfort—REMAINING SCHOOLS OF GERMANY; Westphalia; Swabia—Hesse and Middle Rhine—Bavaria—Example in private possession at Vienna—SCHOOLS OF FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS; their works of this period rare, resembling those of the Lower Rhine—Example in the Museum at Dijon.

I. PAVEMENTS.—Just in the same proportion as glass-painting, under the supremacy of the Gothic style, developed itself more and more brilliantly, and played both as to extent and effect the chief part in the coloured decoration of interiors, so the other decorative arts declined. Mosaic pavements gave place to a more modest method of decoration which can hardly be regarded as a fine art; this consisted of the impression of figures and patterns on soft clay, filled in afterwards with coloured earths. We cannot consider these works here, whether they were purely decorative, as the pavement in the chapter-house of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive (*Calvados*), or whether they contained figure-designs taken from the old range of subjects, the Liberal Arts, the Months, the brute creation, as in a side chapel of the Cathedral at Saint Omer.[54]

II. MURAL PAINTINGS.—In the great Gothic buildings, where the whole of the walls were taken up by salient structural members, wall-painting no longer found free space. A few remains of it are still left in France, such as those in the Cathedral of Tournus, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but painting on the whole became now chiefly decorative, helping to enrich the

interiors by adorning the shafts, gilding the capitals and ribs of the vaulting, and diapering the back walls of arcadings.

In England mural painting was warmly encouraged by the Court from the time of Henry III. (A.D. 1216-1272), and much used for the decoration of chapels, halls, and chambers.[55] Many authentic records and some names of artists are still preserved, but the works themselves have for the most part disappeared, including the Painted Chamber in Westminster from the time of Henry III., as well as the most important work of the fourteenth century—the painting in S. Stephen's Chapel executed under Edward III., between A.D. 1350-1358. The only idea we get of these is from accounts written before their destruction, A.D. 1834. Within a painted architectural framework were representations of angels, saints, scenes from the childhood of Christ, the stories of Job and of Tobias, and lastly, the whole royal family. The design oscillated between the extremes of vehement action and mannered suavity. Among the painters recorded as having taken part in these works appear foreigners as well as Englishmen—Italians, for example one *Wilhelmus Florentinus* in the thirteenth century, and also Germans and Frenchmen.[56] The two most important existing paintings on panel produced in England during the fourteenth century, are by Italian and probably by Sienese hands ;—these are the great full-length portrait of Richard II. in the Deanery at Westminster (the overpainting of which has lately been removed), and the Diptych of the same king, in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House.[57]

In Germany remains of wall-painting are considerably more numerous than in any other country north of the Alps. The coarse and broad handling exhibited by German painters at the beginning of this period, even in miniature work, is more in place in decorative painting. Although the great cathedrals built in the French style, like that of Cologne, had scarcely any room left for pictures except the choir-presses, other churches, in which the French principle was not so thoroughly carried out, still afforded the necessary space for them, as for instance on the unpierced lower walls of the transept. The compartments of the vaultings too were commonly adorned with figure compositions. True, this was often done in a method which brought swift and certain destruction upon the work, the method of painting direct on the wrought stone without a plaster preparation. They had a better chance of standing when they were painted on a wall of rough masonry coated with plaster, and the most frequent remains are found in small country churches, cloisters, chapels, castles, and dwelling-houses.

The importance of these works to the general history of art is at best so small, that it may well be left to local research to go into details about them. The character of solemn dignity proper to the Romanesque wall-paintings disappeared before the tendency of the Gothic age to sentimentality and mannerism ; for the really effective expression of sentiment, at the same time, the handling of

these works was too elementary and decorative. The tentative beginnings of realism which make their appearance later in the fourteenth century, only disturb the unity of the old style without being decisive enough to initiate a new. The treatment shows no new ideas, and remains merely mechanical in its simple compositions, its systematic adherence to a single plane with no attempt at perspective, its too flowing and florid draperies, its scanty modelling, and its superficial execution by different hands after the design of the master.

Remains from the second half of the thirteenth century are rare. In the choir of the church at Brauweiler there are traces, above, of a Last Judgment, and below, of a row of kings holding scrolls, pointing upwards, and in Gothic

Fig. 110.

frames. The proportions are attenuated, the attitudes and draperies weak, and the upward gestures marked by affectation. To the close of this century belong some wall-paintings from the cloister of Rebdorf, in Bavaria, with the story of Daniel; they have been taken off the wall, and are now preserved, transferred to panel, in the Bavarian National Museum at Munich.[58]

Examples from the fourteenth century are more numerous. One of great interest which has perished, but which we know from adequate drawings and publications, was the wall and ceiling pictures of the German church at Ramersdorf in the Siebengebirge. When the beautiful little chapel in the Transition style had to be removed, it was reconstructed in the cemetery at Bonn, but the pictures from the beginning of the fourteenth century could not be saved. Fig. 110 represents a charming pair of angels playing on instruments of music

from one of the compartments in the vaulting of the second bay from the entrance; Fig. 111, a group of the last Judgment from one of the compartments of the first bay. The compositions, never of many figures, were without confusion, the flow of the lines pure, the slenderness of the slightly bent figures unexaggerated, the limbs infirm but pleasing in movement, the draperies broad, the heads small but of a graceful oval. They recalled contemporary French work rather than the coarser style of the German miniatures.[59]

The paintings in the choir of Cologne Cathedral show a still stronger tendency to the effeminate and sentimental style; they date probably from A.D. 1322, soon after the consecration of that part of the building. The wall of the

Fig. 111.

choir towards the nave, though only temporary, was nevertheless decorated with paintings. It has been removed, and the angels in the spandrils above the arcades are replaced by new ones, but there are still remains of the pictures on the outside and inside of the choir-presses, though partly covered: there are scenes from the legend of S. Peter, Pope Sylvester, and the Virgin, in fine Gothic archings, and also innumerable comicalities like those in the manuscripts, on the diapered ground above the arcades and underneath on the frieze with inscriptions.[60]

Similar examples are frequent in the Upper Rhineland. Elsass offers many such remains, in the Dominican church at Gebweiler, in the village church of Rosenweiler at Rosheim, in the transept of the monastery at Weissenburg, where are depicted the Passion and the Works of Mercy. Here we also find next

the choir the gigantic figure of S. Christopher, a representation very common at this time, in consequence of the popular belief that to see an image of this saint was to be safe for that day from sudden and shriftless death. The crypt of the Cathedral at Basel contains in the vaulting the story of the Virgin, of the childhood of Christ, and legendary representations. The church at Cappel in Switzerland has in the two chapels at the side of the choir a frieze with single figures of saints interrupted in one place by the crucified Christ between Mary and John. The largest and best-preserved cycle of wall-paintings in Switzerland is that discovered in 1877 in the church at Oberwinterthur. It may be dated about the middle of the fourteenth century. The whole of the nave was painted, even the soffits of the archivolts were decorated, partly with ornamental patterns, and partly with small figures of saints. The pictures fall into three classes: single figures of saints under canopies in the spandrils of the arcades; above these, at either side, a long band with pictures from the legend of the patron S. Arbogast and from the childhood of Christ, on grounds alternately of blue and red; up above, between the windows, life-sized figures of the Apostles, and opposite to them holy women and virgins, all roughly executed, but agreeable, and true to nature in the features.[61] Other provinces of Germany, including especially Swabia, Bavaria, and Bohemia, furnish examples, more or less interesting, of similar decoration.[62]

Religious sentiment, like chivalrous usage, in the fourteenth century assumed extravagant forms. A luxurious and pleasure-loving generation, scared again and again out of their sensual riot by war and rapine, famine and pestilence, saw in the visitations that afflicted them the avenging hand of God, and were driven into a gloomy asceticism. The terrified soul sought salvation in self-abasement; religious passion rose to fever height, and vented itself in the raving fanaticism of wandering flagellants and maniac dancers. The idea of the transitoriness of this world and the vanity of earthly things overmastered the spirits of men. The terrors of death, the hourly threatening of the inexorable foe, became favourite subjects of poetry, and from poetry passed, as the fables of the beasts or the tales of chivalry had passed long ago, into painting.[63]

The personification of Death had long existed in the poetry and the imagination of the people. He appears as a powerful demon whom God has set over everything that lives; as a king going forth armed and collecting his hosts; as a reaper of the fields; as an officer summoning the people to his seat of judgment. At the close of the fourteenth century this conception was again brought out in an impressive form in a German prose work, "*Der Aikermann aus Böheim*" (A.D. 1399). Death here appears as a lord who in speaking uses the royal "we" in the first person, and answers those who question him with a refined irony, seeming to dominate mankind like fate. He says in one place that he may be seen figured on a wall-painting in Rome as riding on an ox. Meanwhile his customary personifications in literature and art had adopted another

form. Instead of one, a number of Deaths now appear face to face with the living in their own likeness. The French poem called "*Les dis des trois morts et trois vifz*," dates from the thirteenth century. The dead appear to the living to tell them that "what ye are, that were we; what we are, ye shall be," and to this is joined the pious warning of the vanity of all earthly things. This subject appears in wall-paintings of the fourteenth century, as at Ditchingham and Hastings in England, and in Germany in the interior of the church at Badenweiler.[64] In this last case the other parts of the wall were decorated with religious pictures, while this subject occupied the north wall; it was painted on a monochrome ground, and with motives of extreme simplicity. The Three Kings seem to hold themselves, in the words of Dr. Lübke, who discovered the series, slightly averted from the corpses opposite to them. The characteristics of the fourteenth century are distinctly seen—the gentle timorous heads, the soft movements and flowing draperies, as well as the rich contemporary costume, with the fashion of parti-coloured clothes. A representation of the same subject appears in the principal church at Zalt-Bommel in Guelders, in which the corpses appear crowned, and the living men are on horseback with followers. Pictures of the Dance, properly so-called, of Death, are not to be found till later.

But side by side with all this gloom and depression there continually broke forth also a spirit of courage and the pride of life, of careless luxury and sensuous festivity. In this respect a special interest attaches, just as to the illuminations in manuscript poems of chivalry, so also to the decorations on walls of knightly dwellings and castles, and of patrician residences in the towns. In these the walls were never left without paintings, unless costly tapestries were preferred; the subjects too were chosen from a special cycle. From the works of Chaucer we find that in England, where this decoration was also customary for castles, there was not a lady who had not pictures of knights and hawks and hounds on her walls, and in the poem called "*The Assemble of Soules*" pictures are mentioned of heroes and heroines from antiquity, as well as from the love-tale of Tristram and Isoult.

Remains of such paintings inspired by poems of chivalry are to be found in the *Ehinger Höf*, a patrician house at Ulm. Others in houses at Constance and Winterthur have perished, and are only known through copies and descriptions. The wall-paintings in the castle of Runkelstein, near Botzen still exist, though in a dilapidated state; they probably belong to the time when the castle was rebuilt on passing into the possession of the brothers Vintler, A.D. 1391. One of the rooms shows lords and ladies of the Court playing at ball and dancing. In another sit or stand, always in groups of three, the three heathen heroes, Hector, Alexander, Cæsar; the three Hebrew heroes, Joshua, David, Judas Maccabæus; the three best Christian kings, Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon; the three best knights, Percival, Gawaine, Swein; the three noblest

pairs of lovers, William of Austria and Aglei, Tristram and Isoult, William of Orleans and Amelei; then the three best swords in the hands of the warriors who wielded them—Dietrich of Berne with the sword Sachs, Siegfried with the sword Balmung, Ditlieb of Steier with the sword Welsung; the three strongest giants, Asperan, Otnit, Struthan; the three hugest women, Hilde, Vodelgart, and Frau Rachin. But better than all the rest are the pictures in another room from the *Tristan* of Gottfried of Strassburg, painted in a green monochrome with white lights—rich groups connected unrestrainedly together by slight indications of scenery and buildings; the treatment, however, is somewhat careless and uncertain. The Imperial portraits in the lower arbour were in the same style, but they are scarcely recognisable now. Last comes, in yet another room, a cycle of pictures from the poem of *Garel in the flowery valley*. A generation fancy-fed with poetry and familiar with its images loved to have those images daily in visible shape before its eyes, and to adorn its homes with figures of knightly life and prowess, of love and war, pastime and merriment.[65]

III. TEXTILE PRODUCTS.—Similar subjects are treated in textile art also. Fourteenth-century tapestries of Lower German work, with subjects from the poem of *Tristan*, are preserved in the cathedral of Erfurt and in the monastery of Wienhausen (Hanover). A large series of tapestries embroidered in coloured wools on linen is in the Town-hall at Ratisbon. One set contains love-scenes in medallions on a red ground worked with fantastic animals; the customary pair out hunting, the knight and lady exchanging rings and hearts; the Lady *Minne* (*i.e.* chivalrous Love) shooting her darts at the lover, or pulling him by the hair; the detected rendezvous of Tristram and Isoult.[66] Another tapestry represents the castle of the Virtues, against which ride Vices mounted on various animals. Another favourite subject, of which an example is preserved in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg, was the storm on the Minneburg. Paintings on linen in water-colour mixed with lime were often used as a substitute for tapestry, but the slightness of the method prevented them from being durable.

Embroideries for church purposes in the fourteenth century are generally of greater merit as works of art. Many of these show, besides the most careful execution in flat stitch, a more marked pictorial treatment, which succeeds in giving delicate gradations of tone and telling shadows, so that the general impression recalls the miniatures of the same period. An *antependium* or altar-hanging in the Cathedral Treasury at Salzburg, with twenty illustrations from the Gospels and busts of Prophets in compartments at the side, is of especial importance. In a similar altar-hanging, from the town church at Pirna, now in the Museum of National Antiquities at Dresden, the Crowning of the Virgin and ten figures of saints standing under slender Gothic arcades are worked on a patterned ground with a tenderness in the motives and sweetness in the expressions not surpassed by the best work of the age.[67]

IV. PAINTINGS ON WOOD IN GENERAL.—Meanwhile the art of painting on wood, which responded to the demands of the time by permitting higher finish and subtler expression in the heads, had been steadily carried farther. Besides objects of mere trade manufacture, as painted shields, banners, furniture, which were works of carpentry in the first instance, but were often handed on to be finished by painters who happened to find themselves in the service of princes,—besides these, painted altar-pieces on wood came, about A.D. 1350, much more into request than formerly for churches. The altar had originally been nothing more than a stone table (*mensa*) screened in front with *antependia*, and often surmounted by a canopy (*ciborium*). Later, as the setting up of precious reliquaries on altars became more general, a shrine of moderate height was added at the back of the altar to protect and carry such objects. An addition of this kind could be moveable and made of precious metals, or architecturally fixed and made of stone; or lastly, as a substitute for the former style, made of wood and painted,—in which case it consisted of a number of panels let into an architectural frame, and forming, if in three parts, a triptych, if in five, a pentaptych. Sometimes the wings were made to move on hinges so as to shut over the centre panel and protect it. The treatment of these works, which were painted within their gilt frames on a gold ground, is different from that of wall-paintings, in which the blue ground still prevailed, and shows that the precedent from which they were developed was that of goldsmith's work with enamel figures. One of the earliest and finest examples of these altar shrines is that in Westminster Abbey; it formerly, no doubt, occupied a place on the high altar, but it is now in the south aisle and half destroyed. It corresponds entirely with the French works of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and consists of a rich wood panelling, in several compartments, adorned with carving and gilding as well as with paintings on a surface of linen fastened to the panel; the figures of Christ, Mary, the Apostle John, Peter and Paul, are represented under Gothic arcades, and different scenes from the Gospels in smaller star-shaped fields.[68] At the same period the tendency to pious donations increased both among private individuals and corporations. Besides the high altar, decorations were bestowed upon the numerous altars of the side chapels; at the same time votive pictures on separate panels were introduced into the churches for the purpose of being placed over family tombs. Lastly, in a simpler way, the church furniture too was painted. A beautiful example is a press, dated A.D. 1300, in the sacristy of Noyon Cathedral; outside are figures of saints on a coloured diaper, and inside, on the backs of the doors, figures of angels.[69] We shall find the same custom in Italy also. There was but one step from this to the decoration with paintings of the whole panelling of a chamber, such as we shall presently find in the castle of Karlstein. On the other hand, easel-pictures as we are accustomed to them, capable of being hung at will upon the walls, were unknown throughout the Middle Age.

The wood panels were covered with a carefully-prepared chalk ground, often laid on a linen backing. The vehicle used for the colours was not oil; that medium was known, indeed, but from its slowness in drying was chiefly used for house-painting. The word distemper, *tempera*, properly means any vehicle used in *tempering* or mixing the pigments; and tempera-painting was in fact executed in various ways. In Italy the colours were mixed with white of egg and the milk of figs; north of the Alps, where figs were not to be had, after the colours had first been rubbed with lime-water, painters generally used white of egg and honey, which latter had the advantage of preventing the work from drying too quickly; sometimes also adding a little wine or beer. This method rendered possible a liquid and softly-gradated handling, and though the Italian variety of tempera allowed greater depth in the shadows, the northern gave on the whole greater brightness, and was luminous enough to keep its full effect even on the brilliant gold ground. Lastly, this luminousness was heightened by a protecting varnish. Different schools and workshops had at the same time their private methods, which they kept to themselves; recipes were committed to writing and handed down as valuable property.[70]

At the beginning of the fourteenth century panel-pictures are still tolerably rare in the North of Europe. Besides those already noticed, we may mention an admirable little picture in the Berlin Museum, which, from the traces of painting on the back, seems to have once belonged to the folding doors of an altar-shrine. Mary and Joseph are represented talking to each other on a seat, surrounded by angels making music; the deprecating gestures show that he is excusing himself for his hasty mistrust of her. Upon the gold ground behind them rises a rich Gothic structure in stone. From the middle of the century, however, works of this kind grow more numerous, and it accordingly becomes more practicable than heretofore to distinguish local schools and to determine their characteristics.

V. SCHOOL OF PRAGUE.—In Germany this is the school which must be placed first in chronological order. At the capital of Charles IV. the arts of painting on wall and panel yielded not less praiseworthy results than that of miniature-painting. A guild of painters was founded here A.D. 1348, the original statutes of which are written in German.[71] But Charles IV. had artists of other nations also in his service, as the Italian Thomas of Modena, whose signature, *Thomas de Mutina*, occurs on a couple of pictures painted for the Castle of Karlstein, where one still remains, the other being in the Vienna Gallery; from the introduction of S. Wenzel in one of these pictures it is clear that they were painted in Bohemia.

Another production of foreign artists is the great mosaic over the south transept entrance of Prague Cathedral. This work was completed A.D. 1371, and is badly preserved, and dulled by a coating of varnish. It contains representations of the Last Judgment, and below it six patron Saints of Bohemia,

as well as the Emperor and his fourth wife. This work was something unusual, as may be inferred from the expressions used by the chronicler Benesch of Weitmül. He considered the manner of the work to be Greek (*de opero vitreo more græco*), and the Emperor had evidently brought artists from Italy to execute it, perhaps from Venice, since there a colony of Greek mosaic-workers still existed. Except in this instance mosaics of this period are found, on this side of the Alps, exclusively in the old Prussia of the Teutonic Order; for example, in the royal chapel at Marienburg, a figure in relief of the Virgin with mosaic ornament, and the picture of the martyrdom of John the Evangelist on the outside of the Cathedral at Marienwerder, dating from A.D. 1380. The roughness of the execution makes it impossible to tell whether the designs are by a foreign or a native master. These isolated appearances of a handicraft indigenous to the south seem at any rate to have had no further influence.

On the other hand, the wall-painting of the Madonna and Child, with the Emperor and Empress kneeling at her side, in the *Katharinencapelle* of the Castle of Karlstein, is undoubtedly Italian in character. The same may be said, with some limitations, of the great cycle of wall-pictures in the cloister of the Slav Monastery of S. Emaus or Hieronymus (*Jerome*) founded by Charles IV., and consecrated A.D 1372.[72] The twenty-six wall-spaces on the four sides set forth the scheme of Christian doctrine after the manner of the *Biblia pauperum*. To each scene from the life of Christ there are generally two scenes from the Old Testament, standing to it in the relation of type to antitype; thus, as types of the Annunciation we have Moses beside the burning bush, and Gideon with the fleece; of the birth of Christ, Jesse and Aaron with budding rods. In the twenty-fourth field the wall-space is not divided into compartments, but occupied by a picture of an elaborate architectural structure, which serves as the scene of the actions represented, and in some degree resembles the stage of several stories actually used in mediæval mystery plays. In the centre Christ is rising from Limbus, followed by the patriarchs; on the right in the landscape are visible the crosses on Golgotha, two of them without figures, and the third with the thief still hanging upon it. On the left, seen through a porch of the structure, are Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise. At the top God the Father is represented receiving Abraham. These and the two pictures next to them on the south wall are in the best state of preservation. On the twenty-fifth field the Virgin appears with the Child between two angels crushing the head of the serpent. Below as types are David with the head of Goliath, and Judith with the head of Holofernes. The latter sits solemnly on a throne, surrounded by noble female figures. The scene in the twenty-sixth field is also a connected composition, and rivals the last in dignity of design. On one side is the Sibyl enthroned, and on the other the Emperor Octavius; between them stands the Temple of Peace, a Gothic

church resembling the Cathedral of Prague, and above them appears the Virgin on the crescent; to her the Sibyl is pointing.

Schnaase thinks that signs of Italian art, perhaps of the school of Giotto, are to be found in these pictures; the treatment of the drapery upon which he bases his opinion shows, however, nothing of the massive design of Giotto, but is soft, flowing, and full of sweep; the faces have nothing of Giotto's angular structure, but are of a full oval, the tender spiritual expression, and the narrow but well-cut eyes alone recall Italian, and particularly Sienese, style, as do the same characteristics in the above-mentioned Madonna in the *Katharinencapelle*. The writer to whom we have referred is at all events right when he says that with the Italian elements there are certainly mixed others. The painted architecture, in which we can detect reproductions of German Gothic buildings, can scarcely be the work of an Italian.

Charles IV. also employed German artists from a distance. Two records of A.D. 1359 and 1360 refer to the painter and favourite of the emperor, Master Nicolaus, called Wurmser of Strassburg. The first confers on Master Nicolaus the right of making a will, which foreigners could only do by special privilege; the second grants him a house in the village of Mortschin, near Karlstein, free of taxes. As his "paintings in castles" are mentioned in the first document,[73] it may be presumed, especially as his home was near, that he was employed in this very castle of Karlstein in the Berauntal, which the Emperor had caused to be built A.D. 1348. We cannot, for want of positive proofs, attribute any particular work to his hand; but it happens that the lower church at Karlstein, dedicated to the Virgin, and consecrated A.D. 1357, contains a series of wall-pictures showing neither the distinctive marks of the Prague school, with which we shall presently acquaint ourselves, nor yet the Italian character, but corresponding completely in invention and handling to the customary German mural paintings of the fourteenth century. Along one wall of the nave and half of the adjacent cross-wall as far as the altar, there are still partly visible, under coarse re-paintings, representations from the Apocalypse above a painted arcade with hangings, as the Woman of the Apocalypse with the crown of stars, threatened by the seven-headed beast, and on the opposite side of the nave a figure of the Virgin in white robes with a blue mantle; in her arms is the Child wearing a little red frock and grasping at her hand. This last picture can be seen more distinctly than the rest, and shows slender proportions in the figures, soft flowing draperies, pure gentle expressions, with a clear and light tone of colouring. Several other panel-pictures in Bohemia are also allied to these in character.[74]

Meanwhile, however, there grew up at Prague a new school having peculiar and trenchant features of its own. This school of Prague properly so-called comes before us most distinctly in the *Kreuzcapelle* in the Bergfried of the Castle of Karlstein, built to contain the State jewels, and consecrated A.D. 1365. The

chapel, consisting of two vaulted bays partitioned off, contains, above a course of Bohemian jewels set in a gilt plaster moulding, one hundred and thirty-three paintings on wood in two and three tiers, forming a continuous panelling on all the walls; half-lengths, above life size, of Apostles, Evangelists, Fathers of the Church, and male and female saints. The picture which served as the main altar-piece was rather larger, and represented Christ on the Cross between Mary and John; the predella showed the Man of Sorrows in the grave between angels and holy women. The crucified Christ and the two Fathers, Ambrose and Augustine, are in the Vienna gallery,[75] the rest in their original positions. In the central picture the figures are poor, and the Christ rather old and rude in type, with coarse hands and feet, and painful contortions of the limbs. Mary, draped from head to foot in a blue cloak, raises her clasped hands. John, in a green cloak with red lining, has a book in the left hand, and leans his head upon the right. The expression of grief is powerful and impressive without sentimentality, the cast of drapery quiet; the ground is simple grey, and every figure has a large gold nimbus. The half-lengths are finer. The heads and faces are full and round in shape, the noses not pointed but large and broad, the cheek-bones very strongly marked, the eyes large and quiet, the corners of the mouth very much drawn down, which stamps the face with a severe and almost mournful expression. The hands are not quite understood in form, but they are plump, not long and delicate after the Late Gothic manner. Beside the grandiose character of the men, the gentle nobility of the women, like Ladmilla and Ursula, produces a very agreeable effect. The attitudes are often significant, as in the case of Augustine, who holds his pen to his lips as if getting a thought into shape (Fig. 112). All the details, the costumes, writing-desks, and so forth, are carefully treated. The motives of the drapery are full and round, their colours harmonious, softly broken, and well accommodated to the gold ground. The execution is skilful, the flesh parts being modelled with delicate grey shadows. Higher up, the heads of the deeply-recessed window-openings contain wall-paintings of the same kind, scenes from the childhood of Christ and from the Apocalypse, which show by the life and vigour of the designs that the master understood also how to represent action. This is best seen perhaps in the Adoration of the Magi, in which the undraped Child is very happy. For the rest, these wall-paintings have suffered much.

In this case the only name of a painter known to us is that of Master Dietrich (*Theodoricus*). Two years after the consecration of the *Kreuzcapelle*, Charles IV., in a document dated April 29, 1367, granted to his loving liege, painter and member of the household, Master Dietrich, exemption from taxes for his house in the village of Mortschin near Karlstein, in consideration of the cunning and devout works with which he has beautified the royal chapel at Karlstein.[76] In the books of the painters' guild the admission of Master Dietrich is also recorded; from his name he would appear to have been a

German, and as no special mention of his birthplace follows the entry, it is probable that he was a native of Prague.

The school which comes before us here with its local features so clearly defined can be recognised in other works also. In the chapel of S. Wenzel in Prague Cathedral the wall-pictures of the lower tier between the panels

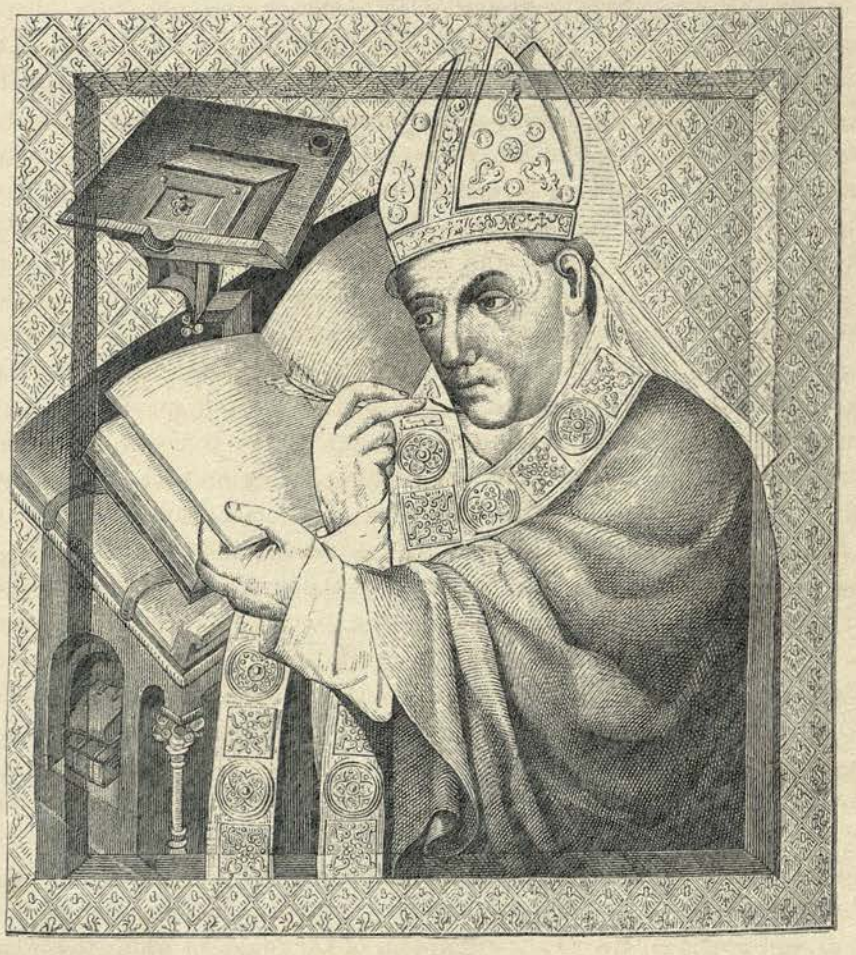

Fig. 112.

of Bohemian agates belong to it. So, as far as they still exist, do a series of portraits in the Lower Church of the Virgin in Karlstein, on the narrow wall behind the altar; these represent Charles IV. presenting relics to his first wife Blanche of Valois; then handing a ring to his son Wenzel; then before an altar, into the crucifix upon which he is in the act of inserting a small piece of the True Cross, given him as a relic by the pope. As in the second picture Wenzel (*b.* A.D. 1361) already appears a grown-up young man, the series

must have been painted about A.D. 1380. Unfortunately the original character of these works has been in great part obliterated by coarse re-paintings. More important is a large and well-preserved panel from the church at Raudnitz. In the upper division the Madonna and Child are enthroned with Charles IV. and his son King Wenzel in adoration; behind them as patrons stand SS. Sigismund and Wenzel. Below appear the saints of the country, Veit, Ludmilla, Procopius, and Adalbert, before whom kneels the donor, Archbishop Ozko von Wlaschim (A.D. 1364-1380). The figures and types of the heads are the same, but the modelling and execution of the forms are tenderer, the movements more decided though modest, only the feet are still clumsy. The nude figure of the Child shows observation; all the female and youthful heads are of a gentle attractive type, while the older heads, like that of S. Adalbert, are full of character, and in the Archbishop there is even an attempt to give a likeness. The colouring is clear and bright in tone. According to the age given to Wenzel, this picture must belong to about A.D. 1375-1380.

A striking example of the same school is an altar-piece exported to the distant church of Mühlhausen, on the Neckar, representing SS. Wenzel, Veit, and Sigismund, Christ on the Cross between Mary and John, the Annunciation and Coronation of the Virgin, with the donor, Reinhard, a native of Mühlhausen settled at Prague, on his knees beside his deceased brother Eberhard. The inscription gives both these names and the date 1385, and we can trace the donor as being inscribed at this time on the register of owners of house-property in Prague, and as having died A.D. 1400. The mural paintings in the chapel (founded A.D. 1380), as well as the carved and painted high altar, are works of the local Swabian school, but the second altar, of which we have spoken, was sent by its donor Reinhard from his new home in Bohemia.

Lastly, the character of this school in the proportions, draperies, and types of head is strikingly exhibited by some drawings in the art collection of the University of Erlangen and in the Ducal Library at Bernburg, which, according to a note in a sixteenth century hand, are by "an apprentice" (or, "the apprentices") of Prague.[77]

VI. SCHOOL OF COLOGNE.—The school of Prague, having grown up in a locality open to artistic influences from various quarters, had developed characteristics of its own which distinguished it essentially from the art of the more westerly regions north of the Alps. It is pervaded by a spirit of sacerdotal austerity and solemnity which elsewhere disappears in this century, combined with courtly pomp and splendour, of a cast, it is true, somewhat heavy and dull. Of flow and movement the school shows less, and the soft artificial charm of chivalrous manners plays as little part in its work as does the passionate enthusiasm of religious fervour which constitutes the other half of what we are accustomed to regard as the ideal of the later Middle Age. This ideal, on the other

hand, lived and governed in the other German schools, where we find it towards the end of the century carried to its extreme pitch, but in forms of a peculiar charm. The school which presents in this respect the strongest contrast to that of Prague is that of the Lower Rhine or of Cologne. It must not, however, be imagined that this vein of sentiment originated here, or that it was a special local characteristic of the Lower Rhine. Rather its home was equally in the north of Germany and in the south—in Westphalia, Hesse, Franconia, Bavaria, on the Upper Rhine, as well as in France and the Netherlands, in whose miniature-paintings we have already seen its influence. But a particularly flourishing school inspired by this ideal existed in and about Cologne, to the development of which local circumstances were favourable, and of which a great number of existing works enable us to judge. This Late Gothic style had long displayed itself in this neighbourhood in mural paintings like those of Ramersdorf; but towards the end of the fourteenth century its activity is to be traced especially and essentially in the production of altar-panels.

Although individual masters seldom assert their personality at this time, the Limburg Chronicle, under the date A.D. 1380, mentions the name of a famous painter of Cologne. "There was at this time in Cologne a celebrated painter, the like of whom was not in the whole of Christendom. So cunningly did he portray every man, it seemed as though they were alive. He was named Wilhelm." It has been thought that the artist thus extolled was the same as a painter Wilhelm, of Herle in the present province of Limburg, who bought a house A.D. 1358, and appears in various entries as a person in good circumstances; last in 1372; and we know that he died A.D. 1378, as transactions are then on record concerning his inheritance. But this identification remains doubtful. Perhaps more important is another trace of the master which occurs in the registers of municipal expenditure from A.D. 1370-1390. On page 12 stands written—"To Master Wilhelm for painting the Oath Book, nine marks."[78] The passage refers to the Oath Book of A.D. 1372, from which, unfortunately, the miniature has been cut out. Other entries run no longer *Magistro Wilhelmo*, but only *pictori;* but it is probable that all these payments refer to the town painter, and that he is identical with the Wilhelm of the Chronicle. They concern a picture of Mary in the church of S. Cunibert, and other paintings on the town banners and pennons. He received 116 marks for painting the meat market near S. Cunibert; 202 marks for decorating the new market; 290 for the paintings in the upper part of the town-hall (*pro pictura super domo civium*). There have actually been found traces of life-sized figures, probably Prophets, in the *Hansasaal* of the town-hall, opposite the carved work with the Nine Heroes. The remains, in the shape of a few heads, preserved in the cloister of the Cologne Museum, show an easy, skilful style of work, but are not sufficient to enable us to identify panels by the same hand. It is, therefore, not scien-

tifically justifiable to speak of panels by Master Wilhelm. All we know is that there exist admirable pictures painted at Cologne in his time, and that the examples of this school belong to the best panel-paintings of the period. We must be satisfied with this limited amount of knowledge concerning an epoch in which the history of art is not yet a history of artists, and the best master stands out from his fellows of the guild, not by a difference of style or sentiment, but only by superior technical skill.

If the school of Prague shows the dawn of an objective way of regarding nature, the Cologne panels, on the other hand, are full of a personal, subjective, lyrical spirit. Their painters have not come nearer to nature by increased observation ; they only have the art of penetrating farther than their predecessors the finer emotions, the intimate life of the feelings. The body for them is only the instrument of the soul, and only valued so far as it serves for the expression of sentiment. In form and movement the figures preserve the traditional Late Gothic type. The bodies are slender, disproportionately tall, of an undulating carriage, almost without hips or any indication of the osseous structure ; the limbs are weakly, and almost incapable of strong action ; the hands long, delicate, almost devoid of joints and knuckles. The draperies are full and flowing, but descend in soft even folds, without bringing out the form of the body. The conception differs from the customary Gothic style only in this, that the traits of bluntness and coarseness disappear ; the gestures are more measured ; the outward sway of the bodies somewhat less ; the heads, advantage being taken of the technical facilities offered by painting on panel, more firmly wrought and of more animation. Their type, too, is more constant. They are of a long oval shape with high forehead, straight, rather long nose, and small mouth ; eyes set far back, with half-closed lids. But from these features there breathes an exquisite serenity of spirit, a loving tenderness and undimmed purity of soul, devout resignation and enthusiastic yearning. Feminine and youthful expressions are the most successful ; those even of grave and bearded men never get beyond mildness with dignity. The colouring corresponds with this pervading sentiment. In the drapery it is light and lively, but always with delicate broken tones ; in the flesh it arrives at the tenderest transparency, with perfectly white high lights ; the handling is liquid and clear, with a moderate degree of modelling, and always adapted to the rich gold ground which spreads behind the figures, and transports them into an ideal world.

In these paintings has been recognised a reflection of the religious sentiments of the time, and, above all, of the tendencies of the mystics. There breathes in them, indeed, a religious fervour which is something beyond mere sacerdotal piety, and springs from the inmost needs of the human heart. However much the mystics, " the friends of God," in that day condemned the hollow formalism of doctrine, the abuses of the Church, and the immoral lives of her ministers, they sought the remedy not in violent measures of reformation, but in outward

works; not in fasting and penance nor in pious donations, not in the mortifications which are a sudden revulsion from worldly pleasures and sensual riot, but rather in the return of the individual upon himself, in the union of the soul with God, in personal resignation and longing for salvation. It was, therefore, by no mere chance that this tendency in painting took shape in those parts of the Rhine country where mysticism was at home, and that Cologne, where Master Eckhardt preached, was its chief centre. The mystics had no feeling for architecture; the building of a great church seemed to them a display of pride contrary to the counsels of the Holy Ghost. But Suso recommends Christians always to have by them good pictures, by which the heart is kindled towards God; and the ecstasies and visions in which mystics delighted took in their imaginations the form of lovely pictures.

Fig. 113.

One of the principal works of this Cologne school is the former altar-piece of the convent church of the Clares, now in one of the chapels of the Cathedral choir. On the door of the shrine for the sacred elements is depicted a priest performing the mass; elsewhere, on the central shrine and insides of the folding wings are distributed twenty-four pictures, those below from the story of Christ's childhood, and those above from the Passion. The lower pictures are by far the best, as the quiet incidents were the most suited to the artist, and in them he could give full play to that spirituality of expression in attitude, gesture, and countenance, of which the Annunciation of Fig. 113 is a good example. He tells his stories with freshness and detail. The birth of Christ, the angels appearing to the shepherds, and the bathing of the Child, were hitherto generally united in one picture, but they are here divided into several. The violent scenes of martyrdom are not so successful. Here the master's work is more artificial. He renders the incidents with the crudeness to which his contemporaries were accustomed in the performances of Passion plays; giving the same burlesque air to the executioners as they wore on the

stage, and in these scenes of stirring action falling into exaggerations and betraying the weakness of his draughtsmanship.

By its subject-matter this work is allied to a memorial panel in the Berlin Museum, with thirty-five small pictures in five tiers; the work, however, is here extremely slight, and in the lower parts even rude. There is a singular simplicity in the scene where the boy Christ begins to teach among a company of other children playing at top. Many of the scenes, like the Adoration of the Kings, are cleverly composed and delicately coloured in spite of a mechanical execution. The subject of Christ teaching is judiciously conceived; he speaks from a pulpit with an air of gentle intelligence, and there is much dramatic life in the audience. A woman sitting opposite to him lifts her left hand to show that she is convinced; an old man next to her counts carefully on his fingers; but three antagonists seize stones to fling at him. The Passion pictures are very rude here also; last comes the Judgment with the family of the donor on their knees.

Fig. 114.

The winning figure of S. Veronica, with the impression of Christ's face on the cloth, is preserved in the *Pinakothek* at Munich, and in the *Morizcapelle* at Nuremberg are two large panels with delicate figures of SS. Elizabeth and Barbara on a red ground with gold stars. We must not dwell in detail on any of the numerous pictures of this period —scenes from the Passion, Crucifixions, figures of saints—in the Cologne Museum. The gem among them all is a small triptych known as the *Madonna with the bean-flower*. A half-length of the Virgin with beautiful golden hair fills the centre piece; in the left hand she holds the blossom, and on her right arm she carries the Child half undraped. The form and gestures of the Child are full of charm; with one hand it reaches up caressingly to her chin, and with the other holds a rosary as if in play (Fig. 114). On the wings appear SS. Catherine and Barbara, and outside, in a slighter manner, a Mocking of Christ. In purity and tenderness of expression, in loving sweetness of sentiment, innocent freshness, and a refinement of taste which almost makes up for imperfections of form, as well as in bright delicate harmony of colour, this picture stands at the very head of the class to which it belongs.

This poetic feeling comes out with peculiar force in some purely idyllic pictures of the Madonna, for the design of which unexpected and delightful situations are invented, particularly in pictures intended not so much for churches

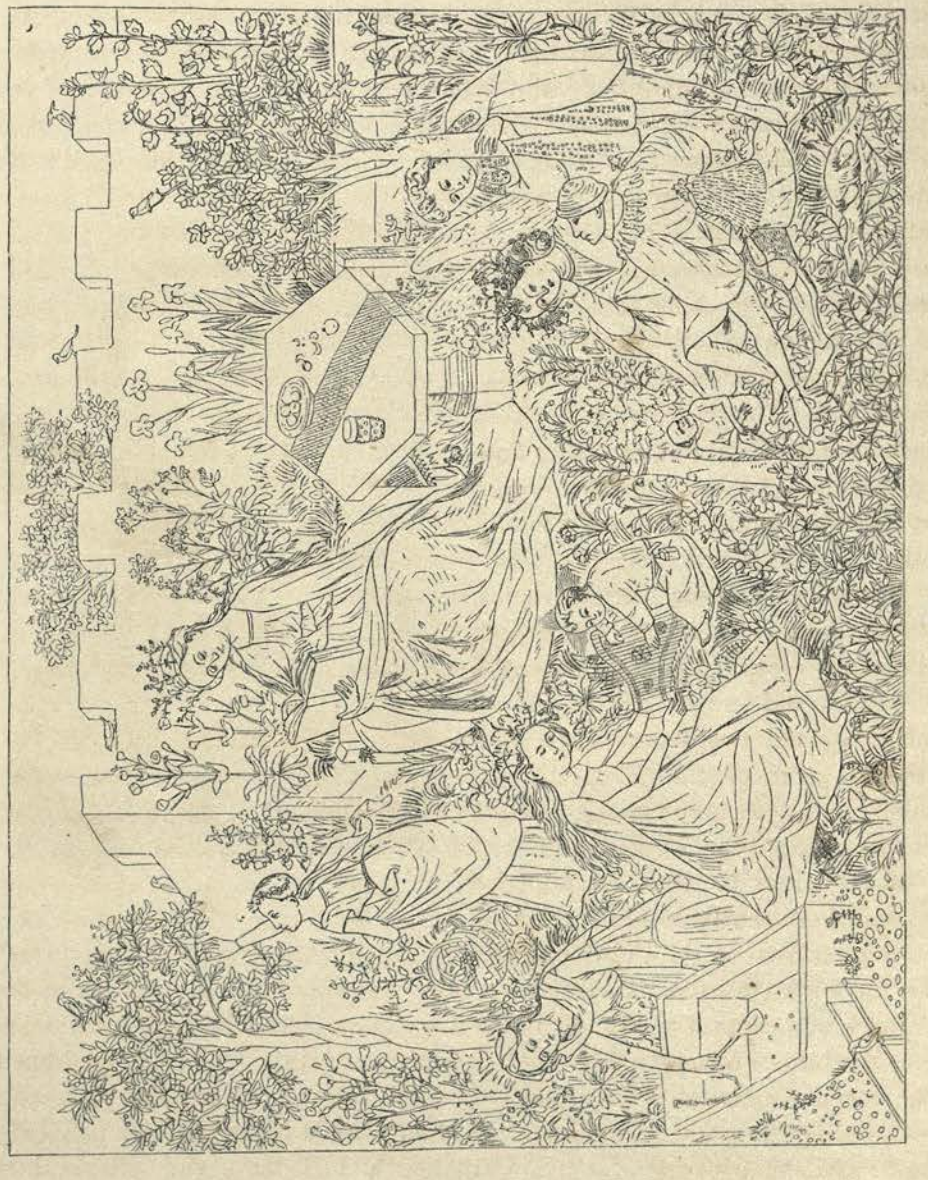

Fig. 115.

as for domestic devotion. We here find Mary, not enthroned in solemn dignity, but sitting familiarly with the Child on a flowery sward enclosed by a garden hedge. The little flowers and stalks are already painted neatly and naturally although the background, instead of a natural landscape, is still in plain gold. Round about the Virgin gathers a company of saints, of virgin saints by prefer-

ence, who read, rest, or discourse pleasantly to one another like so many ladies of her court, and are often dressed, after the fashion of the time, in long-waisted bodices made of rich brocaded stuffs and bordered with ermine, with bare necks and long flowing hair. On a triptych in the Berlin Museum the Virgin is thus represented, seated, wearing a rich crown, surrounded by four female saints; on the folding doors stand SS. Elizabeth and Agnes, whose lamb jumps up to her like a pet dog. The nude Child on the Virgin's lap (for they began at this time to give up the prudish draping of the infant body), in turning lustily towards S. Dorothy and grasping at her flower basket, scatters the roses and pinks playfully about, while S. Catharine, who sits in front in a court dress, tries to pick up a rose with the little red bag hanging from her girdle.

The smaller the dimensions of the picture the more delicately is it often executed, as may be seen from a little example in the Town Museum of Frankfort (Fig. 115). In a rose-garden enclosed by a battlemented wall, and under fruit-trees alive with birds, sits the Virgin reading in a book; near her stands a table with food and drink. While she is quite absorbed in devout meditation three holy maidens of her company busy themselves about her earthly needs; one draws water from a well, a second gathers cherries, while a third takes care of the infant Christ, and teaches him to play the cithern. Three male saints in knightly garb complete the company, George and Michael sit on the ground, and a third figure, leaning against a tree, stoops down to them in easy conversation. So the spirit of the courtesy and the cheerfulness of life is mixed with the religious spirit, but in no way disturbs the tranquil innocence of the scene.

VII. REMAINING SCHOOLS OF GERMANY.—Allied to the school of the Lower Rhine is that of Westphalia, as we see by the Coronation of the Virgin, and the slender figures of SS. Ottilia and Dorothy, from the monastery of S. Walpurgis in Soest (Münster, Provincial Museum), but more especially by the altar-piece of the Neustadt at Bielefeld. In the large central picture the Madonna is enthroned between Peter and Paul, the two Johns, three male and three female saints; and on twelve small pictures in the wings is depicted the story of Mary and Christ, from the meeting of Joachim and Anna at the porch of the Temple to the Resurrection. Similar to these is a panel in the cathedral at Halberstadt, with the Madonna and Child between Peter and Paul, four female Saints, and angels; the weak figures with large heads differ from the fervour and purity of the Rhenish school by an almost sentimental expression of melancholy.[79]

Several good pictures from Hesse and Middle Rhineland are preserved in the Darmstadt Museum, as for instance a broad winged altar-piece from the church at Ortenberg in Upper Hesse. The central panel, with a number of figures, exhibits the entire Holy Family, who have been joined by angels playing on musical instruments, and three holy virgins—Agnes, who hands a lily up

to the Madonna, Barbara, and Dorothy. The motives of this intimate family gathering are of the most innocent loveliness; Elizabeth caresses the infant Christ, the other children with their apples, books, and slates are conceived in the most charming and natural way. On the wings are represented the birth of Christ and the Adoration of the Kings, in which later subject Joseph is to be observed mixing the pap. The flesh parts and light gold hair only are coloured with handling as delicate as enamel; all the rest is gold, the ground as well as the draperies, which are subdued by dark hatchings and a dull tone of glazing.

Among the works of South Germany, and especially Bavaria, the altar-piece from the castle chapel at Pähl near Weilheim, in the Munich National Museum, takes the first rank. On the outside of the wings are the Madonna and the Man of Sorrows, and on the inside, still more finely executed on a gold ground, the crucified Saviour between Mary and John, and on the sides John the Baptist and S. Barbara. The heads are full of nobility and beauty, and Mary's countenance especially has a great depth and purity of expression. In Nuremberg we find a distinct school, which may be classed with that of Cologne for tenderness and sweetness of expression, but the forms are more worked out and full, the relief greater, deeper in tone, and of a warmish brown in the flesh.[80] Four narrow altar-wings from the ruined church of S. Katharine in Nuremberg, now in the Berlin Museum, are said on documentary evidence to have been presented A.D. 1400 by the Deichsler family; in which case they may help us to date other examples of a similar kind. The panels contain four statuesque pictures full of grace in the attitudes, Mary with the nude Child, before whom she holds a fruit; Peter Martyr, and rather smaller, under Gothic tabernacles, Elizabeth and John the Baptist. The striking austerity of these works—an austerity full, however, of character—soon yields in those that follow to a softer and more pleasing style, as we see in the memorial picture from the tomb of Paul Stromer (*d.* A.D. 1406) in the *Lorenzkirche*, with the Redeemer on clouds between angels, who carry the implements of his death; and in that of Kunigunde Kunz Rymensnyderin (*d.* A.D. 1409) in the same place, with the dead Christ held up by Mary and John. The finest work of this time is the Imhof altar-piece in the *Lorenzkirche*. In the centre picture Mary is enthroned beside Christ, who sets the crown upon her head; on the wings are two Apostles, and the family of the founder; on the predella, busts of Saints. In the castle is preserved a Bewailing of Christ, which once formed the back of the same altar-piece. The modelling here is of surprising power and care, along with luminous, tender, and full-bodied colour; the extremities, and especially the hands, are finished in a manner seldom seen at that time; the heads, pure in form, and with an expression of gentle thought, are still free from the oversweetness which pervades the works of the Lower Rhine, and therefore more healthy in tone.[81]

A picture in private possession in Vienna has such close technical resemblance to these paintings, that it probably belongs also to the Nuremberg school; it exhibits a peculiarly familiar conception of the Holy Family, which has not the caressing sweetness of the Cologne school, but is perhaps all the more natural and agreeable. Mary and Elizabeth sit on a stone seat spinning, while their two little naked children play at their feet; the infant Jesus holds a spoon in one hand, and with the other grasps at the saucepan held by his playmate, who seems to complain to his mother; on the scroll stand the words, "*Sichin muoter ihesus tuot mier*" (Fig. 116). The colouring of the whole is light, on a

Fig. 116.

gold ground, and the dawning feeling for nature is united to a great purity of style in the heads and studied care in the draperies.[82]

VIII. SCHOOLS OF FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS.—The few existing panels of the French and Flemish schools show a likeness in style and character to those of the Lower Rhine, but these schools can best be judged by their work in miniature. A profile bust of King John on panel with a diapered ground is preserved in the print room of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. In the Louvre there is a large picture of the Bewailing of Christ, whose dead body is held by God the Father, with Mary, John, and angels; and also a second large panel with Christ on the cross in the centre, on the left Christ giving the Sacrament to S. Denis in prison, and on the right the beheading of the saint; the colouring is bright on a gold ground. To the close of this period

belongs a Crucifixion of Christ with figures, and with the abbot William of S. Germain des Près (*d.* A.D. 1418) as donor, and with a view of Paris and the abbey in the background. The colour and drawing still correspond with the older schools. Softness and gentleness are the prevailing expressions.

The most important Flemish work of the end of the fourteenth century consists of two altar-wings from the Carthusian Monastery at Dijon, now in the museum of that town. They may be accepted as the work of Melchior Broederlam from Ypres, who was court painter and chamberlain to Philip the Bold, and whose name appears in the accounts of the Burgundian Court in the years A.D. 1382-1401. He receives payments for painted banners, for the painting of the Duchess's carriage, and several times also for pictures on panel; once A.D. 1392, and again A.D. 1398 and 1399 for altar shrines, with carved work by Jacob de Baerse, destined for the Carthusian monastery founded by the Duke A.D. 1383. The two broad wings, decorated with the arms and initials of the Duke, contain on the inside carvings and on each of the outside panels two painted subjects, one of which is under a rich architectural framework, and the other in an open landscape, though no border divides the two. 1. The Annunciation—Mary, in blue drapery, sits at her desk, and turns her head meekly, lifting one hand with a noble gesture, while the angel in red, with gold wings, kneels before her on the steps of the porch. God the Father appears above between red and blue angels. 2. The Visitation, in which the weak drawing of the hands is striking, and the expression of Elizabeth surprises by its individuality. 3. The Presentation, in which the movements of the Child on Mary's arm are charming; a woman, dressed in red, and carrying a basket with doves and a taper, leads the mild old Simeon. 4. The Flight into Egypt—Mary, riding on an ass, has wrapped the Child in her mantle and presses it to her; Joseph, in the dress of a peasant, with his bundle slung on a stick over his shoulder, strides on in front, and quietly swallows a mouthful or two from his travelling-flask. Thus here, too, in the midst of the greatest tenderness, a touch of every-day truth breaks out; but instead of the courtly delicacy of the Cologne school, the observation of the Flemish master is of a bluntly familiar and even coarse kind. Instead of the pure, spiritual, transfigured expression, the heads have more of a childishly innocent look, the flesh tones are if possible more delicate, with perfectly white lights, the hair is a pale gold passing into red, the cast of drapery full and flowing, and there is a delightful interchange of colour in the tones and gold embroidery of the dresses. Amid the effective and richly-coloured framework of late Gothic architecture appears the depressed arch, and the painted domical building behind the Annunciation recalls Romanesque forms. In the landscape the aspect of the rocks, and rivulets springing from among them in the foreground, is characteristically grasped; but the trees are conventional and unnaturally small, and instead of atmosphere the sky is covered with gold.[83]

With all its ideality of mood and pious inwardness, this school nevertheless feels itself drawn towards reality, and fastens with power and joy upon whatever facts come within the scope of its conceptions. It prepares the way for the positive realism destined to breathe forth in the Flemish school a few decades later, and to place the art of painting on new foundations.

CHAPTER V.

ITALY.

Introductory; Italy in this age takes the lead in painting, and especially in mural painting—Genius of the Italian population—Political conditions—New life of art; its local centres—Social conditions—CIMABUE AND DUCCIO; revival of art in Tuscany about A.D. 1250; Niccola Pisano—Improvement of painting slower than that of sculpture—Fanciful accounts of Ghiberti and Vasari—Cimabue; Vasari's account here confirmed by Dante—Madonnas of Cimabue at Florence and Paris—His mural paintings at Assisi—His mosaic at Pisa; and his death—His minor Florentine contemporaries; Coppo di Marcovaldo; Andrea Tafi—Masters of other cities; Margaritone of Arezzo; Guido of Siena—Duccio of Siena; his famous altar-piece—His style and merits—His disciples Segna and Ugolino—ROMAN MOSAICS; survival of the traditional practice of this art—Pietro Cavallini—Jacobus Torriti; his mosaics at the Lateran and *Santa Maria Maggiore*—Philippus Rusuti—Injured mosaic at Naples—GIOTTO; his contemporary fame; his birth, life, and death—Literary evidences as to his character—His early series of frescoes in the Upper Church of Assisi—His works at Rome—In the Arena chapel at Padua; their date—Their subjects—Their style; types and proportions—Draperies—Composition—Colour—Naturalness—Dramatic truth and energy—Analogy with Dante in the use of familiar images—Traces of other works at Padua and Ravenna—Frescoes in Lower Church at Assisi—Marriage of S. Francis and Poverty—Allegory of Chastity—Of Obedience—Artistic character of these allegories—Other frescoes in Lower Church—Lost works at Rimini and Naples—Frescoes at Florence; Bardi and Peruzzi chapels—Paintings on panel—General relation of Giotto to his predecessors—PUPILS AND FOLLOWERS OF GIOTTO; their training and traditions as described by Cennino—Method of fresco—Method of tempera—Duration of apprenticeship—Trade organisation—Taddeo Gaddi; his altar-pieces at Berlin and Siena—His frescoes at Florence and Pisa—Maso; his frescoes at Florence—The less-known followers of Giotto; Stefano, Giottino, Puccio Capanna, Buffalmacco—Bernardo di Daddo—Jacopo da Casentino—Giovanni da Milano—Agnolo Gaddi—Orcagna; his frescoes in *Santa Maria Novella*—His altar-pieces—Traini—Frescoes of uncertain authorship; refectory of S. Croce—Spanish Chapel—The Dominicans and their relation to art—Glory of Thomas Aquinas—Allegory of Church Government—Secular and civic allegories; lost examples—SCHOOL OF SIENA; Simone Martini—His frescoes in the Public Palace at Siena—Other works at Assisi, Naples, Orvieto, Pisa, Florence, Liverpool—Simone at Avignon—Lippo Memmi—Ambrogio and Pietro di Lorenzo—Panels by Pietro at San Ansano, Florence, Siena, and Arezzo—Frescoes by Ambrogio at Siena—Allegory of Good Government—Allegory of tyranny—Panels by Ambrogio di Lorenzo—Various masters of the declining Sienese school—Taddeo Bartoli—THE CAMPO SANTO AT PISA, AND EXPIRATION OF THE SCHOOL OF GIOTTO; history of the Campo Santo—Errors of Vasari—Order of execution of the frescoes—Triumph of Death—Last Judgment and Hell—The Hermit Life—Story of S. Ranieri—Stories of SS. Ephysius and Hippolytus—Subjects from the Book of Genesis—Spinello Aretino; his frescoes at San Miniato—Niccola di Pietro Cierino—Don Lorenzo—Gherardo Starnina—OTHER PROVINCES OF ITALY; frescoes at Naples—Mosaics at Messina—Umbria and the Marches: Ottaviano Nelli—Alegretto Nuzi—Weakness of the Bolognese, Modenese, and Venetian schools—Comparative excellence of the Paduan and Veronese; Altichiero and Avanzi—Their frescoes in chapel of S. Felice, Padua—In chapel of S. George—Guariento—MINIATURES; comparatively unimportant, notwithstanding their excellence, beside the other productions of Italian art in this age—Work stimulated in the thirteenth century by French influence—Independent, and of thoroughly Italian character by the fourteenth—Recorded names of illuminators; Oderigi of Gubbio; Franco of Bologna; Don Silvestro—Examples of their age and spirit, but not of their hands—Bologna a chief seat of the art—Illuminated MSS. of Dante and Petrarch—Sicilian fourteenth century MS.—Italian illuminators in the employ of French patrons—CONCLUSION.

IN the Gothic as in the two preceding periods, Italian painting demands to be separately considered, since both as to conceptions and technical methods it followed lines of its own. But whereas during the two former periods Italy had lagged behind the north, and only rose above primitive rudeness under the effect of Byzantine influences, in the period we are now considering she outsoared all other countries. The conditions were at the outset more favourable to painting here than elsewhere. As Gothic principles of architecture were never consistently carried out in Italy, so painting was not cramped by the limitations those principles impose. The French style of building only appeared in Italy so transformed as to suit the traditional taste of the country. Even where both construction and detail were taken from the Gothic, architecture in Italy remained exempt from that exclusive pursuit of height, that predominance of the principle of the perpendicular, which was of the essence of the northern style, and kept up its old love for clear and ample interior spaces. There was thus no inclination to break up the whole structure into vertical members, to banish wall-surfaces, and fill all the space between the several piers and vaultings with huge windows, which would have been quite out of place in the intense daylight of the south. The wall-surfaces retained their old importance in the scheme, and were treated, now as ever, as so many sheets of pictured tapestry. Whereas wall-painting in the north played but a secondary part after the Gothic style reached perfection, and was executed for the most part in a merely decorative way, in Italy it was an essential feature. At the same time, compared with painting on wall and panel, all other branches of the art fell into the background; neither miniature-painting, although it produced some charming volumes of *luxe*, nor glass-painting, adds anything of independent importance to the history of Italian art at this time.

The conceptions of Italian art differed also from those of other countries. The soft and sentimental charm which corresponded to the manners of chivalry found much less place here, for chivalry in its ideal and fantastic aspects was foreign to Italy. The feudal nobility were less sharply separated as a class from the rest of the population than elsewhere, and were generally content to form part of the civic commonwealth, founding their influence upon wealth and the reality of power. The subjects of chivalrous poetry, too, were as far from affecting Italian painting as were the popular humour and mocking fancy of the north. Even the great revival of Italian poetry which preceded that of the manual arts furnished the latter with no new subjects. The Divine Comedy of Dante filled the souls of artists and supplied their spiritual nourishment for centuries; but the images it awakened coincided in the main with those already supplied by the Church, or where they did not do so, were of a fantastic kind unsuited to be embodied in art. The subjects of painting, then, were in Italy, even more exclusively than in the north, religious, but they were conceived in a different spirit. Fervent as was the religious temper of the

population, and mounting even to enthusiastic heights under the influence of the newly-arisen mendicant orders, still that mystical sweetness of the north was not known to Italian painting, and even a spiritual tenderness of expression is characteristic at most of this or that particular master or school. Even in sacred scenes the Italian artist allows real feelings and passions to express themselves, and real transactions and relations of life to be portrayed. The sense of the importance and power of human individuality, which was a part of the heritage of classical antiquity, affirmed itself in opposition to the mediæval Christian point of view here earlier than among other nations. In the intellectual sphere this assertion of the principles of individual freedom produced precious fruits; whereas in the practical sphere its excess led to arbitrary living, selfishness, and contempt of all moral limitations.

After the downfall of the house of Hohenstaufen, the Imperial power ceased practically to exist for Italy. The expedition of Henry VII. to Rome, which was greeted with hope by Dante, came to nothing through inadequacy of resources and through the premature death of the Emperor. The Papacy had been strong enough to undermine, but not to replace, the supreme political authority; that it allowed itself to be drawn into party warfare was its misfortune. The attempt made by Boniface VIII. to maintain the full authority of the Church did not outlast its author. In the war with the house of Hohenstaufen the Papacy had thrown itself into the arms of France, and on France it now became dependent; under Clement V. its seat was transferred from Rome to Avignon. Every province, nay, every individual community, was torn by factions, amid which the old names of Guelf and Ghibelline no longer stood for the partisans of Pope or Emperor, but for enemies arrayed against one another in purely local quarrels. This is the state of things described by Dante in the famous apostrophe following the greeting of Sordello and Virgil in the sixth canto of the *Purgatory:*—

> O Italy! thou slave! thou house of woe!
> Bark on tempestuous gulfs unpiloted!
> Brothel! no more as lady of realms to know!
> With such kind haste that gentle spirit sped,
> Of his dear land but hearing the name's sound,
> To greet his fellow-townsman 'mid the dead;
> While save at strife stand not within thy bound
> Thy living sons, and each the other gnaws
> Of those one rampart and one ditch surround.
>
> Dante, *Purg.*, vi. 75.

But these wars and tumults were no manifestations of barbarism; they were rather perversions of the consciousness of power and the impulse of freedom. Thus this period of frightful political distraction was yet a period of growing culture among the people.

At that time, when a national language emerged from among the several dialects and formed a literature for itself—when Dante gave majestic expression to

the strifes, dispositions, and imaginations of the time—when Petrarch, even greater as a scholar than as a poet, stood at the head of those who led back mankind to the sources of ancient culture—when the universities of Italy became the nurseries of knowledge—then, too, began a new and independent life for art, which from that time forth rested entirely on the national spirit. But it did not strike root in all parts of the country. South Italy, which lay directly under the feet of the French usurper, no longer took an independent part in its development; only in the time of King Robert, who loved art, many important works were produced in this region by artists invited from a distance. Art was encouraged in Rome during the time of Boniface VIII. If the powers of the local artists were not great, masters of the first rank were attracted to Rome from other parts, and once more the Eternal City seemed about to become the rallying-point of Italian life; but soon afterwards, abandoned by the Papacy, she sank back into complete confusion. The true home of art was in the Free States of Central Italy, and especially of Tuscany. Florence came first; Siena next; and some of the smaller cities not far behind.

In spite of faction and strife a brilliant revival of material prosperity had set in. Careful administration and a regular system of taxation furnished the means for that encouragement of the arts to which men were inspired by the ardour of their patriotism. The lower class of citizens had worked itself upwards. Industry and banking flourished. Prosperity was followed by an increase of luxury in dress and manners, and at the same time by the noblest feeling for art, which was shared alike by all classes of citizens. Next to these States, art found in the cities of northern Italy its most favourable soil. Even if here, as in Verona and Padua for instance, the rage of parties had led to the subjection of the community under a ruler proved in war, still such a ruler was accustomed, even in his own interests, to further the prosperity of the citizens. Thus the patriotism of the city, even after it had become politically powerless, could still display itself in the ideal sphere. But though Italian painting may have been chiefly attached to certain local centres, it spoke a language which was understood by the whole nation, and spread over its most distant members by the intercourse of provinces and cities, as well as by the wanderings of the artists themselves. The special artistic gifts of the Italians, their power of enjoyment, their attitude of independence towards authority, their capacity for embodying the intellectual in material form, now announced themselves distinctly for the first time, and led to a development of national art which continued through the course of three centuries.

I. CIMABUE AND DUCCIO.—Tuscany assumes, from about A.D. 1250, its new position in the history of Italian art. From that time down to the beginning of the sixteenth century it is from the free cities of this province that the most important and fruitful movements originate. But at first the

advance manifests itself here in sculpture much more decisively than in painting. Niccola Pisano, who completed (A.D. 1260) his great work, the pulpit of the Baptistery at Pisa, no longer shows any trace of the former Byzantine influence. His conception is based upon a sudden and powerful return to the example of the antique—of the Roman relief. His composition is crowded, every inch of space is filled, the figures are short and squat, the heads large with typical features, and the cast of the drapery classical. Far removed as his work is from the earlier Italian style, it differs still more from the northern Gothic, possessing none of its vehemence, its slenderness in the proportions, its undulating attitudes or mannered courtliness. The leading character of his work is a cool, measured, self-conscious power.

In the paintings which at the time of Niccola Pisano inaugurate a revival of the sister art, we find no resemblance to his style, and especially no leaning towards antiquity. Painting advances with greater difficulty, moving along its old track, and arriving only step by step at the formation of a new and independent style ; to end, however, by then taking the lead decisively.

The earliest Italian historians of art, Ghiberti and Vasari, give a mythic turn to their narratives.[84] According to them, art, like everything else, had utterly gone down in Italy with the close of the classic age, and was only carried on there by Greek immigrants, who brought their skill with them, but whose style was not that of the ancient Greeks, and whose figures were clumsy and coarse. The Italians, however, say these authorities, accepted the debased Greek way of work, since they knew of none better, until at last, A.D. 1250, heaven was merciful, and people appeared who knew how to distinguish the good from the bad. Vasari makes both the sculptor Niccola Pisano and the painter Cimabue at first followers of Greek masters, who wrought in their native land, and whose work they learnt first to copy and afterwards to surpass. We now know that this is an imaginary account ; that Greek artists could hardly have been working at Pisa and Florence at this time ; and that in general the appearance in Italy of craftsmen of Greek birth was confined to brief periods and to particular localities, though it is true that between direct and indirect influences a Byzantine manner had established itself in Italy. And this style was still maintained, although in the hands of artists of Italian blood ; the departure from it forms the first step in the new development.

Vasari begins his biographies with the Florentine Giovanni Cimabue, born according to him A.D. 1240. A still more ancient source testifies that Vasari has given Cimabue his right place ; and this is Dante, who mentions him as the forerunner of Giotto, and thereby gives occasion to his own earliest anonymous commentator, writing A.D. 1334, to make some remarks upon Cimabue's fame and ambition. These remarks are afterwards quoted by Vasari.

Cimabue practised painting on wall, panel, and mosaic, all three. His

principal existing works are only assigned to him by Vasari, and not authenticated by inscriptions or otherwise. They consist of three large Madonnas on panel with gold grounds. The most celebrated is that in the chapel of the Rucellai family in *Santa Maria Novella* at Florence. Mary is enthroned with the Child on her lap, at the sides are six angels holding by the throne; they are on a smaller scale than the Madonna, and arranged one above another in a severely symmetrical and decorative way. Mary's head is archaic and typical, with long nose, narrowly slit eyes, remarkably small mouth and chin, and a slight inclination of the head. Very moderate knowledge is shown in the hands with their long thin fingers, and in the feet of the Child; while the feet of the Virgin disappear entirely under the drapery, which is conventional but not without sweep, ending below in studied points and crinkles. But the whole is effective from its character of mild solemnity, of reverential innocence in the angels, and from the attempt at natural movement in the Child (Fig. 117). The colours are simple, lively, and clear, in the flesh tints. The Byzantine manner is not overcome; it is but slightly modified by a leaning, personal to Cimabue as contrasted with Niccola Pisano, towards the Gothic taste in attitude, inclination of the head, expression, and drapery; and here and there by a timid effort after nature. The two other pictures, which have suffered severely, are quite similar in composition; that in the Louvre was formerly in the church of S. Francis at Pisa; it still has medallions of twenty-four saints in the frame; the other from the church of the Trinity in Florence, and now in the Academy there, has on each side four angels instead of three, and underneath the busts of four prophets.

For Cimabue's achievements in wall-painting we must turn to Assisi, which was one of the most important centres of activity for Italian artists at this time. Two years after the death of S. Francis (*d.* A.D. 1226) a memorial monastery church was begun at his native Assisi, on the desolate place of execution outside the town, which he had chosen for his grave. This is the first known monument of the Gothic style in Italy, and after it was consecrated A.D. 1253, its decoration in every part with wall-paintings was carried on through many years, the means being furnished by pious offerings. Here the most famous painters of the age in Italy competed. First, according to Vasari, Cimabue executed, in conjunction with certain Greek masters (which we may take to mean masters of the old style), some of the ceilings of that gloomy, sepulchral, low-vaulted building, the Lower Church. In the north transept there remain by his hand, among later pictures, a Madonna with four angels. But we find the work of Cimabue in a more connected form in the Upper Church, which is carried on the Lower, and is of a cruciform shape with a single nave in a fully developed Gothic style, and with light free proportions. Vasari sees in the painting of this church the creations of Cimabue only; but this opinion may at any rate be qualified in one particular, as there exists in part of the church

a series of pictures evidently older, and in the manner of the first half of the thirteenth century; particularly the large Crucifixion in the south transept, and

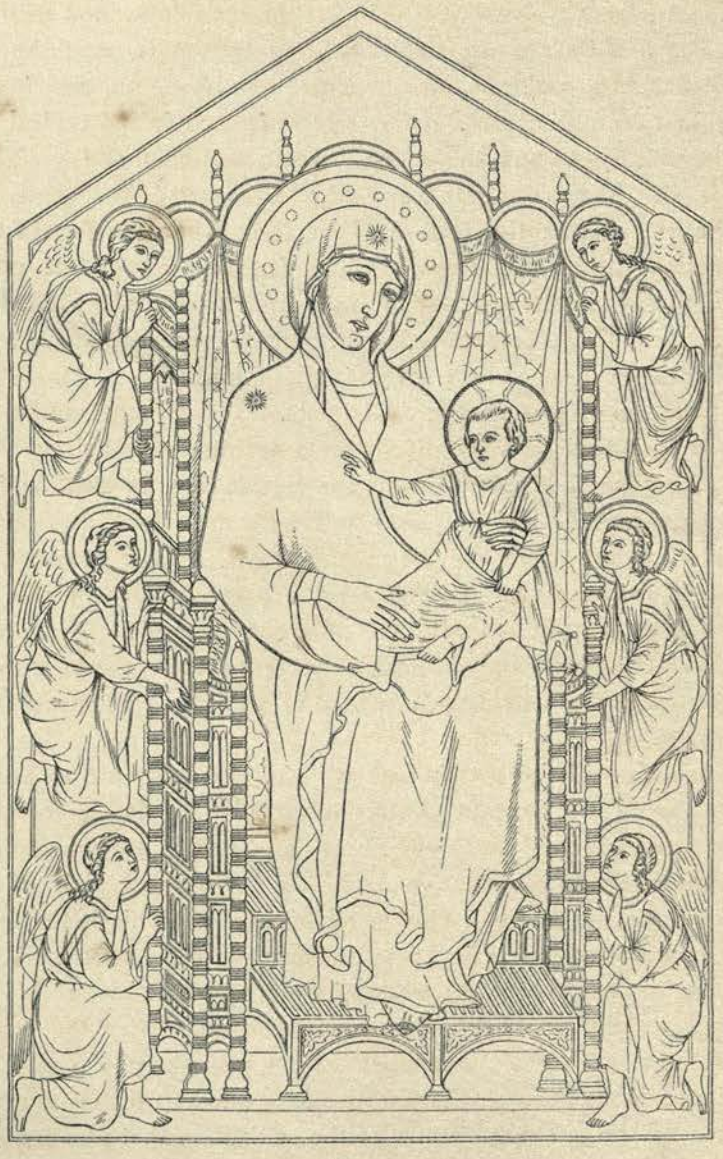

Fig. 117.

the pictures from the legend of Mary at the end of the choir no less. The remains of a Last Judgment in the north transept are much more like the work of Cimabue, but they are in too bad a state to admit of a decided opinion.[85]

But in the vaulting and on the walls of the nave we find, with the excep-

tion of the lowest band of pictures, which are by Giotto, a connected scheme bound together in severe decorative harmony, so that about this part of Vasari's statement there is no room for doubt. The bays of the nave, including that formed by its intersection with the transept, are five in number; and the vaultings of only three of these are decorated with pictures, the intermediate two being set with gold stars on a blue ground. The eastern bay contains the four Evangelists receiving their inspiration from angels; the central bay four medallions, with heads of Christ, Mary, John the Baptist, and Francis; and the western —of which the subjects are the most freely conceived—the four Fathers of the Church, with monks transcribing their words. Then follow the two upper courses of pictures on the walls of the nave; each course presents in each bay two pictures, on the wall-surfaces to right and left of the narrow pointed window (on the west wall, of the great wheel window). On the south wall is illustrated the book of Genesis as far as the story of Joseph, and on the north wall the Gospel history. This last terminates on the lower course of the west wall with the Ascension and the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit, above which are the figures of Peter and Paul. Of these thirty-six pictures many are quite destroyed, others faded and grievously injured. What can still be distinguished shows the same style in the types of the heads, extremities, and drapery, as that of the panels already mentioned; only the treatment, as follows naturally from the scope of the undertaking, is much slighter and more decorative. But while in those devotional pictures Cimabue seems still constrained, he finds an opportunity here for a freer exercise of his power. Clear arrangement and just feeling for space are joined to a directness in the motives which breaks through the old rigidity, and a liveliness in the affection expressed which speaks directly to the imagination. Here we look upon the real first step towards the further development of Tuscan art.

Vasari erroneously places the death of Cimabue in A.D. 1300, whereas in A.D. 1301 and 1302 he was still engaged upon the mosaic in the apse of the Cathedral at Pisa, the only work well authenticated as his by original documents, and probably his last.[86] The enthroned Saviour, for whom in this monumental mosaic the artist maintains the old austerely solemn type, and the gentler figure of the Evangelist John, are the work of Cimabue himself. The Mary on the other side of Christ was only added later (A.D. 1321), by one Vincinus of Pistoia.

Other contemporary Florentines remained behind Cimabue; as Coppo di Marcovaldo, who executed the Madonna dated A.D. 1261, and dedicated by the Bordone family, in *Santa Maria dei Servi* at Siena. The largest and finest work of this period in Florence itself is the great mosaic in the dome of the Baptistery, in which Vasari assigns a share to Andrea Tafi (who was still alive A.D. 1320). The topmost circle contains Christ standing among the angelic choirs; then follow, in three eastern compartments of the octagonal

dome, the Last Judgment, with a gigantic figure of Christ enthroned above the choir arch, and also Paradise and Hell. The five remaining compartments are covered with four rows of narrative pictures from the Old and New Testaments. A gold ground, and copious use of gold in the draperies, enhance the richness of the effect, but the style is altogether Byzantine. Another mosaic of the same period in Florence—the Coronation of the Virgin in the interior lunette above the entrance of the cathedral (attributed by Vasari to Gaddo Gaddi, who was still living A.D. 1333)—exhibits the same archaic character, already a little touched by the influence of Cimabue.

Among painters of other cities should be mentioned Margaritone of Arezzo, by whom there exist a few signed pictures, the most important being a Madonna in the National Gallery, from the church of S. Margaret at Arezzo; also Guido of Siena, whose Madonna in the church of S. Dominic at Siena was probably painted A.D. 1281.[87]

But there appeared in Siena at the same time a master who may well take his place by the side of Cimabue. This was Duccio, the son of Buoninsegna, of whom we hear for the first time by documentary records A.D. 1282, and for the last time A.D. 1320. Ghiberti even in his day wrote the praises of Duccio. His famous altar for the Cathedral of Siena was begun A.D. 1308, and on its completion three years later, was carried, like the Rucellai altar-piece of Cimabue, from the workshop to the church in solemn procession to the sound of trumpet and drum and bell.[88] It now stands divided and robbed of its original settings, in two side chapels of the Cathedral choir. The centre picture (Fig. 118) represents the Madonna and Child surrounded by twenty angels, of whom those standing nearest to the throne lean on it with a charming feeling, and by six saints and four patrons of the city on their knees. Over this comes a border with busts of the Apostles. The back of the altar (which has been sawn in two in its thickness, so that back and front are now detached) contains twenty-six scenes from the Passion in four courses, with seven compartments in each course, only that two scenes — the entry into Jerusalem and the Crucifixion—are larger than the rest, and take up two courses. There are also to be seen in the sacristy eighteen small pictures, which once formed the predellas of both sides and the cresting of the back of the altar-piece. These consist of six scenes from the childhood of Christ, six from the incidents after the Resurrection, six from the closing part of the legend of Mary, from the announcement of her death to her burial.

Duccio has adhered to Byzantine types and motives, but has ennobled them by more pleasing proportions and a better execution of the hands and feet. In spite of the archaic type with the long nose, we find already in the countenance of the Madonna a certain charm which Cimabue had not compassed. The face of the Child no longer wears the look of age, but rivals Cimabue's own in its really childlike expression. The faces, indeed, often show some approach to

classical models, especially in their fine oval shapes and full symmetrical mouths. The eyes are not too narrow, but receive something of a pensive and tenderly pathetic expression by a slight drawing up of the under lid. Duccio surpasses all Italian painters of his time in his feeling for ideal beauty. In narrative pictures it is evident that he depends upon earlier models; the fulness of detail, the constant recurrence of closely allied incidents, causes a frequent

Fig. 118.

repetition of the same situations. Full dramatic power Duccio did not possess. His motives are often timid and constrained where we look for resolute action. Still the subjects are independently thought out, and everywhere we find heads and gestures full of deep feeling and expressiveness. Hence his quieter scenes, like the Burial of the Virgin, often produce the most effect. The grouping is simple and artless; but looks of the most inward grief are given to the Apostles as they tenderly lay the corpse into the sarcophagus, and bow themselves over it in affliction; the background is formed of rocks between detached trees

(Fig. 119). What strikes us first in Duccio's handling is the green tone of his preparation in the flesh parts, which has now in most places come too strongly

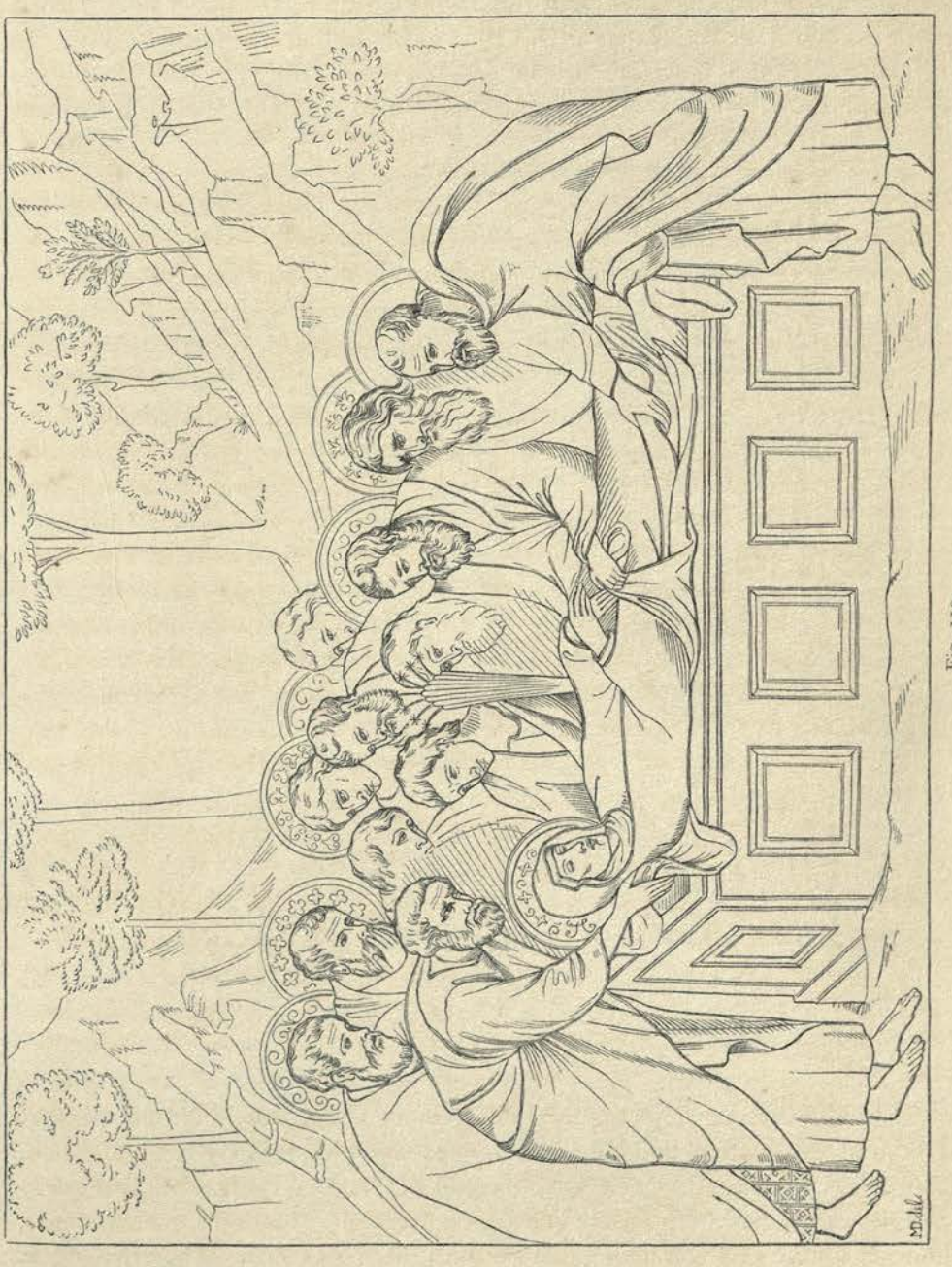

Fig. 119.

through. His brush-work is characterised by careful fusion, with the highest degree of ornamental daintiness, and almost painful elaboration. Scarcely any Florentine can rival him in loving and painstaking execution.

Segna and Ugolino of Siena were disciples of Duccio. Signed examples by the former are four joined panels with half-length figures of the Madonna and three saints in the Siena Gallery; and a Madonna with angels, besides donors and their patron saints, in the church of Castiglione Fiorentino near Arezzo. The manner of Duccio is here carried to an exaggerated pitch of studied daintiness. This Ugolino is probably identical with Ugolino Neri, who appears in documents at Siena about A.D. 1317. He was much employed for Florence, and executed a picture for the high altar of S. Croce, a number of the panels belonging to which were once brought together in Young Ottley's collection in London, but have since then been scattered among various private owners. It was formed of seven vertical compartments. On the predella were scenes from the Passion, beginning with the Last Supper and ending with the Resurrection. Under the central scene, the Bearing of the Cross, was the artist's signature in full. In the principal division were heads of saints and the Madonna in the centre; over this a frieze with small heads. In the following course came saints in pairs, chiefly Apostles, and lastly, gable-shaped panels with half-lengths of saints. While Ugolino follows Duccio entirely in the oval of the heads, well-shaped mouths, and sharply-folded drapery, he is already more flowing in his processes. His forms are fuller, and in the predella especially his conception is often free and dramatic.

II. ROMAN MOSAICS.—Along with the schools of Tuscany there was also, on the confines of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, a school of some temporary importance at Rome, where the art of mosaic still continued to exist in connection with the old indigenous tradition, and was slightly modified by the altered tendencies of the time.

In *Santa Maria in Trastevere*, beneath the semi-dome of the tribune already described, there extends a series of six scenes from the life of the Virgin, and somewhat lower the series finds its conclusion in a circular mosaic under the middle window of the apse, representing Mary with the Child, and below them Peter and Paul, the former of whom presents the donor, Bertholdus Stefaneschi. This work was probably completed A.D. 1291. The statement of Ghiberti and Vasari that its author was named Pietro Cavallini is confirmed by a P. in the frame of the last picture. Otherwise all that Vasari says about the master is erroneous. He assigns him an entirely wrong historical position as a follower of Giotto. The more modern theory which makes him a pupil of the Cosmati is equally without substantial proof. The author of these mosaics shows himself really a painter, not exclusively a worker in marble and decorator. He starts from the older Byzantine style, but contrives to add a certain nobility to the types, motives, and composition. All that we know besides of Pietro Cavallini is, that in A.D. 1308 he was in the royal service at Naples, where, however, every trace of his work has disappeared.[89]

At the same time the art of mosaic was being practised at Rome by a workman of unknown origin, Jacobus Torriti. This, according to an inscription, was the master who decorated the apses of the Lateran and *Santa Maria Maggiore* under Pope Nicolas IV. (A.D. 1288-1292). In the former has been let in a circle with a bust of Christ, taken from an earlier mosaic; under it is the Cross upon a hill, with the four rivers of Paradise, at which animals are drinking. At the sides are eight saints, and the figure of the Pope on a small scale. Below these, and connected with them, are other mosaics in a somewhat more archaic style; several figures of Apostles near the windows, and at their feet two Franciscan monks, one with a builder's compass and a rule, the other with a hammer, and an inscription identifying him as Brother Jacobus *de Camerino*, assistant of the master-builder, so that these works also belong, most probably, to the time of the rebuilding of the church under Nicolas IV. The style of Torriti may be more distinctively realised in the better-preserved mosaic of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, which was not completed, according to the inscription, until A.D. 1295. The middle circle contains a Virgin crowned by Christ, who is enthroned beside her. At each side are two groups of angels alternating with three saints, before whom, and on a smaller scale, kneel Pope Nicolas IV. and Cardinal Giacomo Colonna as donors. The lower course on the wall of the apse contains five scenes from the legend of the Virgin, and on either side of the arch Matthew and Jerome. The large picture especially shows none of the advances made by contemporary artists on the old traditional style, which is reproduced here in poor and timid movements and forms, for which a certain tenderness of expression in the Mary is scarcely a sufficient compensation. Torriti remains too much cramped by precedent; he preserves from the earlier style its ornamental opulence as well as other things, its rich borders, the graceful wreaths of foliage with birds which fill every available space in the vaultings, and the feature of a lower border to the picture in the semi-dome; this here recalls the early Christian treatment of the same feature in the now perished mosaic of the dome of S. Costanza, and represents a river, on each margin of which reposes a river-god; the waters are alive with boats and fish, while animals of all kinds enliven the banks.[90]

About the same time was undertaken the mosaic decoration of the façade in the same church, which is now built into a Baroque porch, and disfigured by windows broken into it. In a circle, which also contains the artist's name, Philippus Rusuti, sits Christ enthroned and surrounded by four angels with incense-burners and tapers; at the sides stand eight saints, and over them are symbols of the Evangelists. The two lesser figures of the donors, Cardinals Giacomo and Pietro Colonna, have perished. There is rather more life in the movements, but the work is not essentially better than that of Torriti. But there is still one more tier of pictures below these, containing four scenes from the legend of the foundation of the Basilica Liberiana: the Virgin appearing

to Pope Liberius and to the patrician John in a dream; the latter discovering his face to the Pope; Liberius drawing the ground-plan of the church in the snow which has miraculously fallen. These four motives are developed with lively and speaking action, although the limbs are structurally rather weak. Rich and splendidly coloured architectural devices, such as we shall soon find in the work of the next generation of Florentines, appear everywhere. Beautiful marble-mosaic in the style of the Cosmati divides the subjects from one another laterally and above. A new epoch already announces itself here.[91]

Naples possesses a grievously injured mosaic, belonging to the beginning of the fourteenth century, in a chapel of the Church of S. Restituta next the Cathedral; it represents the Madonna with S. Januarius and S. Restituta. According to the inscription, this mosaic appears to have been the work of one Lellus.

III. GIOTTO.—The opinion which his contemporaries entertained of Giotto as the greatest genius in the arts which Italy in that age possessed, has been perpetuated by Dante in the lines in which the illuminator, Oderigi, says:—

> In painting Cimabue fain had thought
> To lord the field; now Giotto has the cry,
> So that the other's fame in shade is brought.
>
> DANTE, *Purg.* xi. 93.

Giotto di Bondone was born at Del Colle, a village in the commune of Vespignano near Florence, according to Vasari A.D. 1276, but more probably A.D. 1266. He went through his apprenticeship under Cimabue, and practised as a painter and architect not only in Florence, but in various parts of Italy, in free cities as well as in the courts of princes; first of all at Assisi, then about A.D. 1298-1300 at Rome; about A.D. 1303-1306 in Padua, and also at Rimini; and in the years between A.D. 1330-1333 at Naples, in the service of King Robert, who conferred upon him (January 30, 1330) the honours and privileges of a member of the royal household. On April 12, 1334, Giotto was appointed by the civic authorities of Florence chief master of the cathedral works, the city fortifications, and all public architectural undertakings, in an instrument of which the wording constitutes the most affectionate homage to the "great and dear master." Giotto died January 8, 1337.[92]

It was not only the artist in Giotto, but the whole man, that impressed the minds of his contemporaries. He was praised by Petrarch as well as Dante, and in the novels of Boccaccio and Franco Sacchetti he plays the part of a character familiar to every one, unprepossessing and even ugly in appearance, but full of wit and practical readiness. Anecdotes and sayings gather early about his name, and even before A.D. 1312 the chronicler Riccobaldo, and after him Villani, mention him with all honour.[93]

To the outset of Giotto's career belong the twenty-eight pictures in the Upper

Church at Assisi, extending under the windows, and the series of pictures by Cimabue. Vasari mentions Fra Giovanni *di Muro della Marca*, appointed General of the Franciscan order A.D. 1296, as having occasioned the call of Giotto to this undertaking. Beside the time-honoured stories from Genesis and the Gospels painted by Cimabue himself, appears the legend of the new saint, Francis of Assisi, which from henceforth becomes a constantly recurring subject in art. The first pictures, with stories from his youth, acts of beneficence, reverence paid him by the poor, and visions, are followed by the dramatic scene in which the young Francis parts from his father, when the latter indicts him for having sold his goods and given the money to build a church; the young man lays his clothes at his father's feet, and turning away poor and naked is sheltered by the bishop in his mantle. Next, Pope Innocent III. sees in a dream the homely brother upholding the tottering church of the Lateran, and upon this sanctions the rules of his order. Then follow miracles and visions; the driving out of the devils; the trial by fire before the Soldan; the miraculous springing up of a well; the preaching to the birds, and later the sermon before the Pope; the receiving of the stigmata—here S. Francis is on a lonely mountain top, a seraph appears and imprints the wounds of Christ upon him; lastly come the death of the Saint, his canonisation and his posthumous miracles. The legend is impressive and full of poetical and thoroughly dramatic features which seize upon the artist's imagination; but it is also full of sentimentality, and not without strange, repulsive, and scarcely paintable episodes. The subject, moreover, was new, and not yet consecrated by the tradition of centuries; the artist had to find his own way in it. There can be no doubt that Giotto worked with assistants, but the present condition of the pictures makes it almost impossible to give an opinion as to the actual hands engaged on them. But that Giotto was the author and director of the work as a whole there is no good reason to doubt.[94] The several pictures are more or less satisfactory according as their subjects suited the individual genius of the master. In many of the earlier as well as in the later members of this series, may be recognised types and traits corresponding with those of his great authenticated works in the Arena at Padua, and especially his peculiar completeness of dramatic presentation and blunt sincerity of detail. The fifth picture, representing the parting of Francis from his father, is an example of this. In the fourteenth, the miracle of the spring, Vasari justly praises the admirably natural expression of thirst in the man stooping down to drink. The seventeenth, the preaching before Pope Honorius III. and his cardinals, shows the most lifelike expression of mental tension.

Similar to these are the works in Rome, where Giotto practised his art in the latter years of the thirteenth century. The pictures in the tribune of the original S. Peter's, ascribed to him by Vasari, have perished. But from a *Necrologium* in the Vatican archives,[95] it appears that Cardinal Giacomo Gaetano

Stefaneschi (brother of the *Bertholdus* whom we found ordering the mosaics by Cavallini) commissioned Giotto to execute the mosaic of the *Navicella*, with the disciples in the ship and Peter walking on the sea, which is now in the portico of S. Peter's, so much restored that it is worth no more than a bad copy. For the same cardinal Giotto painted an altar-piece to be placed in S. Peter's. This is now preserved in the *Stanza Capitolare* of the sacristy, and confirms Vasari's words, that it was the most carefully executed of all his paintings. In the centre appears the cardinal before the Saviour, who is surrounded by angels; at the sides are the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul, and on what was formerly the back of the panel Peter is enthroned with saints, two bishops in adoration, and the donor below; on the sides are four Apostles. There are besides a number of accessory subjects let into the gables and borders, as well as fragments of a predella with a Madonna. In the church of the Lateran all that remains by the hand of Giotto is a badly-preserved fragment, built into a pillar, of a wall-painting originally executed in the *loggia* of the Lateran palace. The subject is Boniface VIII. proclaiming the Jubilee A.D. 1300.

Next in chronological order among the works of Giotto is usually placed the ruined set of wall-paintings in the *Palazzo del Podestà* at Florence, with the famous portraits of Dante and his contemporaries. But recent researches [96] seem to have proved conclusively that these works were only painted after Giotto's death, viz. in A.D. 1337. We therefore proceed to the work by which we can now most completely judge of the genius of the master—the *Cappella dell' Arena* at Padua, so called because the chapel stands on the site of the ancient amphitheatre. The building was founded and completed A.D. 1303 by a rich Paduan burgher, Enrico degli Scrovegni. A fourteenth-century commentator of Dante, Benvenuto da Imola, says that Dante visited the master while this work was going on, and was honourably received by him and taken into his house. Now Dante's stay in Padua is ascertained to have taken place A.D. 1306.[97]

With the exception of the choir, which exhibits only later paintings, the whole of this church, consisting of a single nave, is decorated by Giotto alone. The vaulting is adorned with medallions containing busts of Christ, Mary, and prophets. On the walls of the nave and on the choir arch are thirty-eight pictures in three tiers, which relate the legend of Mary, beginning from the rejection of Joachim's offering to the miraculous events of her birth, and also the story of the Gospel down to the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit. In the broad and beautiful borders are inserted a number of very small pictures, which complete the subjects of the larger ones. Among these are some from the New Testament, but the majority are taken from the Old, and chosen for their significance as types. Thus we see the Translation of Elias beside the Ascension of Christ. Motives from the *Physiologus* also appear, as the lion bringing his young to life with his breath; next the angels at the tomb, and the risen Saviour appearing to the Magdalene. The lower frieze contains fourteen per-

sonifications of the Virtues and Vices, done in *grisaille.* In its traditional place on the wall nearest to the entrance, we find the great composition of the Last Judgment, in the foreground of which is also to be seen the donor kneeling, with the model of the church. The whole system of Christian doctrine according to the ideas of the Middle Age is therefore here expressed in one connected scheme of church interior decoration.

This great and tolerably well-preserved cycle of paintings affords the best opportunity for a thorough analysis of Giotto's style. He shows himself, in the first place, a master of monumental painting, in his command of vast wall-surfaces, in his power to preserve a quiet and harmonious rhythm in design and arrangement as well as colour, and in all that tends to produce a general unity of decorative effect. Of the subjects themselves — religious pictures and personifications alike—the choice and order were prescribed to him. His style does not transcend the limits of his age. The heads and bodies are typical rather than individual, although they differ considerably alike from the pure Byzantine manner, and from that manner as severally modified in the tenderer forms and pictures of Cimabue, or in the nobler proportions and more pensive expressions of Duccio. In Giotto's work the heads are stronger, with a greater squareness and prominence of jaw, without the graceful oval of his predecessors. His mouths, like theirs, are small, and his eyes narrow, and often not set quite on the same level. The faces are alike, except for the differences of sex and age, each age being represented by its established type. Occasionally, as in the Last Judgment, appear more individual faces, but these are exceptional. The bodies still show a want of independent study of nature; the proportions of the several members (as we know by the Handbook of Cennino hereafter to be mentioned) were regulated by a fixed system of measurements. The hands are still long, and their structure imperfectly understood; the feet are weak, and generally disappear under the drapery. The drawing is still, on the whole, conventional, and the modelling not carried far.

A striking advance, however, shows itself in the drapery. The laboured and mechanical imitation of the antique cast, with small folds as of wetted tissue, which was proper to the Byzantine manner, is abandoned, as well as the studied sweep and fidgety pointed terminations familiar to Cimabue. Giotto designs his drapery in broad, picturesque masses, terminating below in almost straight lines, but full of linear beauty. And although these draperies may not indicate the structure of the body in detail, still they distinctly echo its movements. For the personages of sacred tradition the antique ideal dress prevails, and the costumes of the day do not appear so often as in northern art. Animals are rendered in a wooden, mechanical way, with weak movements, and much too small in proportion to the human figures; the artist not having painted them for their own sakes, but only as so many accessories required for clearly exhibiting some action (Fig. 120).

In composition Giotto always avoided complicated recession of planes, thereby contriving not to ask too much from the limited sense of perspective enjoyed by his age. Without aiming at conventional beauty of line, his contours are effective by their precision and expression of character. The locality is everywhere indicated by rocks and trees much alike in shape, which look like

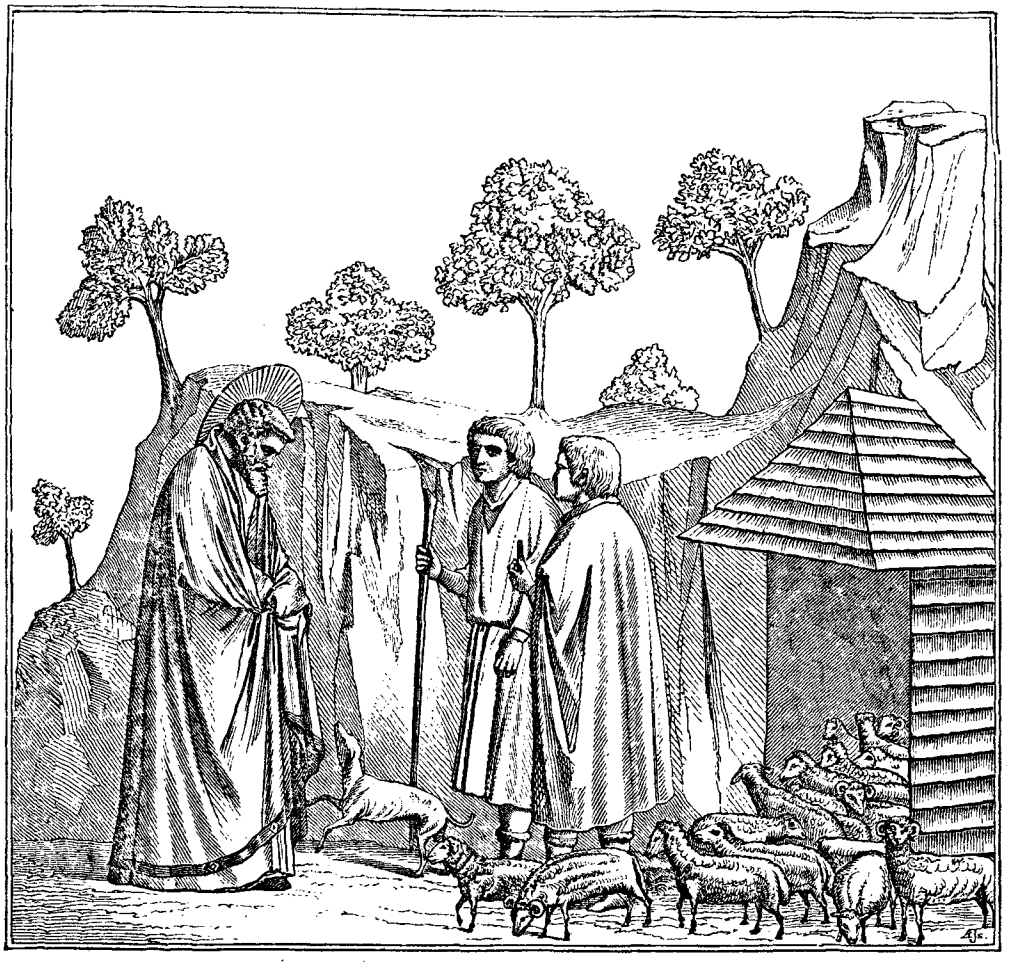

Fig. 120.

toys cut out of paper; or else by set pieces of symbolic architecture. A roof carried on thin staves stands for a room, a canopy over a flight of steps for a temple, and so forth. Such expedients were all the master needed to bring before the eye the locality of an action; diminutive as the landscape and architectural features so introduced might be, as compared, according to any true scale of proportion, with the human figures in the scene. Like the Northern artists of the fourteenth century, Giotto was careful with the detail of the buildings introduced in his pictures, representing them of rich materials and colour, and with an

attempt at perspective; though in this last point, having only uncertain feeling and no scientific knowledge to guide him in the conduct of his lines, he did not keep to any single point of sight or reach more than approximate correctness. All the rest of the space is filled with the simple blue background usual in the mural paintings of the Middle Age; while for mosaics, panels, and miniatures, Giotto and his contemporaries still retained the use of the gold ground.

A limited scale of colour prevails, which becomes, however, clearer and more durable by the adoption of the process of fresco, into the nature of which we shall presently inquire. In each single colour there are but few gradations from light to dark, nor is there any question of strong effects of light and shade; everything is kept in a light and equable harmony. The method is that of filling in outlines (always left to tell as such) with colours, the choice of which is principally determined by considerations of decorative harmony; and in obedience to these considerations nature is often violated. The quality of particular surfaces is not defined, and there is no attempt at a close realisation of nature.

Yet their naturalness is the very point which the contemporaries of Giotto extol in his creations. In the *Decamerone* it is said of him "that he was so great a genius that there was nothing in nature he had not so reproduced that it was not only like the thing, but seemed to be the thing itself." Eulogies of this tenor on works of art are, it is true, common to all periods alike, to the most accomplished of classical antiquity as well as to the most primitive of the Middle Age; and they must only be accepted relatively, according to the notion entertained by each period of what constitutes truth and naturalness. And from the point of view of his age, Giotto's advance towards nature, considered relatively to his predecessors, was in truth enormous. What he sought was not merely the external truth of sense, but also the inward truth of the spirit. Instead of solemn images of devotion, he painted pictures in which the spectator beheld the likeness of human beings in the exercise of activity and intelligence. His merit lies, as has been well said, in "an entirely new conception of character and facts."

Giotto's embodiments of Scripture and legend are in their main lines consistent with the tradition represented by the works of the Romanesque period and the prescriptions of the Mount Athos Manual. But in the details we see how tradition is transmuted by his independence and penetration of thought. He gets hold with surpassing insight of the kernel of human interest in every subject, letting the actions shape themselves according to their inward springs, and in that way really giving them the appearance of truth and life. "Every fact," says the writer whom we have already quoted, "is made to yield its most significant aspect, and upon this the representation is founded." [98] Thus are vividly expressed the shame and pain of the childless Joachim when the priest rejects his offering. And his expression passes into one of deep and mournful

depression when he goes out brooding into the fields and meets the young shepherds who seem to question one another with looks of intelligent sympathy (Fig. 120). In the meeting of Joachim and Anna at the gate, the tenderness of the embrace, the old man's God-fearing humility in receiving the loving greeting, and the reflection of these feelings in the bystanders, are perfectly well expressed.

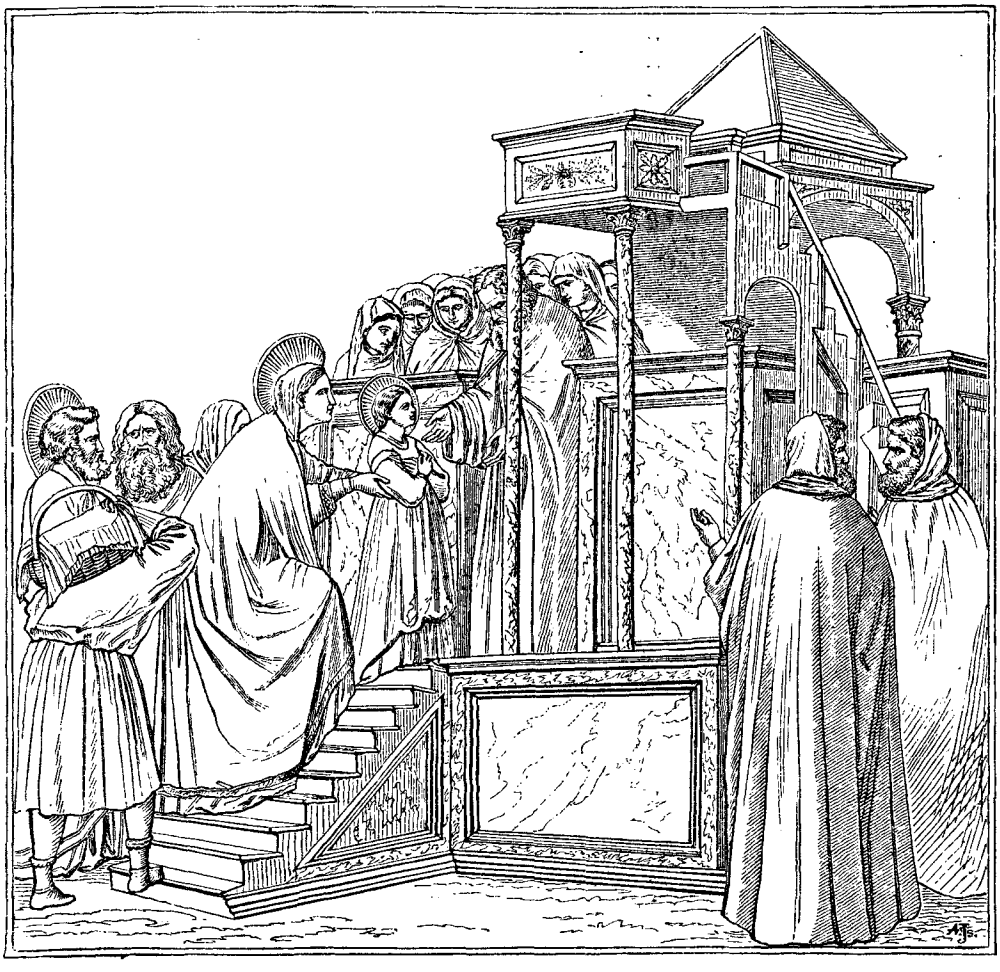

Fig. 121.

Although in the subject of the Birth of the Virgin tradition has dictated both the representation of the lying-in room and the touch of familiar life in the washing of the infant (who appears twice in the picture), still the great point in Giotto's treatment is the expression of the mother as she has the child brought to her and stretches out her hands to take it. Similarly in the Presentation in the Temple, the firm bearing of the little maid as she ascends the steps, the loving action with which the mother encourages her steps, and her dignified and kindly reception by the priest, are all excellently expressed (Fig. 121). The Visitation,

again, is an eloquent dialogue without words, between earnest and devout veneration on the one hand, and a high self-respecting humility on the other. Subjects of stirring and vehement action, like the Murder of the Innocents, or the Driving out of the Money-changers from the Temple, are not always successful. The actions lack assurance, and thereby degenerate into pantomime. But wherever the effect depends less on the outward movements of the actors,

Fig. 122.

and more on the expression of their inner experiences, as in the Raising of Lazarus, Giotto is a powerful master of dramatic life. Certain traditional features he still preserves, such as the upright posture of the resuscitated body wrapped like a mummy in its cerements, the actions of some of the bystanders who hold their noses, and of the sisters who throw themselves at the feet of Christ. But the new spirit of Giotto lives in the measured nobility of the figure of Christ himself, and in the strong affections exhibited by the spectators, some of whom gaze in astonishment at the awakened corpse, and others, while they

unwind the grave-clothes from about it, turn with believing looks to the Saviour (Fig. 122). On the other hand, we do not find in Giotto that emotional tenderness and delicacy which is the mark of the northern Gothic style, and appears also in the work of both Cimabue and Duccio,—that sweet and innocent melancholy, that sadness which transfigures the countenance from within. It is only when they are quite at rest that the youthful faces of Giotto have a certain severe charm. But emotion with him breaks constantly and violently through, and then, as in the Crucifixion, or the Bewailing of Christ, the faces are distorted, and the eyes knotted together with grief; the affection comes to the surface in a form vehement to the pitch of passionate outcry, and uncompromising to the pitch of ugliness,—of impossible contortion, as in the S. John over the dead Christ,—or of wild tumult, as in the angels flapping their wings and shrieking above. In his personifications of the Virtues and Vices below, Giotto again succeeds in designing them not merely so as to be outwardly recognisable, but with true psychological grasp. The fantastic spirit of the age, on the other hand, comes out in full force in the Last Judgment, where Hell is depicted with innumerable little naked figures undergoing ingeniously contrived tortures, and its king, reminding us of the description in the thirty-fourth Canto of the *Inferno*, sits, an enormous naked, bloated monster, and clutches his luckless victims with hand and jaw. In all the other compositions, and especially in those that are purely dramatic, the number of figures is moderate. Giotto generally introduces only such personages as are strictly necessary to the scene. He admits no supernumeraries; but then all that are present take a lively part in the action, are closely connected with it, and talk to each other with simple, but intelligent and natural gestures.

Such a psychologic grasp evidently presupposes an increased power of perceiving realities, and if not exactly a habit of studying natural forms, at least a close observation of natural occurrences, and of the way men bear themselves in life. A just and luminous comparison has been drawn between the relations of Giotto and of Dante to nature in this respect.[99] The great poet often aims with all simplicity at the rendering of real life; employing, instead of threadbare metaphors, images drawn fresh from the phenomena of nature, from warfare, travel, festival, and daily life; not despising even the crudest facts, and bringing home to the mind the grimace of persons screwing up their eyes, by the simile of a tailor threading his needle, and the action of the usurers in the rain of fire, by that of a dog scratching his fleas. In like manner Giotto weaves the most familiar touches into his work; as the maid, who, in the prayer of Anna, sits quietly by spinning, and the fat cooper, taken straight from life, who tastes the wine in the marriage feast of Cana. Child-life, too, is studied closely from reality, as the new-born Mary who makes a face while her eyes are washed, or the baby Christ in the arms of Simeon stretching back after his mother. And when Giotto painted the somewhat unusual episode of Mary and Joseph

coming home after their marriage, he took an artistic pleasure in realising the festive procession of piper, fiddler, and maiden escort. Still he does not treat these subjects with the cheery geniality of Northern art, the peculiar humour of which was unknown to the Italians. He always has a reserved earnestness of his own, and though he may have less ideality than Cimabue or Duccio, dignity is never absent amid the power and decision of his work.

Of Giotto's other paintings at Padua, those in the chapter-house of the *Santo*, or great church of S. Antony, there are but few traces left.[100] Vasari ascribes to the master the decoration of a chapel in the church of S. John the Evangelist at Ravenna, the vaultings of which still exist. In the crown of every arch there is an Evangelist and a Father of the Christian Church, but bearing no relation to one another; above them always the symbol of the former.

To the period following the completion of the Arena Chapel belong probably Giotto's paintings in the Lower Church at Assisi, though Vasari, indeed, describes them in the same breath with the earlier pictures in the Upper Church. The vaultings above the intersection of nave and transept—just, that is, over the tomb of the founder of the order—contain in one compartment S. Francis in glory, wearing only a deacon's robes, as his humility had declined the higher orders, enthroned under a canopy, and surrounded by angels with musical instruments and palm-branches; and in the three remaining compartments, allegories of the three vows of the order,—the vow of Poverty, the vow of Chastity, and the vow of Obedience.

The central theme of the first of these three compositions is the Marriage of S. Francis with Poverty. It has hence been assumed by some that in this picture Giotto was directly inspired by the verse of Dante, and therefore that the series to which it belongs was executed soon after the appearance of the Divine Comedy, or about A.D. 1314-1322. But the allegory in question was no invention of Dante's; it had been already employed by S. Francis himself. For the rest, it stands to reason that the whole series of compositions will have been designed by Giotto in accordance with a programme laid down by the superiors of the Order. The words of Dante are—

> "His day was not yet far beyond its dawn
> When he began to make the earth aware
> Of comfort from his sovereign virtue drawn;
> For such a bride his father's wrath to dare
> Chose he full young,—a bride 'gainst whom the key
> Even as against Death to turn is others' care.
> Before the spiritual tribunal he,
> *Et coram patre* took her to his heart,
> And then loved daily in more dear degree."
>
> DANTE, *Parad.*, xi. 55 *sqq.*

That which for the poet is a metaphor and figure of speech, becomes bluntly material in the hands of the painter, and assumes a doctrinal bearing

not suitable for art, and indeed not quite intelligible without written explanations. In a dress of rags and patches, and standing with bare feet among the thorns, while a rose-bush grows up behind her, stands Poverty, holding out her finger to receive from S. Francis the marriage-ring; Christ in person solemnises the union, in presence of the angelic hosts (Fig. 123). On one side we see Faith giving the ring to Poverty, and Love holding a heart towards her. In the foreground is a dog barking at her, and children threatening her with sticks and stones, to indicate the contempt of the world. But on the other hand the hearts of some are touched and stirred to emulation. One of the

Fig. 123.

side groups shows how two men, one hawk on wrist and the other purse in hand, are roused from their worldliness and avarice; in the opposite group a young man, being warned by an angel, gives his cloak to a beggar. At the top of the picture we see this cloak, with a model of the church, supposed to have been dedicated by those other two, being offered up by angels to God the Father.

In the next allegory, Chastity, surrounded by angels who hand her the cross and crown, appears in the upper storey of her castle, which is guarded by Purity and Courage. Below are groups significant of struggle and purification. On the left side S. Francis is receiving nuns, monks, and laymen; behind them a warrior stands ready with a scourge; on the right we see a novice in the waters of purification, to whom Purity and Courage reach down

shield and banner, while in wait for him stand angels with the habit of the Order, and a man with a scourge. Another warrior with a scourge drives lust out of a penitent brother; three assistant Virtues ward off the Vices, and Death drags a naked figure into the pit.

For the third composition, Obedience is represented as a winged female figure enthroned in an airy vestibule between Wisdom, Janus-headed and holding a mirror, and Humility with the torch; she places the yoke upon the neck of

Fig. 124.

a kneeling Franciscan. On the left kneel a lay brother and a woman, to whom an angel points out this proceeding; on the right a Centaur, the symbol of pride and arrogance, is dazzled by the mirror held up by Prudence. Adoring angels close in the composition on either side, and at the top two hands are seen drawing S. Francis up to heaven by his yoke, while an angel kneels at each side with the rules of the Order (Fig. 124).

Christian art had from the first known and taken over from classical antiquity personifications and ideal figures of a symbolical character. These had often belonged to the happiest efforts of painting, and in the Virtues and Vices of the Arena Chapel Giotto had also treated such subjects with character

and originality. But there is a difference between such personifications and actual allegories like these at Assisi, in which it is not a case of merely converting abstract ideas into a kind of mythic living beings, but of giving pictorial embodiment to the intelligible relations of things, and assigning to the several personifications their parts in an action intended to be understood through the eye. It was characteristic of a scholastic age to introduce such allegories into art. But Giotto cannot possibly have taken up this material with the same warmth of feeling as he did the Bible stories; and if this opinion needed confirmation, we have it in his own words in his interesting poem, *A Canzone on Poverty.* As though he who had to put so much of his art at the service of the Franciscans had, in doing so, become disgusted with the monkish temper, he protests with rare independence against the mischievous wolves who, in their false clothing, seem the mildest of lambs, and against disguised lust of power and hypocrisy. Poverty unsought, he says, is bad enough, but voluntary poverty, at least, did not lead to wisdom, morality, virtue, or knowledge, and it was a shame to call that virtue which consisted in despising what was good.[101] Nevertheless, these themes once given, Giotto laid hold of them with thorough artistic intelligence. He made the purely abstract as living as possible to the eye, brought the leading idea clearly into prominence, arranged the groups judiciously, accommodated the design to its space with right sense of structure, style, and distribution, and lastly, in the use of peculiarly clear tones of colour, with a flowing method, showed the finest feeling for the exigencies of the sombre building which he was called on to adorn.

Vasari speaks in very general terms of the remaining works of Giotto in the Lower Church, as of "beautiful and admirably painted pictures on the side walls." We do in fact recognise Giotto's hand in the scenes from the childhood of Christ, the Crucifixion, and a few others from the legend of S. Francis in the transept; and when Vasari speaks of a S. Francis with the stigmata over the door of the sacristy, as seeming to him with its touching expression of devotion to be the best work of Giotto in Assisi, he evidently has in his mind figure of the Saint, pointing with one hand to a skeleton, and showing the mark of the wound on the other, which is to be found near one of the doors.

In many other places where Giotto is known to have practised his art, such as Rimini and Naples, where he painted in S. Chiara and in the *Castello dell' Uovo,* his works have perished, as well as much that he produced in his native Florence.

But at least he can still be seen in some of the works of his ripest and most powerful time, and once more in a Franciscan church, that of S. Croce. Four chapels in S. Croce are decorated by him; in two of them the pictures are destroyed, but in the other two the whitewash has only in recent years been removed. In the chapel of the Bardi family he has represented the Francis legend, but in a far more moving and impressive manner than formerly at Assisi. He has chosen only the really pictorial incidents, and has conceived

these in a thoroughly dramatic way. The parting of Francis and his father is full of the emotion and resolve of the situation. The architectural structures take up more room in the backgrounds; instead of mere indications are represented real buildings, correct in structure and relative proportions. All the events are so penetrated with inner life that succeeding generations, down to the close of the fifteenth century, could only repeat them in the spirit in which they had been for once and all embodied by Giotto. This is especially the case with the scene of mourning over the dead Francis; the brothers are gazing with emotion at the marks of the stigmata, while priests and choristers stand around engaged in a solemn service. On the ceiling we see the saints in glory and the personifications of the three Franciscan vows. The Peruzzi Chapel contains, in the face of the arch, figures of prophets, on the vaultings the emblems of the Evangelists, and on the two side walls the legends of John the Baptist and John the Evangelist: this last is the best, perhaps, of all that remains of the master's work. All the compositions are broader and contain more figures than those in Padua, but are at the same time admirably balanced, and just as full of intellectual life, and entirely free from useless details. The Banquet of Herod is one of the most beautiful of these designs (Fig. 125). In this a soldier, and not the maiden, brings in the head of John to the king; on the left stands the fiddler, one of the noblest of Giotto's creations; on the right, the daughter of Herodias moves with rhythmical steps to the music, while the two women whose noble figures stand arm-in-arm behind her, heed the dance no longer, but are horror-stricken at the sight of the head in the charger. Early art was accustomed to combine in one picture the successive moments when the daughter of Herodias dances and when she brings in the head. Giotto refuses thus to break up the unity of the scene, and to represent side by side events not simultaneous; he makes the damsel seem to have gone on with her dance, and to pause just as the bearer of the head comes in. The admirable effect of this scene is produced as much by masterly detail as by power of expression and effective co-operation of the various motives. In a side compartment the daughter of Herodias kneels before her mother with the head. The Raising of Drusiana by the Apostle John bears the palm on the opposite wall as a grandiose but severely measured composition.

Of genuine panels remaining by the master the number is small. Besides the altar in S. Peter's, there is in S. Croce an altar-piece in five compartments, removed from the Baroncelli chapel to the *Cappella del Noviziato* next to the sacristy; this is also authenticated by an inscription: it represents the Coronation of the Virgin, besides adoring angels, saints, and figures of the Old Testament; the scale is small, with a number of extraordinarily delicate little heads, which hardly tell with their full value against the gold nimbuses. A Madonna enthroned with angels and saints, taken from the Ognissanti, and now in the Academy at Florence, shows an endeavour to preserve something of the earlier

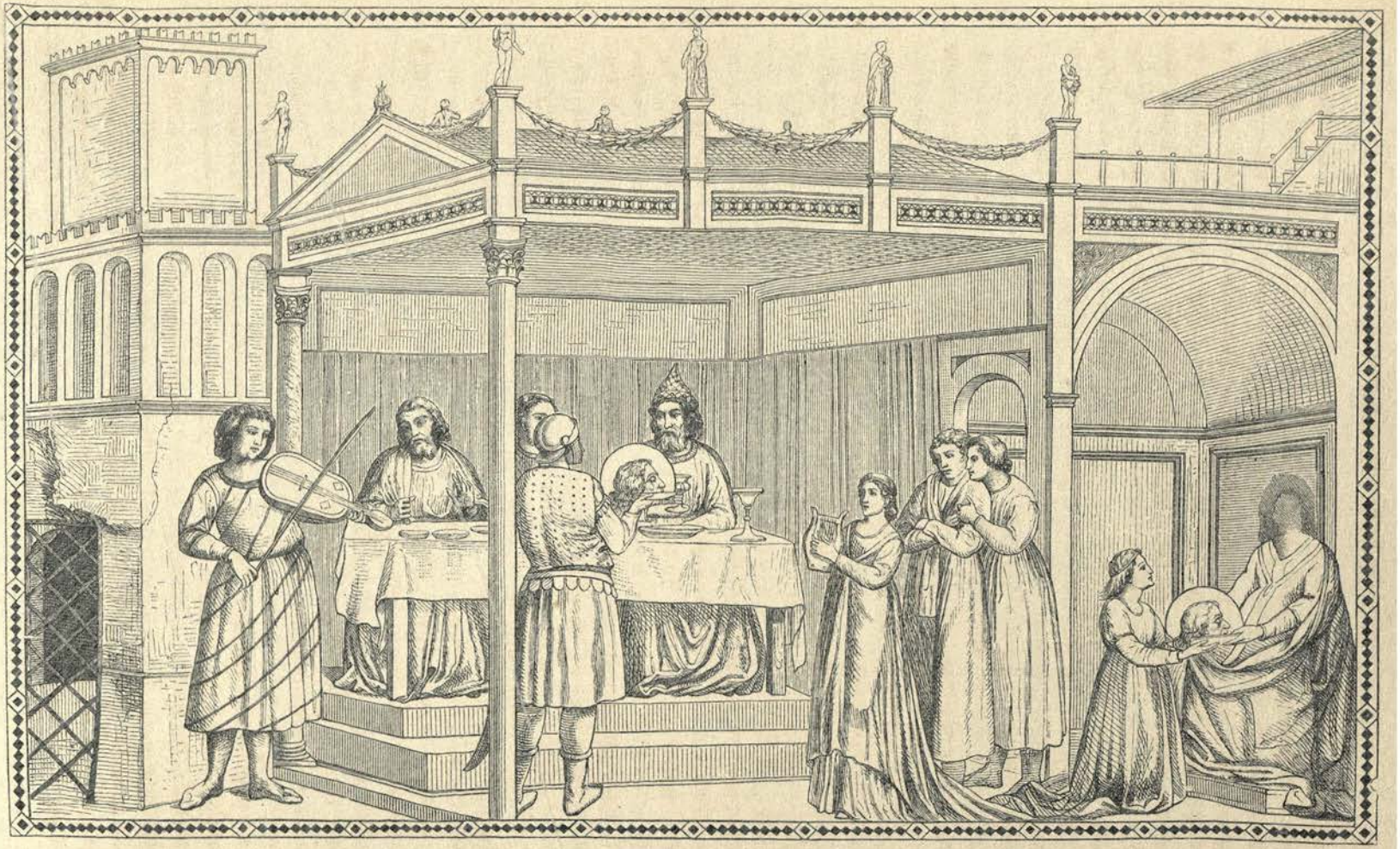

Fig. 125.

idealism, but the head of Mary is, at the same time, more human in type than that of Cimabue. The child Christ and the angels are even more beautiful than the Virgin, and most of the faces are admirably modelled. There are also two large Crucifixions, mentioned by so early an authority as Vasari, one in S. Marco at Florence, over the interior of the entrance-gate, and one in the transept of the church of Ognissanti; and further, a signed Madonna from the church *degli Angeli*, near Bologna, now in the Brera at Milan. Some altar wings and a predella in the gallery at Bologna seem to be only works of the school. In the Louvre is a picture of S. Francis receiving the stigmata, painted for his church at Pisa, with three scenes from the legend on the predella; but this has suffered much from restoration. The small scenes from the life of Christ and S. Francis, which were formerly panels in the presses of the sacristy at S. Croce in Florence, and are now almost all in the Academy there, may have been finished with the help of pupils, as well as two in the *Pinakothek* at Munich, and two others in the Berlin Museum; their decorative purpose has permitted some slightness of treatment, but they show complete certainty in the effect of colour, admirable composition although in a narrow space, and in all points a masterly attainment, by simple means, of the desired object.

The difference between the sculptor Giovanni Pisano and his father Niccola is greater than the difference between the painter Giotto and his teacher Cimabue. The simple style founded by Niccola on the study of the antique was followed, in the work of Giovanni, by an adoption of the Northern Gothic manner more thorough than that which we find in any Italian paintings of the time. Emaciation and exaggerated contortion of the bodies, vehemence of movement, crowding and confusion in the motives and composition, impaired Giovanni's really great qualities of fire, imagination, and effort after intellectual expression. Giotto strove for no such display of contrast with his predecessors, but by dint of pre-eminent judgment and lucidity made a real advance in painting. Emancipating himself altogether from the Byzantine manner, he kept aloof from the Northern Gothic also, and developed an artistic language which was the true expression of the Italian national character. In this sense the saying of Cennino is exactly right, that Giotto had "done the art of painting from Greek into Latin."

IV. PUPILS AND FOLLOWERS OF GIOTTO.—An account of the technical tradition of the school of Giotto, as put on record by one of his later followers, exists in the shape of the *Book of Art*, or treatise on painting, by Cennino Cennini.[102] To this writer the essential thing is that the painter should attach himself to some great master, and live in his atmosphere. He must follow one only, not first one and then another. Cennino, indeed, also recommends daily practice in drawing from nature, but to follow a good model is for him the first thing.

Cennino lays down certain rules and proportions for drawing the body; he divides the head into three parts, from the crown to the chin, and takes the head as a unit for reckoning the proportions in length and breadth of the male figure, which he considers to be in all eight heads and two-thirds long. He gives directions too, though of the most general kind, for landscapes, trees, and rocks. In those for representing buildings are disclosed his ideas of perspective; the cornices along the tops of the building are to run downwards; plinth and basement lines upwards; there is also to be some corresponding degree of aerial perspective or toning away of colours. Cennino also dwells upon the necessity of diligence in making drawings and studies, and for this purpose recommends principally the use of the silver point on small panels of prepared wood, on sheets of paper or parchment, often with light water-colour; pouncing (*i.e.* tracing a design by pricking it through) was also employed especially for transferring a design on to the wall.

The most important skill practised by the school was that of mural painting—"the most agreeable and beautiful kind of work;" and here Cennino shows himself an adept in the art of fresco, which he regards not as a novelty but as a known method of which the great master Giotto made use. The whole composition is squared out from a smaller design upon a wall faced with a first preparation of plaster; a new preparation is then laid on bit by bit, as much every day as is wanted for the day's work, and on this, while it is still wet, the painting is executed in lime-colours (for the reception of which a wet ground is necessary). This method demands vigorous work, and admits of no vacillation or alteration, but it tends to great firmness of treatment, and is incomparably more durable than painting on a dry ground. To a certain extent, however, painting *al secco* or on a dry ground must always be combined with fresco, inasmuch as some colours cannot be used in fresco, and must be laid on in tempera.

The method of tempera, in which the colours are mixed with yolk of egg, whether by itself or with the milk of figs, is also used for panel-painting; the panel is first covered with a coat of lime to hide the joints, a canvas is stretched over this, and then comes the final plaster ground. This method superseded the more adhesive vehicle of Byzantine usage, with its yellow varnish. The book further contains directions for preparing particular fragments, for applying and shading them, for laying on gold, also raised designs in plaster, for varnish, and for painting as a mechanical trade. Oil-painting is also mentioned, but only in a passing way and as having no place in the execution of pictures on wall or panel.

Laboriously, by long training and practice, the followers of Giotto became expert in the technical practice thus described. According to the evidence of Cennino, Taddeo Gaddi served as a pupil under Giotto for four-and-twenty years, and the writer himself for twelve years under Angelo the son of Taddeo. Cennino tells us too, that at the end of his period of apprenticeship a painter often

worked for a long time as the associate of his master, and took part in his undertakings, without feeling any desire for independence. This system must have produced a very strong technical tradition, but could not encourage progress, and must have kept a pupil too closely tied to his master's manner. Cennino also requires the painter to be in earnest about his work, to follow art only from love of it and greatness of heart; but he has to admit that some turn to it from need and for the sake of what they can earn. Among the multitude of painters were not a few who practised their art quite mechanically.

As regards the outward position of painters at this time, they belonged in Florence to one of the twenty-one guilds into which the citizens were divided, and indeed to one of the seven higher (*arti maggiori*)—to that, namely, of the surgeons and apothecaries (*medici e speziali*). Whoever wished to practise any of the trades connected with the guild had to matriculate in it first. The union of medicine and painting is of very ancient date, witness the legend which makes S. Luke a doctor and painter both.[103] The banner of this guild was a picture of the Madonna on a red ground, while of other guilds, for example, the brokers carried on their ensign gold coins, the masters in stone and wood, a saw, axe, and hammer. After the time of Giotto, however, there was founded, besides the old guild, a special brotherhood of painters called the Company of S. Luke, which was not a civic corporation, but rested on a religious basis, and at the same time promoted social relations between fellow-craftsmen. This Society was founded A.D. 1349, and its chapel was in the church of the Hospital of *Santa Maria Nuova*.[104]

The most reputed among Giotto's pupils was the aforesaid Taddeo Gaddi, son of Gaddo Gaddi, and godson of Giotto (*d.* A.D. 1366). The best authenticated works of his are two altar-pieces with his signature; the first—a small triptych in the museum at Berlin, dated A.D. 1334, and containing the Madonna and Child with kneeling donors, and a number of small figures of saints on the sides, on the wings the birth of Christ and the Saviour on the Cross, in the arch-spaces Christ between Mary and John, and on the outsides of the wings S. Christopher and other saints; the second, a Madonna enthroned with six angels, three-quarters the size of life, bearing date A.D. 1355, and lately transferred to the Siena gallery from the church of *San Pietro a Megognano* at Poggibonsi. Taddeo comes strikingly close to his master in drawing, types, and drapery, only that the forms are prettier, the figures more attenuated, the heads not quite so well understood in structure, and the colouring and execution heavier. The expressions of grief in the Crucifixion, and of blandness in the Madonnas and children, show a certain exaggeration.

Taddeo's principal wall-painting is in the Baroncelli chapel in the south transept of S. Croce, executed between A.D. 1352-1356. Vasari's ascription of this work to Taddeo is borne out by its unmistakeable likeness to the signed panels just mentioned. The subject is the legend of the Virgin; the pictures

on the east wall, extending from the rejection of Joachim's offering to the marriage of Mary, are the best preserved. Although it is evident that the whole mode of conception has grown out of the precedent set by Giotto, Taddeo falls distinctly short of his master in noble simplicity and pointed directness. Many of the motives are too violent, and the eye is often too deliberately attracted to mere episodes or secondary figures, witness the rich composition of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple. The real charm of this picture consists in the groups of people in front, looking on with their artless childish figures; the virgins of the Temple peeping from a porch at the side, and hurrying joyfully forth; the multiplication of motives; the stateliness of the architectural accessories, the complicated structure of which shows, as might be expected, serious faults of perspective. But with all this the action wants force, directness, and unity; the little Mary turns, as she ascends the Temple steps, not towards the high priest, but, like an indifferent actress, towards the public. Of places other than Florence, Taddeo painted at Pisa in the choir of the church of S. Francesco (now in military occupation and not easily to be visited), where Vasari once read his name and the date 1342. Of this work nothing remains except the Apostles in the body of the arch, and the pictures in the vaulting—the ecstasy of Francis between Faith and Hope; three pairs of founders of monastic orders; fathers of the Church in the corners, and personified virtues.

Among the immediate pupils of Giotto, Maso was also eminent, according to Ghiberti, both as a painter and sculptor, and the same writer makes him the painter of the legend of Constantine in the chapel of S. Silvester in S. Croce. This series, nobly composed and carefully executed, fills the whole south wall of the chapel; in the north wall two niches with funeral monuments and paintings are built in over the sarcophagi. The larger of these two pictures, a Christ as Judge, with the dead man kneeling before him, is almost completely disguised by repaintings; but the smaller one, an Entombment, seems to be by the same hand as the other paintings in the chapel, which have been designed also with a decorative regard to these niches. What is striking here is the intense expression of grief and extreme emotion, with violent compression of the eyelids, but at the same time restrained attitudes of the bodies. The hand of Maso has been again recognised, no doubt justly, in the small mortuary chapel of the Strozzi behind the Spanish chapel of *Santa Maria Novella* at Florence, in two wall-paintings of the Birth and the Crucifixion of Christ.[105] A similarity had also long been remarked between the Entombment above mentioned and a panel of the Bewailing of Christ in the Uffizj, full of deep feeling and delicate execution. This work, which we may conjecturally refer to Maso, is given by the catalogues to Giottino, because Vasari erroneously identifies Maso with Giottino, who was quite another person.[106]

We have just as little certain information about the works of Giottino as

about those of his father Stefano, whom Ghiberti mentions as an admirable and learned master; but of all the paintings ascribed to him by Vasari nothing remains, or at least nothing recognisable. Stefano appears from Landinio's Commentary on Dante to have been called *scimia della natura*, the ape of nature, which seems to refer to the strong realistic tendencies common to the school. Many other artists mentioned by our authorities have also become mere names for us; for instance, Giotto's pupil Puccio Capanna, of whose pictures in the choir of S. Francesco at Pistoia only fragments remain; and again Buonamico Cristofani—called *Buffalmacco*, a contemporary Florentine, who did not belong to the school of Giotto, but, according to Ghiberti, was self-taught. He is immortalised by the Florentine novelists as a jolly companion, but his identity as an artist has faded away. Vasari places the time of his death as A.D. 1340; but he appears in the registers of the brotherhood as late as A.D. 1351.

On the other hand, recent researches have brought forward a forgotten pupil of Giotto, about whom the ancient records have but little to relate, Bernardo di Daddo, who was admitted into the Apothecaries' Guild, A.D. 1320, and in A.D. 1349 was among the members of the new Confraternity of S. Luke, and, according to documentary evidence, was engaged, A.D. 1346-1347, on the great Madonna of Orcagna's famous tabernacle in Or San Michele. In this picture the Child reaches up caressingly to the face of the Virgin; the eight angels at the sides are no longer seen in full length one over the other, as in Cimabue's pictures, but the design is scarcely less archaic, the figures of the two foremost only being seen, while the heads of the others appear perpendicularly one above the other. For the rest, the picture seems remarkable for mild and noble expression and careful execution, but in its present position can hardly be seen. There are other panels by the same master, signed *Bernardus de Florentia;* one of these is a small and much-injured Madonna in the Academy at Florence. But his wall-paintings in the chapel of S. Stephen in S. Croce, representing the martyrdoms of SS. Laurence and Stephen, are forced and stiff in the motives, although very competently executed. An archaic vein always appears in Bernardo, which prevents him compassing complete artistic freedom.[107]

Among artists of a rather younger generation the pupils of Taddeo Gaddi form a special group. Jacopo da Casentino was a member of the first governing body of the newly founded Confraternity, A.D. 1349, practised afterwards in Arezzo, where there are still some remains of wall-painting from his hand. He died in his native place, Prato Vecchio, in the Casentino. An altar-piece from the church of S. John the Evangelist in that place, ascribed to Jacopo, is now in the National Gallery in London; it represents the Saint received into heaven, with other Saints at each side, and in the upper compartments a Resurrection of Christ, the family of the donor presented by the two SS. John, the archangels Michael and Raphael, and higher still the Trinity, with

an Annunciation in two parts, Saints on the pilasters, and on the predella scenes from the legend of John—twenty-two pictures in all.

Vasari gives especial praise to Giovanni da Milano (properly *Johannes Jacobi*), of Caverzajo near Como, for advances made in colouring; but to this must also be added conscientious treatment, careful modelling, and an endeavour after warmth and refinement of expression designed to blend with the characteristics of the school of Florence those of the Sienese school as we shall presently become acquainted with it. Panels bearing this signature are—a Madonna enthroned between Saints, besides two rows of predella pictures, with scenes from the Gospel, in the gallery at Prato, and a Bewailing of Christ dated A.D. 1365 in the academy at Florence; both unfortunately much injured. An altar-piece from the church of the Ognissanti, mentioned by Vasari, is now in the Uffizj; five principal compartments contain pairs of Saints, and the spaces under them the companies of the Prophets, Patriarchs, Apostles, Virgins, and Martyrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle recognised in this painting the same hand as in the wall-paintings of the Rinuccini chapel off the sacristy of S. Croce, with scenes from the story of the Virgin and Mary Magdalene; and their opinion has been verified by an entry of A.D. 1365 concerning the commission for these paintings.[108] In the pictures with scenes from the legend of Mary Giovanni is evidently influenced by the works of his master in the Baroncelli chapel; but as he avoids violent motives, overcrowding, and over-insistance on accessory personages, and aims above everything at clearness and simplicity, so his work seems to elevate the compositions of his master Taddeo into a purer sphere. On the other hand, his softness and mildness cause the action to look sometimes hesitating. In the Raising of Lazarus, on the other wall, the old motive is abandoned; Lazarus rises up in the foreground from a sarcophagus behind which stands Christ in a manner which remains quite unmeaning, since the two principal figures are in no way connected. This attempt at novelty on the part of Giovanni failed from want of dramatic feeling. He was not an original or inventive spirit. His hand is also to be discerned in the frescoes of the legends of the two SS. John, S. Nicholas, and S. Antony, lately uncovered in the Castellani chapel, S. Croce, and ascribed by Vasari to Starnina.

A third pupil of Taddeo was his son Agnolo Gaddi, who died at a good old age, A.D. 1396. Although he followed essentially in his father's steps, Agnolo already shows some tendencies towards that transformation which was only really carried through in the fifteenth century. His most important frescoes are those of the *Cappella della Cintola* (of the Sacred Girdle) in the cathedral at Prato, representing the legend of Mary—her ascension to heaven, in which she hands her girdle to Thomas, and then the discovery of this relic by a citizen of Prato, one Michele de' Dagonari; further, in the choir of S. Croce at Florence, the legend of Constantine, S. Helena, and the finding of the Holy Cross. The brightness of colour which may once have characterised these pictures is

now too much dimmed. Many stately groups and figures, many fresh and pleasant features, are still to be found, but by the side of these there are also instances of haste and conventionality. The landscape backgrounds, for instance, are often obtrusive. The old style seems, in the hands of Agnolo, to be on the point of dissolution, and to have lost its severity and simplicity. Far more effective is Agnolo's panel from S. Pancrazio, now in the Academy at Florence, a Madonna with six saints, and predellas; the execution is delicate, and the symmetrical architectural framework enclosing each figure in a separate field was a restraint which was of service to the painter.

Andrea di Cione, surnamed *Orcagna* or *Arcagnolo*, stands in advance of all the other followers of Giotto for independence of spirit, carefulness of study, and vigour in the rendering of relief. He was a universal genius; a painter in the first place, but at the same time a sculptor, architect, and poet. In painting he worked much with his brother Nardo (*Lionardo*). The latter died A.D. 1365, and Andrea probably A.D. 1368. His principal wall-paintings were the three great pictures of the Last Judgment, Hell, and Paradise, in the Strozzi chapel in the transept of *Santa Maria Novella*. The Hell, which is divided into circles, is perhaps less a picture than a graphic illustration of Dante; the Last Judgment is very much cramped in composition by the window-opening in its midst; but the Paradise appears all the more glorious with its solemn grandeur and monumental nobility of distribution. For the study of the figure Orcagna did all that was possible within the limits of his epoch; he is more assured than other men of his time in the rendering of the extremities, so that his figures walk and stand with unusual firmness, and he even ventures on bold foreshortenings, although he had no proper theoretical knowledge of perspective. He also advanced a long step in the treatment of shadow, attaining thereby an increase of solidity; but, above all, he had mastered the life of the soul, and knew how to express energy no less than tenderness. This difference between him and Giotto, to whom he was closely allied in his proportions and style of drapery, may be seen in the two noble figures of the humble Mary and the crowned and sceptred Christ, seated side by side on the same throne above the Paradise (Fig. 126).

In A.D. 1357 Orcagna produced the signed altar-piece, arranged in five pointed arcades, of the same chapel. Christ, enthroned under a glory of angels, hands over the keys and book to Peter and Thomas Aquinas, who kneel before him; next the Saviour stands the Virgin crowned, introducing the holy Dominican and John the Baptist; and more to the side, the archangel Michael and SS. Catherine, Paul and Laurence. The predella shows Peter walking on the sea, and two legendary scenes. Almost on the same level ranks the altar-piece executed for S. Pietro Maggiore, and now in the National Gallery. It represents Christ crowning the Virgin, with angels adoring and playing on musical instruments; on the wings there are forty-eight kneeling Saints; with

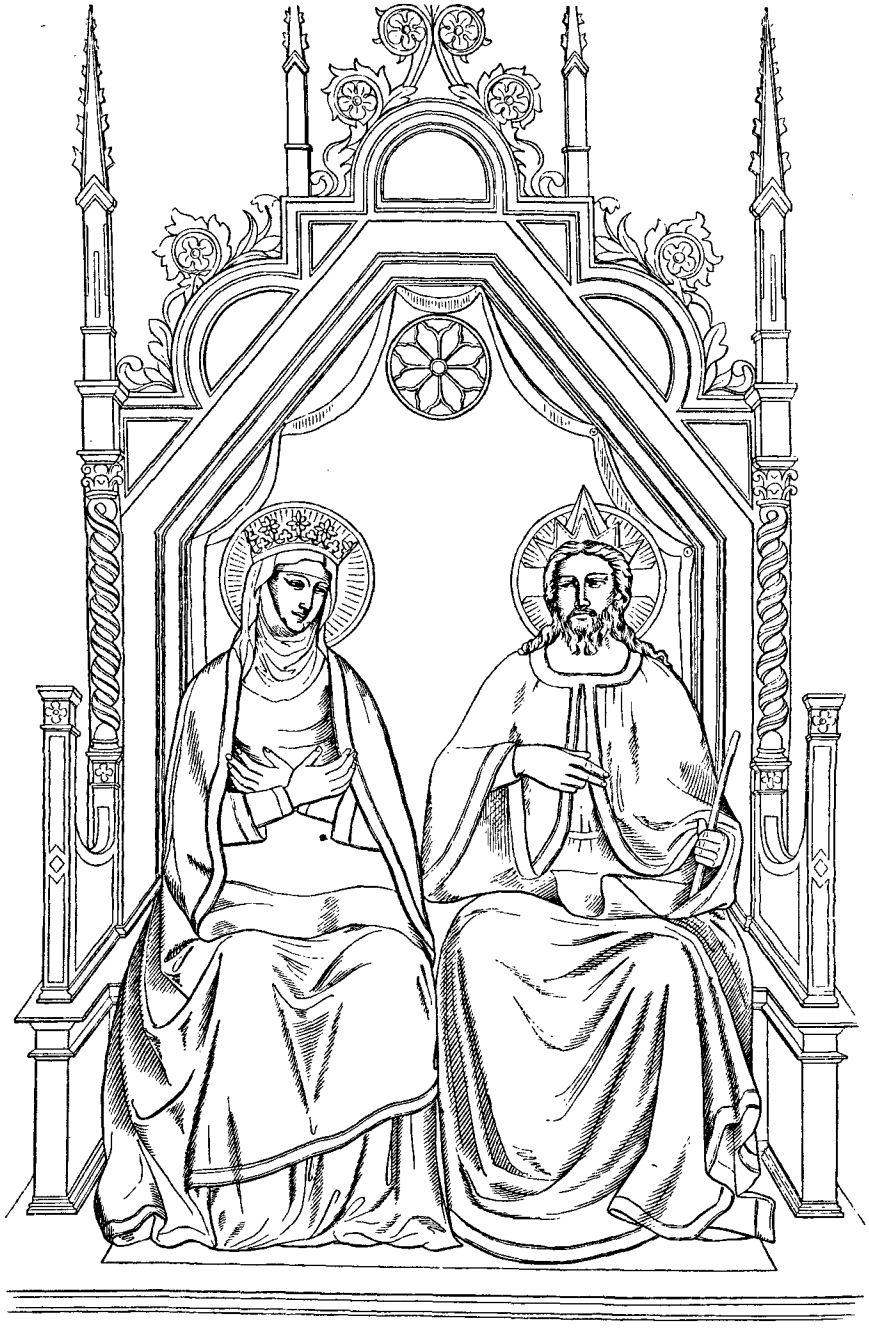

Fig. 126.

the Trinity and six scenes from the Gospels in what were formerly the crestings of the panels. The harmonious transparency of colour so agreeable in the

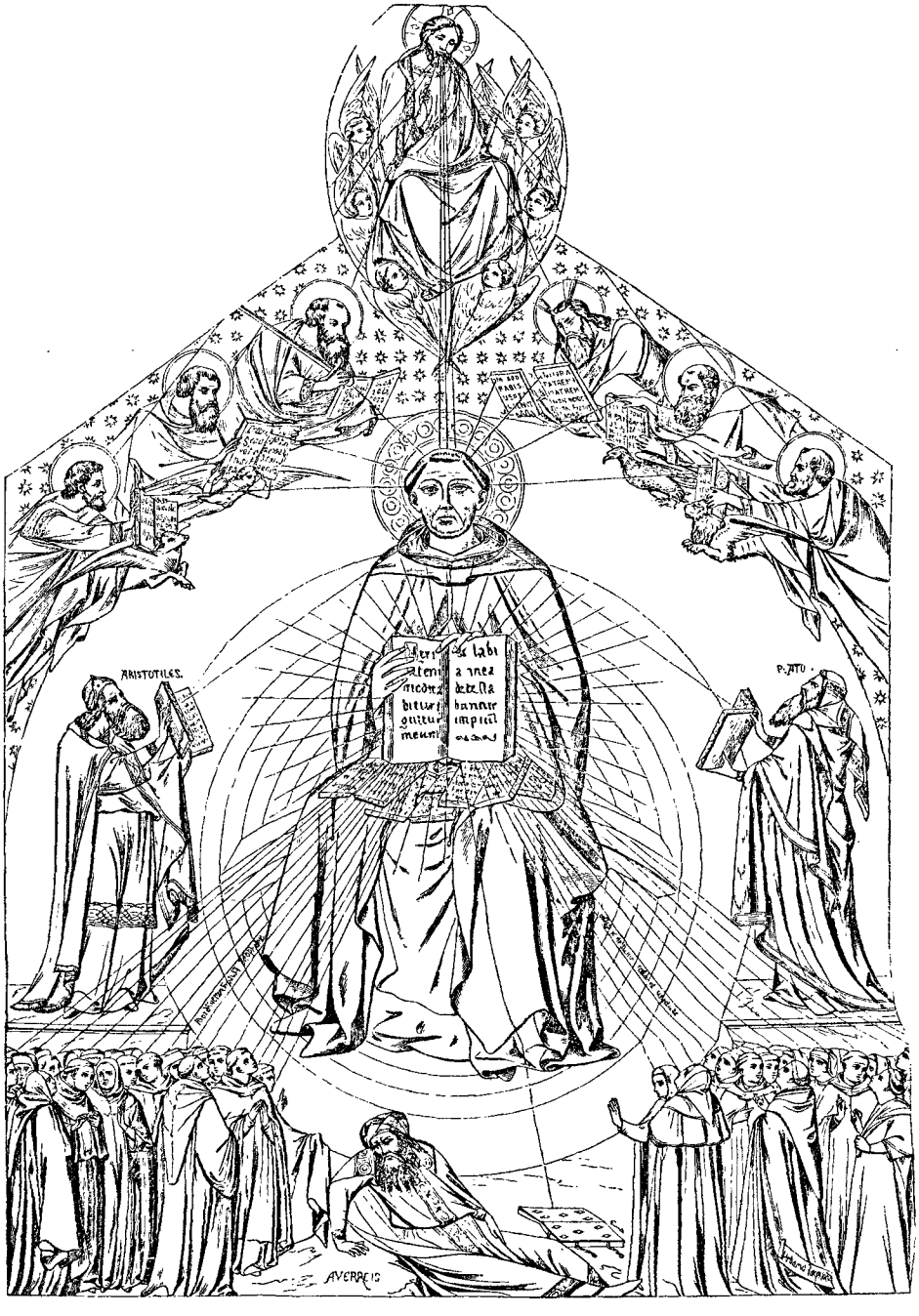

Fig. 127.

former pictures, is, indeed, lost in the present instance, in consequence of restorations. From A.D. 1358 Andrea was also occupied with the mosaics on the

front of the cathedral at Orvieto, but with less success, as he was prevented by public commissions in his own home from devoting himself without intermission to this new and honourable work. The mosaics there have all been renewed.

In close personal connection with Orcagna was Francesco Traini of Pisa, who cannot, however, as Vasari makes out, have been his pupil, but established himself, being then already a full master, in Orcagna's workshop, when he was in Florence A.D. 1349. To him also fell the task of glorifying the Dominicans, as it had done to Orcagna in the Strozzi chapel. An altar-piece in the church of S. Catherine at Pisa depicts the famous theologian of the Order, S. Thomas Aquinas, in a glory with the open book; on either side of him, and on a smaller scale, Plato and Aristotle offering their books. At the feet of the Saint, and dazzled by a ray from his book, lies Averroës, while at the sides, and quite small, stand a crowd of admiring and adoring Dominicans; above, the composition is completed by Christ in a glory, Moses, Paul, and the Evangelists. The composition is of architectural severity, and the difference of scale in the figures of its various parts makes it appear archaic; the treatment remains more flat and petty than that of Orcagna, for all its minute refinement (Fig. 127). Another altar-piece, completed A.D. 1345 for the same church, is now in the academy at Pisa; the centre panel contains a standing figure of S. Dominic, and the wings which are in the library of the seminary at Pisa, eight scenes from his life.[109]

But side by side with the works of this period of which the authors are known and in part at least attested by original documents, there are many nameless, and concerning which the early authorities are either silent, or give information plainly erroneous. We are in a position to affirm that this or that work cannot be by the master to whom Vasari ascribes it, but to decide upon its real author, without allowing personal impressions to count for too much, is often far more difficult. To these doubtful works belong the west wall of the refectory in S. Croce at Florence. In the principal compartment we find Christ on the cross, the cross being treated as at the same time the Tree of Life, and hung with pictures of prophets and texts; in four fields at the sides there are legendary scenes; in a lower compartment, the Last Supper, in which the Apostles sit along one side of the table facing the spectator, and the simple but forcible expression of the heads is remarkable. In spite of the excellence of the work, there can be no question here of Giotto, to whom Vasari ascribes it, but only of an able follower, of much later date and no special individuality.

Far more important are the renowned wall-paintings of the Spanish Chapel, the former chapter-house of *Santa Maria Novella*, which Vasari divides between Taddeo Gaddi and Simone Martini of Siena.[110] They exhibit no positive or striking correspondence with the works of the former, still less with those of the

latter master; whose co-operation is, for the rest, out of the question, from the fact that he left Italy A.D. 1339, and died A.D. 1344, whereas the paintings were still unfinished at the death of the founder, Buonamico Guidalotti, A.D. 1355. The pictures, it is true, are not executed throughout by the same hand, but in spirit and conception the work is a connected whole. Allowing the question of their authorship to stand open, we proceed to what is much more important, the consideration of the compositions themselves, and of the spirit which inspired them.

The influence of the two Mendicant Orders, of which the rise in the thirteenth century placed so powerful an instrument in the hands of the Romish Church, was of weight also in the history of art. As the monastery church at Assisi and S. Croce in Florence were the chief centres of an art inspired by the Franciscan movement, so also was there an art inspired and governed by the Dominican movement, which had its centre in the monastery of that order, *Santa Maria Novella* at Florence. Franciscan art did, indeed, occasionlly take the shape of scholastic allegories, but its principal subject always remained the Legend of S. Francis. The Dominicans, on the other hand, had no poetic legend of this kind; a want for which the Order that had in its hands the institution of the Inquisition, the discipline of the Church, preaching and the instruction of the people, sought to make up by didactic embodiments glorifying the system and the ethics of the great scholastic theologian of the Dominicans, Thomas Aquinas.[111] We have before us the greatest and most important of all these attempts in the pictures of the Spanish Chapel. These are taken in every particular from the writings of Aquinas, and painted according to a programme laid down, no doubt, by some superior or learned doctor of the monastery. The south entrance-wall contains scenes from the life of Dominic and Peter Martyr; on the north wall near the altar the sufferings of Christ are depicted in a Crucifixion with numerous figures, in connection with which are introduced into the background Christ bearing the cross, and Christ in Limbus; the vaultings show Peter walking the waves and the disciples in the ship, also the Resurrection, Ascension, and Outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The two principal paintings are those on the east and west walls, which are unbroken and bounded by arches; they represent the doctrine and discipline of the Church according to the ideas of the Dominicans.

The subject of the painting on the west wall is taken from the *Summa Theologiæ* of Aquinas. Along the lower part of the wall extends a row of Gothic choir-stalls, occupied like thrones by fourteen allegorical figures, at whose feet sit their historical representatives to the same number. First the seven Liberal Arts—Grammar with Donatus at her feet, Rhetoric with Cicero, Dialectic with Aristotle, Music with Tubalcain swinging the hammer above the anvil, Astronomy with Ptolemy, Geometry with Euclid, Arithmetic with Pythagoras; then the three Theological Virtues, Charity (figured as Love with bow and arrow), Hope,

and Faith, with Augustine and two other Saints below them; farther on Devotion and Prayer, or inward and outward worship (*Devotio*, *Oratio*, the latter holding an image of Christ), with Jerome and Basil below them; lastly, Divine Law

Fig. 128.

with the model of a church, and Human Law with sword and globe, at their feet a Pope and Emperor respectively (Fig. 128). Above these tiers of sitting figures rises a third tier, in the centre of which sits Thomas Aquinas on a richly decorated throne and under a canopy, while below him cower with sullen and disconcerted looks the three vanquished heretics Averroës, Arius,

and Sabellius; while on seats at the sides there are ten figures from the Old and New Testaments,—the authors of those sacred writings to which Aquinas wrote commentaries. The topmost space of all is filled with floating angels. Thus the subject of Traini's panel above described is here repeated on a grander scale.

The allegory of Church Government on the opposite or east wall is an illustration to the commentary of the Song of Solomon by Thomas Aquinas. In the lower half is depicted the struggle of the Church for the heavenly Bridegroom, and in the upper the blessedness of her union with him. In the left half of the lower division lies a great church, a faithful reproduction of the *Duomo* of Florence after the old model of Arnolfo; in front are enthroned the Pope and Emperor between ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries; sheep lie at their feet; the community is guarded by black and white spotted dogs, a play upon the name Dominican (*Domini canes*, for dogs of the Lord); besides these, and on the same side as the ecclesiastics, are monks and nuns standing or kneeling in earnest meditation. These represent the contemplative life (*vita contemplativa*); on the secular side are men and women in ordinary dress or in pilgrims' weeds representing the active life (*vita activa*), in which faithful effort may also lead to salvation. The right half of the lower part illustrates the warding-off of perils from the Church by means of the two Dominican offices of preaching and the inquisition. Dominic sends out his dogs to fall upon the foxes that have broken into the vineyard of the Lord; again Dominic preaches to the disobedient and stiff-necked, Thomas Aquinas to the heretics and unbelievers. The scene in the upper part of this, the right side of the picture, leads on from the Church militant to the Church triumphant. The connection with what precedes as well as what follows is formed by a Dominican giving absolution to one who kneels before him, and S. Dominic himself directing some of the faithful to the gate of Paradise. The way to this is through the overthrow of sin, and so we find farther on a fenced garden (under which similitude the Song of Solomon shadows forth the Church), and within this garden four colossal seated figures—a man in solemn meditation personifying the contemplative life, then three figures symbolising victory over the temptations of the world, the flesh, and the devil, namely a man with a falcon, a woman with a lapdog, and a girlish figure with a lute. A little farther off, figures of the blessed dance in rings upon the sward; higher up, boys gather from the trees the pomegranates of the Song, and a smiling landscape expands behind the whole. Above, on the left, stands open the gate of Paradise; Peter and angels usher new hosts to those already assembled within; and in the crown of the arch appears the Saviour himself in a glory with angels and the symbols of the Evangelists.

The second picture, with its multitude of figures, their graceful and often characteristic aspects, and the rich treatment of landscape and architecture in

the background, fails nevertheless in point of monumental dignity and unity of design. These qualities are all the more remarkable in the first, which is admirably constructed and full of style, and in which the union of exalted personifications with human personages full of earnestness, and in unrestrained and lifelike positions, produces a highly original effect. This far-fetched symbolism of the Dominicans could not yield an artistically clear and self-explaining result. Instead of the language of the soul, that of monastic morality and priestly erudition obtrudes itself, but the artists to whom the realisation of the programme was entrusted were able by their talent for composition and instinct of style to conquer even in this undertaking.

But the habitual use of allegory had extended itself from the service of ecclesiastical scholasticism to that of secular art, and found its way into those political paintings with which town-halls and public buildings were often decorated, with an intention in like manner didactic, in order to commemorate some act of civic virtue or to preserve the memory of some historical event. The greater number of these works have, of course, perished, but it is worth while to mention some of their subjects from the records of Ghiberti and Vasari. Thus in the hall of the *Palazzo del Podestà* at Florence, Giotto is said to have represented the robbing of the commonwealth, in which the Commune was personified as a Judge wielding the sceptre, and enthroned between the four Cardinal Virtues. Taddeo Gaddi painted the commercial tribunal of six in its own court, the *Mercanzia Vecchia*, and before it Truth tearing out the tongue of Falsehood. And in 1343, when Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, who had made himself tyrant in Florence under Neapolitan protection, was expelled by the people in A.D. 1343, an allegorical representation of the subject, which Vasari ascribes to his mythical Giottino, was painted in the Palazzo del Podestà.[112]

V. SCHOOL OF SIENA.—As in the days of Cimabue, so also in those of Giotto, Siena maintains her place side by side with Florence. "I know two distinguished and excellent painters, Giotto of Florence, whose fame among modern artists is extraordinary, and Simon of Siena," says Petrarca in a letter, and in three of his sonnets he sings the praises of Simone for his picture of Madonna Laura, calling him a better master and of a loftier genius than Zeuxis, Praxiteles, and Phidias.[113] The greatest master of the Sienese school in the fourteenth century does, in truth, deserve a place beside Giotto. If Vasari is right, Simone Martini was born A.D. 1284; according to the registry of S. Domenico in Siena, he died at Avignon in July A.D. 1344. Vasari erroneously calls him Simone Memmi, taking his brother-in-law and occasional fellow-worker Lippo Memmi, for his brother. But Simone had a real brother Donato, who took part in his works. Vasari is also mistaken in making Simone a pupil of Giotto. He much rather exemplifies the complete independence of Sienese painting.

His chief work in his native city is the great wall-painting which fills a whole side of the council-chamber in the *Palazzo Pubblico*—a Madonna with saints and angels, completed, according to the inscription, by his own hand A.D. 1315 (Fig. 128). Mary sits upon the throne in quiet solemnity, the draped Child stands upon her lap in the attitude of benediction, while she gently touches his little foot with her hand. They are surrounded by thirty Saints and angels, arranged in symmetrical groups, of which the two foremost, consisting of a pair of angels holding up baskets of flowers, and four patron Saints of the city, are on their knees; the rest are standing, and among them are Peter, Paul, and the two Johns, holding the front uprights of the canopy which covers them all. The border is enriched with medallions and busts. The composition is symmetrical, but simple; it is only by putting the figures in the front row in a kneeling position that those of the next are brought properly into view, and the heads of the farther figures are only seen because the artist has conceived them as standing higher by a step than those in front. All the characters, however, stand out distinctly, and their expressions combine themselves in a noble unity of sentiment. There is the highest charm in the delicate oval of Mary's face, still recalling the type of Duccio, with the tenderly pensive expression given by the slightly updrawn lower eyelid, and the gracious inclination of the head. The loveliness of the angels lifting up the flowers and the holy virgins adoring next the throne, is exalted by their expression of fervent devotion; the archangels, with a fuller cast of features, rise to the utmost freedom and nobility of aspect; they stand between the two other groups, and contrast effectively with the energetic character of the Apostles and of the Baptist. The loving thoroughness of the execution of the picture can be but partly recognised in its present state. On the opposite wall of the same apartment Simone painted, A.D. 1328, an equestrian portrait of the Sienese captain-at-arms, Guidoriccio Fogliani. He is shown, a presence of power, in profile on a heavy war-horse, in a country of castles and fortifications.

Turning to works of the master preserved elsewhere than at Siena itself:—in the first chapel on the north side of the Lower Church at Assisi there is a series of frescoes representing the legend of S. Martin, which Vasari ascribes to Puccio Capauna, but in which Crowe and Cavalcaselle recognise the character of Simone. At Naples Simone was occupied in the service of King Robert. A side chapel in *San Lorenzo Maggiore* in that city contains a painting by him of S. Louis, bishop of Toulouse, sitting upon his throne and crowning his brother King Robert, who kneels before him. On the predella there are scenes from the legend of the same saint. Among other panels bearing the signature of Simone, there is a Madonna at Orvieto, with half-length saints, dated A.D. 1320; this picture was taken from S. Domenico, and is now in the *Opera del Duomo.* According to the records of the monastery, the high altar in the church of S. Catherine at Pisa was painted by Simone in the same year; it consisted

Fig. 129.

originally of seven panels with several tiers of pictures, and contained in the principal compartments busts of the Madonna and various Saints. Six of these panels may still be seen in the library of the Seminarists at Pisa. In the Uffizj is an altar-piece which formerly belonged to the Cathedral of Siena; it represents the Annunciation, with standing figures of S. Ansanus and S. Juliet; an inscription shows that it was painted by Simone and his brother-in-law Lippo Memmi, A.D. 1333. Characteristic is the emphasis of the expressions—Mary's alarmed recoil upon her chair, the high emotion visible in the Saints. The colour in Simone's panels is light and transparent, with little modelling, and there is a greenish undertone in the flesh parts which recalls the Byzantine method, but the execution is more delicate and sharp. Lastly, a small panel in the Royal Institution at Liverpool is worthy of notice. Jesus, represented as a boy of twelve, clasps a book in both his arms, and is led by Joseph up to the seated Virgin; they both seem to question him with gentle reproachfulness concerning his tarrying in the Temple. The fervour and refinement of expression are surprising; but the figure of Joseph, short and much bent outwards at the hip, verges, with the artificial arrangement of drapery on mannerism. Besides the signature the picture bears an inscription, according to which it was painted A.D. 1342, when Simone was already at Avignon.

To the Papal Court at that place we know, by original documents, that Simone was summoned by Benedict XII., A.D. 1339.[114] His will shows that he remained there until his death five years later, executing many paintings with the help of his brother. In the head of the arch above the entrance of the Cathedral may still be seen a fresco with a Madonna, angels, and the donor—a cardinal—and above them the Saviour in benediction, encircled by a glory of angels. The Papal palace possesses, in the Hall of the Consistory, a series of large figures of Prophets and other Old Testament personages; and the Pope's chapel contains the story of John the Baptist, as well as remains of pictures from the legend of S. Peter and from the Passion, besides figures of Apostles; and lastly, in the opposite chapel of the Holy Office are scenes from the legend of S. Martialis.[115]

By Lippo Memmi, who remained faithful to the banner of his brother-in-law Simone, a few independent works are still known. His largest wall-painting, a Madonna with saints in the hall of the Public Palace at S. Gimignano, is dated A.D. 1317; it is a somewhat lifeless and artificial reproduction of Simone's Madonna at Siena. Among the panel pictures of Lippo the most remarkable is a Virgin and Child in the Berlin Museum, signed with his name in full.

Ambrogio di Lorenzo, or Lorenzetti, is the most famous Sienese painter of this period after Simone. Ghiberti admires him so much that he ranks him even higher than Simone. With Ambrogio must also be mentioned his brother Pietro. The biographical records of both are scanty, but there is mention of a public commission given to Pietro, A.D. 1305.[116] Ambrogio is not spoken

of as a painter till A.D. 1323. After A.D. 1345, when Ambrogio's name appears once more in the town accounts, neither of them is again mentioned. They often worked together, as in the case of some pictures from the life of the Virgin on the front of the Hospital *della Scala* at Siena; these have now perished, but an inscription which still existed in the last century mentioned the names of both artists and the date 1335. The superiority of the works of these brothers consisted in a freedom from the archaic manner and weak sentimentality of the school. They were not behind the best Florentine artists in force and manliness of conception. In their technical method, the greenish preparation under the flesh parts, usual in Sienese work, soon gave place to the brighter tone and warmer shadows of the Florentines.

The only remaining works of Pietro di Lorenzo authenticated by his signature are on panel. The earliest, dated A.D. 1329, is in a chapel of the church of San Ansano, near Siena; it represents the Madonna and Child enthroned, four angels appear at the back of the throne, and in front are SS. Nicholas and Anthony the Hermit. The composition is simple and still too constrained, there is an awkwardness, and, compared with the charm of Simone, a harshness in the attitude and expression of the Madonna; the movement only of the Child is pleasant, artlessly setting its foot on its mother's wrist, although the foot itself is, of course, not perfectly drawn. In Pietro's seated Madonna between four angels in the Uffizj, dated A.D. 1340, the heads are again of a uniform type, and the eyes scarcely open; the expression, however, is of the highest purity, and the action of the Child reaching up to play with its mother's chin full of caressing sweetness. The light flesh tones and tender colours of the drapery are combined with extraordinary subtlety. Pietro's finest work is a Birth of the Virgin (A.D. 1342) in the sacristy of the Cathedral at Siena. The mother on her couch and the bathing of the child occupy the centre of the picture; on the right two women approach with linen and vessels, and on the left Joachim in an ante-chamber with another old man hears the announcement of the birth from a servant. These three compartments are divided by Gothic framework, but they have a common architectural background, in which the perspective is tolerably good, and there is a real feeling for space such as we scarcely find even in Giotto. The subject has hardly found another such satisfactory rendering in the same age; in the Joachim episode, his expression of anxious inquiry and patient waiting while the message is delivered is extremely original and interesting. An undated picture by Pietro, from *Santa Maria della Pieve* at Arezzo, is now in the public gallery of that town; it consists of a Madonna with four saints, and a number of subordinate pictures, and is also among the best works of the artist, but it has been restored by Vasari. Vasari also ascribes to Pietro a wall-painting in the Campo Santo at Pisa, depicting the Hermit's Life; but as in almost every case the information of that writer about the artists of the pictures in the Campo Santo is distinctly wrong, no importance

can be attached to his opinion here. The work exhibits, moreover, no real resemblance to his signed panel pictures.[117]

Of all the works of Ambrogio di Lorenzo, the brother of Pietro, Ghiberti most admired a series of illustrations of a Franciscan legend in the cloister of the church of S. Francis at Siena; this has perished, all but a few fragments now placed in the church. But these fragments, though scratched, defaced, and injured, have not been repainted or otherwise tampered with, and their freshness of execution and vividness and dignity of expression can still be admired. In the scene which depicts the execution of the Franciscan monks, the look of terrified expectancy in two who are awaiting their death-stroke, while they watch the execution of one of their companions, is in the highest degree striking; and not less so the heads of cardinals and bystanders in another scene on the opposite wall.

Then we have also, though in a bad state, Ambrogio's great wall-painting in the Hall of the Nine in the Public Palace; this is the most important which remains of all the political allegories painted in Italy at that period. Ambrogio, according to the official account of disbursements, executed the series between A.D. 1338 and 1340; their purpose was to set forth in the place of the session of the highest public authorities, the nature and the blessings of good government, and the horrors of bad. On the principal wall is the great composition illustrating Good Government. A powerful and kingly figure of an aged man, on a colossal scale, sits as the personification of the Commune of Siena on an elevation in the centre of a long seat covered with rich hangings; he is dressed in black and white, the colours of the city, and in his hands are a sceptre and the seal of Siena—the Madonna between two angels—with the inscription, *Commune Senarum cum civilibus virtutibus;* at his feet lies the heraldic badge of *Sena Julia*, the she-wolf (not, in truth, very like one), giving suck to Romulus and Remus. Six crowned female figures sit to right and left; these are the Virtues, Justice, Temperance, Wisdom, Prudence, Fortitude, and Peace; and over the head of the regent float the three theological virtues, Faith, Hope, and Charity. In front of and below him on either side are drawn up armed companies of horse and foot in full face towards the spectator; in front of the more numerous group on the right are prisoners in chains. From the left a procession of twenty-four honourable citizens advances towards the ruler; they are holding by a cord which passes between them, one end of which the ruler holds in his sceptre-hand, while the other end is held by a personification of Concord enthroned on the left at the far end of the procession. Even here, however, the cord does not terminate, but parts into strands, one red, and the other white, each of which passes up to where it is wound about the body of an angel standing one in each scale of a great balance. These angels represent *Justitia Distributiva* and *Justitia Commutativa.* The former crowns one kneeling man and beheads another; the

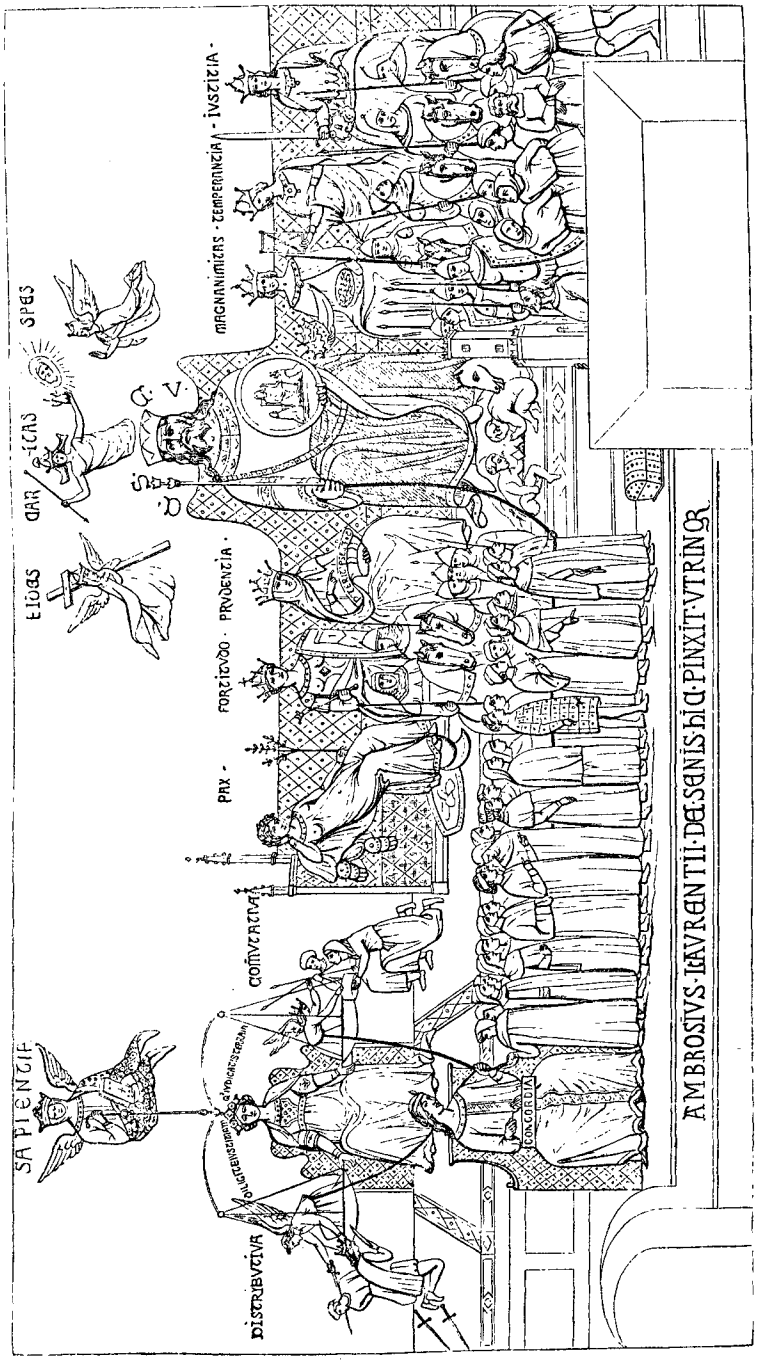
SAPIENTIA
DISTRIBUTIVA
CONCORDIA
PAX
FORTITUDO
PRUDENTIA
MAGNANIMITAS
TEMPERANTIA
IUSTITIA
AMBROSIUS·LAURENTII·DE·SENIS·HIC·PINXIT·UTRINQ

Fig. 130.

latter puts money into a bowl for one and gives weapons to another. These two angels are the attributes of a great personified Justice who is enthroned between them above the figure of Concord, and on whose head are balanced the scales which Sapientia, at the very top of the picture, holds out (Fig. 130). Besides the Latin superscriptions, Italian verses are added in explanation of the subject.

The programme for this work must have been drawn out for the painter by some staunch scholastic and Aristotelian. It presented no small difficulties, and its deliberately didactic aim obtrudes itself forcibly, compelling the artist to help himself out by unpictorial expedients, such as that ribbon which, passing along through the procession of burghers, gives so quaint a material embodiment to the intellectual idea of the connection between justice and good government. Even so, however, Ambrogio acquitted himself well of his undertaking. Notwithstanding the severely symmetrical elevation of the two sides of the composition, notwithstanding the absence of distance, whereby its several groups have for the most part to be simply superposed, and notwithstanding the archaic fashion of adopting various scales for the stature of the various figures and personifications, the painter has none the less achieved a composition of majestic construction, and in the personages both named and unnamed types full of stateliness and life. Among the Virtues, for instance, appears such a superb invention as the Peace, a woman's figure full of grace, in softly flowing drapery, and leaning back restfully among her cushions, her foot propped on a cast-down shield and helmet, and in her hand the olive-branch, a very embodiment of lovely and beneficent rest. In the figure of Concord, the antique proportions of Duccio are transformed into a freer style, and the head shows a nobility of form such as Giotto had perhaps scarcely attained, in the perfect oval, the finely-shaped mouth and nose, the delicately circumscribed forehead and well-cut eyes, with their tender expression of sublimity and soul (Fig. 131).

On the west wall are portrayed, with every-day reality, the practical blessings that follow upon good government. From one side we look into the town, with its walls and towers, palaces and domes, and see all kinds of workmen in the workshops, traffic in the markets, the horseman with his sweetheart on the pillion, the dancing of innocent maidens in the public place. Over the gate floats the genius of Security (*Securitas*) a long scroll in one hand and in the other a gibbeted malefactor; outside, in the country, are more scenes of a similar busy and happy life, of agriculture, hunting, fishing, and travelling.

On the third wall, and corresponding with the first, we find Tyranny, a monstrous armed being enthroned before a fortress, and surrounded by the Vices, with Justice trodden down under his feet; farther on scenes of ravage in town and country, but these are no longer recognisable.

The panel pictures signed by Ambrogio are much injured; they are works of competent execution and much expression, but his full power is not displayed

in them as in the wall-paintings we have described. They consist of a Presentation in the Temple (A.D. 1342), now in the Academy at Florence, showing manly vigour in the heads, and a serious attempt at true perspective in the architectural background, and an Annunciation, painted A.D. 1344 for the Public Palace, and now in the Academy at Siena.

In the works of Simone Martini and Pietro and Ambrogio di Lorenzo, Sienese painting shows itself equal to that of Florence. But soon afterwards it

Fig. 131.

declines for good into a much lower position. Average capacity becomes less, originality disappears, the majority of painters seem to have stuck fast in an archaising routine. A great number of the works of the school displayed together, as in the gallery at Siena, produces anything but a pleasurable effect. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Barna painted a set of uninteresting and bungling frescoes from the Gospel stories, on the south side aisle of the Collegiate Church at S. Gimignano. Lucas Thomæ is regarded as the pupil of Barna; he is authentically heard of between A.D. 1355 and 1389, and several pictures bear his signature; among others a Madonna in the gallery at Siena, and a Crucifixion in the Academy at Pisa, dated 1366. Bartolo. di Maestro

Fredi was born A.D. 1330, and died A.D. 1410; he was respected in his native town, and often employed officially, but as an artist he was not disinguished. He painted a cycle of pictures from the Old Testament in the north aisle of S. Gimignano (A.D. 1356), and later some panels for S. Francesco at Montalcino. A Descent from the Cross (A.D. 1382) is still in the sacristy there, and fragments of an altar, with scenes from the Life of the Virgin (A.D. 1388), are partly preserved in the same place, and partly in the gallery at Siena. Andrea Vanni, born A.D. 1322, stands still lower in artistic merit. After the democratic revolution in Siena (A.D. 1368) he also appears in the service of the State, being employed on embassies; and he played a part of his own at the time when at Siena petty citizens and pious women like S. Catherine were active in the higher politics. Ugolino of Orvieto is also one of the painters influenced by the Sienese school. He painted Scripture scenes and the Miracle of Bolsena in the *Cappella del Corporale* in the north transept of the Cathedral at Orvieto A.D. 1364; other artists, like Pietro di Puccio, were associated with him in executing the frescoes from the life of Christ and the Virgin in the choir.[118]

The last straggler in whose person this tendency of the Sienese school comes to an end, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, is Taddeo di Bartolo (*b.* at Siena 1362, *d.* 1422). He was the son of a barber called Bartolo di Mino, and not, as has been said, of the painter Bartolo di Maestro Fredi. A triptych of A.D. 1390, now in the Louvre, with a Madonna and four Saints, was painted by him for a church at Pisa; it shows in conception and method an intentional connection with the earlier school, and in Mary's features there is still a breath of the old Sienese idealism, almost over-done in sentiment. After working a great deal at Pisa, S. Gimignano, Perugia, and other places, Taddeo finished (A.D. 1407) his principal work, the wall-paintings in the chapel of the Public Palace at Siena, containing the last incidents in the legend of the Virgin, Saints, and medallions of the Virtues. The Ascent of Mary to heaven is full of character; Christ descends through the air to raise her from the grave, the Apostles and Jews looking on are deeply moved; the composition is expressive and skilful, if without any greatness of motive; the individual figures and the drapery are conventional. The painter tries to impress the spectator almost too obviously with the fact that the Apostles cannot see the Virgin, although she is floating by past their very noses. The background is formed of a high mountain country. In A.D. 1414 were added the mural paintings of the ante-chamber—a gigantic S. Christopher, and figures of celebrated Romans, as well as other antique and mythological subjects.

VI. THE CAMPO SANTO AT PISA, AND THE EXPIRATION OF THE SCHOOL OF GIOTTO.—At the close of Middle Age Tuscany possessed but two great schools of painting, the Florentine and the Sienese. Pisa, though the chief home of sculpture, had, properly speaking, no native school of painters; an

artist like Traini stood almost alone, and besides was steeped in Florentine influences. Nevertheless, in the Campo Santo or enclosed burial-ground at Pisa, are to be found some of the greatest monuments of fresco-painting which the age produced. This structure was completed under the direction of Giovanni Pisano, between A.D. 1278 and 1283, and terminates that great group of sacred edifices in marble at the extremity of the town, which includes the Cathedral, Leaning Tower, and Baptistery. It consists of a vast quadrangle, surrounded on all four sides by a wide covered gallery. This gallery presents, towards the inner court, an open Gothic arcade of lofty proportions, but its rear or external wall is blind, and affords on the inside an ample surface for a great succession of monumental paintings. To decorate this surface artists were invited from various parts of Italy. The remains of their work, imposing though in many places defaced and faded, are still to be seen covering the whole of the wall space, except its lowest part, along which are ranged sepulchral monuments of all periods.

The accounts of Vasari are nowhere less to be trusted than in what concerns the pictures of the Campo Santo; but since his time, much light has been thrown on the subject by documentary evidences, which indeed have acquainted us with the names of many artists otherwise unknown. It was not till several decades after the completion of the building that its pictorial decoration as a connected whole was taken in hand. Some paintings were executed in the east chapel about A.D. 1300, but these have perished; and those in the galleries themselves were not begun till the second half of the century. From A.D. 1370 to 1372 several great series of pictures were completed, no longer by help of private benefactions, but at the charges of the Commune; then the work came again to a standstill till the scond half of the fifteenth century, when it was resumed by Benozzo Gozzoli.

The work, probably, took its start from the east gallery, next the chapel door. The series between this and the south-east angle consists of a Crucifixion containing a multitude of figures, a Resurrection, a Christ appearing to the disciples, and an Ascension. Emotion is in many instances effectively expressed; the searching and touching of the wounds of Christ in the third picture is set forth with much realism; there are many bold attitudes and successful foreshortenings, as for instance in the soldier breaking the legs of the thief, and in the sleeping guards beside the tomb; but also here and there we find some ugly types and violent contortions. Vasari ascribes the series to Buffalmacco, and Ghiberti also mentions that this painter worked in the Campo Santo. Whether this information is accurate we must leave an open question; but at any rate these pictures are the work of some late disciple of the school of Giotto.

Beyond comparison more important are the paintings adjoining these on the south wall—the Triumph of Death and the Last Judgment. Here again we are without trustworthy information as to their author, but that it could not

have been Orcagna, as Vasari alleges, is clear from his authenticated works, which furnish a sufficient standard of his style.[119] The first picture (Fig. 132) illustrates in its left-hand portion the story of the Three Living and Three Dead, but according to a new and individual reading. Through a rocky gorge comes a lordly train of hunters—three kings and their followers on horse and foot; suddenly the horses recoil, the riders avert their heads in horror, some hold their noses; for there, on the road before them, lie three open coffins, containing mouldering corpses, with snakes crawling about them, and their royal insignia still partly recognisable. From the rocks an aged hermit has just descended to warn the great and mighty of the vanity of earthly things, while, on the hill above, his companions linger among fruit-trees and tame creatures before their cells, one quietly reading, another milking a hind, with the peace of nature to gladden their days. So that here again, as in the Spanish Chapel at Florence, we find the contemplative life in God contrasted, according to the spirit of the Dominican scholastic, with the active life of the world. The same Dominican ethics are again set forth in the right-hand portion of the picture, which is only parted from the former by the rocks in the landscape. Death, a gigantic female genius, with the wings of a bat, comes swooping scythe in hand. The Awful One has already reaped a fruitful harvest; at her feet lie the dead in heaps, men and women, warriors, citizens, and monks, pope, bishop, and king; passing by only the maimed and miserable, who cry in vain to her for their release. The souls of the dead fly out of their mouths in the likeness of naked children, but are at once seized by devils, hobgoblin shapes, who drag them off and hurl them down chasms of the flame-vomiting mountains; it is only by exception that one or another is grasped and rescued by an angel. Two naked genii in the air above the heaps of dead hold up the principal inscription of the picture—genii, or if we are to call them angels, then the earliest examples of those naked child-angels, under whose likeness the Cupids of antiquity were soon to live again in the art of the Renascence. To the worldly life, which we have thus seen leading to the terrors of death, and for the most part to the pains of hell, has now once more to be contrasted the contemplative life. This is represented by the group on the extreme right, which corresponds in every particular with the similar group in the fresco of the Church Triumphant in the Spanish chapel. Here, as there, a company of men and women with lap-dogs, falcons, and music, pass their time in a garden untouched by terrors, and solace themselves in happy pairs upon a sward beneath a grove of pomegranates. This is the blessed existence of those who have vanquished sin, and above them hovers a flight of angels having in charge the souls of the redeemed. We may suppose that the two genii over the heads of the seated company, now transformed by some restorer into Cupids with reversed torches, may originally have held between them a scroll with an inscription like the similar pair farther to the left.

Fig. 132.

The painter of this famous work had no doubt to surrender himself implicitly to the service of scholastic symbolism, and to proceed according to the prescription of some preacher and moralist of the order. But in the visible result he has known how to triumph over a task so uncongenial to art. For the bliss of the righteous in the garden, the pleasant life of the rich and prosperous among his fellow countrymen furnished him the model. He caught from reality the tranquil poetry of rural existence, the worldly pomp of princes, the straits of the poor and needy. Though his embodiments are still on the whole typical rather than individual, yet they furnish, in costume, bearing, and action, a characteristic picture of their time. In his treatment of animal life also, we discern a closer observation of nature. In his demoniac conception of the incarnate Death our nameless master rises to true creative heights. He is master also of the delightful as well as of the tragic, and shows skill in the arrangement of the multifarious episodes and varied scenery of the whole, although the materials of his landscape are in truth still of the simplest kind.

The next picture, bearing the marks of the same hand, is also divided into two, a Last Judgment and a Hell. A novelty in the arrangement of the Judgment is the placing of Christ and the Virgin on equal terms beside each other, each crowned, throned, and surrounded by a *mandorla*. Christ beckons the righteous and dismisses the wicked with the traditional gestures. Immediately under him hover a group of angels with scrolls and trumpets ; among them one crouching and dismayed is particularly expressive. On each side of Christ and Mary are enthroned the grave and characteristic figures of the Apostles, above whom float angels carrying their respective instruments of martyrdom. Below, the ground is cleared by a celestial *gendarmerie* of panoplied angels. At command of their Captain a youth is brought across among the redeemed ; others are pitilessly thrust on the side of the damned ; the way in that direction is pointed out to a monk while he is yet in the act of crawling from his grave. Here no less than there all ranks and classes are represented. Those on the right of Christ kneel in pure beatified contemplation of God ; those on the left wring their hands and hide their faces wailing. At the bottom of all, frightful claws and fangs emerge from the clefts of the rock, and clutch at women standing by and struggling in vain to escape. This episode forms the transition to the picture of Hell, which is parted off from the Judgment by the wall of rocks. Coarse re-paintings here disfigure the work, whereas in the adjacent frescoes a surface cleaning has left the originals tolerably unimpaired. The infernal regions are planned as in the poem of Dante, but the figure of Satan reaches about through all its circles, appearing in the same action as in Giotto's picture at the Arena ; but whereas Giotto's Satan is naked, that of the Campo Santo is in the guise of a monster clad in iron. Even in the midst of his grimmest imaginations, the artist preserves a certain seriousness and grandeur.[120]

The third great wall-painting of this series deals with a subject already

customary on panels of the Byzantine school:—the life of the Hermits in Egypt. It consists of a number of separate groups, some of them conceived in the most familiar spirit; these are crowded close together in the landscape, which extends in height instead of depth. The lower margin is formed by a river, along which runs the high road. The pious hermits sit before their cells or busy themselves with useful occupations. One fishes, another chops wood; a man on horseback has just bought some fish from them, and rides away over a bridge. One of advanced age carries a wooden spoon; a package of similar spoons is being taken off for sale in the town, on the back of a tame gazelle. A woman penitent hushes her child; a brother mortifies his fleshly desires by holding both hands in the fire. S. Mary of Egypt receives the Sacrament before her death. S. Anthony is fallen upon and beaten by devils; elsewhere he drives out of his cave the tempter who has insinuated himself in the shape of a woman; again he mourns over his dead comrade Paul. Demons and dragons are rendered harmless by the exorcisms of the pious brothers. All these episodes are generally agreeable and full of life, and often give scope to a sly spirit of humorous enjoyment. Vasari ascribes this picture without reason to Pietro di Lorenzo. Little as it will bear comparison with the two former in point of composition and pregnancy of meaning, it yet resembles them in certain features, and may be inferred to be the work of the same hand. The hermits correspond in type with those of the Triumph of Death, and the treatment of drapery, animals, and landscape details is similar. In all three pictures the colouring is hard, but the modelling sharp and clear. The borders also correspond, and the three pictures are further alike inasmuch as each occupies the whole height of the wall, while those that follow are all designed in two superposed bands.

The next in order of the Campo Santo frescoes are a series of six from the legend of S. Ranieri. The three in the upper tier are the work of one Andrea da Firenze; the three in the lower, of Antonio di Francesco, a Venetian; and they were painted between A.D. 1376 and 1386.[121] In telling the story of this Pisan saint, the aim of both the painters employed has been to strike an easy narrative key; they show little remains of the old energy and grandeur. The young Ranieri is called away by a solemn warning from the joyous life of the world, and from dances in the company of lovely maidens; he does penance in a monastery; Christ appears to him, and restores him the sight which he had lost by the violence with which he wept over his sins. The thought of leaving the world for good comes to him at sea in the course of a trading voyage. He overcomes the assaults of the devil, and the fury of wild beasts; has visions of the Madonna, and of the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Tabor; and feeds the poor with store of bread which consumption does not diminish. To this point the story is brought by Andrea in the pictures of the upper tier. Of the work of Antonio below, the first picture is the only one that is preserved to

any purpose. We can see how Ranieri comes home on board the ship; how he distinguishes the water from the wine by causing the cheating landlord to spill it over his dress, and further how he sits at table with the Canons. Then follow his death, his burial in the cathedral, his miracles after death—healings of the sick, the stilling of a storm through the invocation of his name. The two masters who have wrought out this story have much in common, including their elaborate system of architectural design, which provides stately and sumptuous structures in the backgrounds of their work. Andrea perhaps shows the greater charm, and especially in the female figures of his first picture; his colour seems deeper and of more body. His successor shows occasionally the more realistic grasp, but is somewhat inclined to scamp the drawing of the bodily structure and the design of drapery.

The six succeeding pictures are from the legends of SS. Ephysius and Hippolytus. The three of the upper tier alone remain distinguishable, and are works of the hastiest kind, executed A.D. 1392 by Spinello Aretino, to whom we shall return anon. Then comes a set of six from the story of Job—compositions full of life and especially deserving notice for the just observation of animal nature displayed in them, as well as for the richness of their backgrounds of city and mountain scenery; Vasari gives them to Giotto, but they were really painted between A.D. 1370 and 1372 by Francesco da Volterra.

To the period upon which we are now engaged belong further three pictures from the Book of Genesis in the upper course of the north wall, painted according to Vasari by Buffalmacco, but according to authentic documents by Pietro di Puccio, a master from Orvieto, A.D. 1391. The series of three is introduced by a preliminary picture of the Creator holding a huge disk with the circles of the universe, behind which his shape is entirely hidden, while to right and left of him are seen half-lengths of S. Augustine and S. Thomas Aquinas. Then follow the stories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, and the beginning of that of Noah; the several scenes are greatly crowded, and the drawing is weak and flaccid in the nude; technical skill, nevertheless, is shown in the execution.

We thus learn that the majority of the painters who worked in the Campo Santo are to be reckoned among the later offshoots of the school of Giotto, and that, leaving aside the painter of the so-called Triumph of Death, and speaking of those only whose names have been recovered, no great artistic individuality asserts itself. In this generation the chief part is played by men skilful with the skill of mechanical routine. One of the most active among these was the above-mentioned Spinello Aretino, who died A.D. 1410, and had been a pupil of Jacobo da Casentino. His best-preserved work is the series in illustration of the story of S. Benedict, at San Miniato near Florence. With great facility of composition and an agreeable vivacity of natural presentment in all parts of the composition, this work, nevertheless, exhibits forms superficially made out, and painting dexterous indeed, but carrying directness to the point of the

positively coarse. His Passion frescoes painted for the former chapel of S. Nicholas of the Church of *Santa Maria Novella* in Florence, are in part still preserved in a room of the dispensary of the monastery. Some remains by his hand are to be found in his native Arezzo, and towards the close of his career he adorned the *Sala di Balia* of the public palace at Siena with pictures from the life of Pope Alexander III. The academy at Florence possesses a triptych of the Madonna with saints and angels signed by his hand and bearing the date A.D. 1391.

His contemporary Niccola di Pietro Cierino completed in A.D. 1392, as we learn by an inscription, the pictures of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ in the chapter-house of the monastery of S. Francis at Pisa. He is also the author of the pictures of the story of S. Matthew and of the Crucifixion on the walls of the chapter-house of S. Francis at Prato. He preserves the traditions of the school of Giotto better than the painters last named in so far as he aims at depth and earnestness of expression. At the same time he is without individuality in his composition, he crowds his figures too much, and is imperfect in his working out of form; there is care and skill, however, in his backgrounds of landscape and architecture.

Don Lorenzo, a Camaldulese monk of Florence, who worked as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, remains faithful, nevertheless, to the old style, and with all his carefulness in handling does not go beyond that style in drawing and treatment of form, though his painting gives pleasure by its tender and harmonious colouring and the warmth of sentiment that animates his somewhat constrained and unsteadily planted figures. His masterpiece, signed and dated A.D. 1413, is a triptych once in the Camaldulese monastery at Florence, and now in the Abbey of the Order at Ceretto near Certaldo, containing a Coronation of Mary, with saints, prophets, and minor predella subjects.

Another painter of the same succession, and scholar of Antonio Veneziano, was Gherardo Starnina (*b.* A.D. 1354, *d. circa* A.D. 1408). This artist was employed for many years in Spain; but no authenticated work of his hand is known either in that country or in Tuscany.

VII. OTHER PROVINCES OF ITALY.—Of the paintings executed in Naples of the fourteenth century the greater part were the work of artists from central Italy or Tuscany.[122] We have seen that King Robert had in his service first Pietro Cavallini, and afterwards Giotto, of whose work nothing indeed remains in the city; while a panel executed for the same king by Simone of Siena is still to be seen in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore. A fresco which exhibits the stamp of Giotto's school, though not of his own hand, is the miracle of the Loaves and Fishes—a neat and severe composition in a chamber now used as a furniture warehouse, which is contiguous to, and originally formed part of, the monastery of S. Chiara, in which monastery Giotto is said by Vasari to have

painted much. Much weaker is a picture on the wall of the refectory—a Christ enthroned with six saints, and before him the members of the Royal Family on their knees. Vasari ascribes to Giotto the painting of the roof in the chapel of the *Incoronata;* but they are of later origin, the chapel itself having been first founded A.D. 1352 by Queen Johanna I. and her husband Lewis of Tarentum in memory of the coronation of the former. The eight compartments of the vaulting contain pictures of the Seven Sacraments and the Triumph of the Church. Each Sacrament is represented by a lively incident from real life; that of marriage, for instance, by the betrothal of a princely pair, evidently referring to the Queen herself. The situations are for the most part well observed and grasped with much simplicity, although they have been brought with difficulty into the required spaces. The rich and gorgeously-coloured architecture of the building is everywhere carefully copied; the colouring is full-bodied, with brownish modellings in the flesh parts.[123] At Eboli a Crucifixion on the wall of the church of S. Francis makes us acquainted with a deserving Neapolitan follower of Giotto, in the person of Robertus de Oderisio, by whom the work is signed.

In Sicily we only find in this age a continuance of the traditional practice of mosaic, but with bad drawing and paltry skill, in the three apses of the Cathedral of Messina, with figures of Christ, the Virgin, and Saints, and as donors, Frederick II. of Aragon and his family. The date of these decorations is about A.D. 1330.

Rome, in the same age, abandoned by the Popes and given over to perpetual revolution, plays no part at all in the history of art. On the other hand, the signs of a modest local activity can be traced in certain districts of the Umbrian Apennine, and in the March of Ancona. Several frescoes of this period are to be found, for instance, in Gubbio. The date A.D. 1403 is attached to the Madonna *del Belvedere* by Ottaviano di Martino Nelli in the Church of *Santa Maria Nuova* at that place. This is a rich composition with angels playing music and holding tapestries, the Saviour amid a glory of angels holding the crown above the head of Mary, and Saints Æmilianus and Anthony, before whom kneel, as donors, a husband and wife of the family of Pinoli; the latter was evidently dead at the time that the picture was painted; she is represented as supported by an angel while the child Christ turns quickly towards her. The drawing and modelling are strikingly weak, the hands misunderstood or mannered, but the heads breathe a spirit of pensive blandness which recalls the contemporary style of the Lower Rhenish school of the North, and which is enhanced by a corresponding cheerfulness of colouring. The draperies are enriched with large and manifold patterns in gold. The blue ground, too, is covered with a red and gold diaper.[124] Our notices concerning the painter of this piece come down as late as A.D. 1444; nevertheless his work does not depart from the style of the fourteenth century.

Not far from Gubbio, at Fabriano, lived Alegretto, or Gritto, Nuzi, who lived for a time at Florence, and belonged to the painters' confraternity in that city. Signed panels by him are the Madonna, A.D. 1365, in the Christian Museum of the Vatican, another, A.D. 1369, in the Cathedral at Macerata, and another at Berlin, together with which should be reckoned the Crucifixion which has been detached from the back of the same panel. These exhibit, together with many reminiscences of Giotto's style, greater slenderness of form and timidity of movement; the expression is attractive and gentle. From the school of this master proceeded Gentile da Fabriano, whose acquaintance we shall make in the next period.

In Northern Italy a distinct group is formed by the schools of Bologna and Modena. Bolognese painters like Vitale and Lippo di Dalmazio approach in style the school of Giotto, but are deficient in force, and incline in their execution towards the petty and mannered. Some ill-preserved wall-paintings in the Mezzarata, a chapel outside the town of Bologna, are insignificant works; for their author we have the name of *Jacobus*, written by himself. From Modena sprang that Thomas *de Mutina* who was employed in the service of Charles IV. at Prague, and afterwards Barnabas, who was in like manner employed elsewhere than in his native city, and even, as we have seen above, invited to take part in the decorations of the Campo Santa at Pisa. In two Madonnas, however—one of A.D. 1367 at the Städel Institute at Frankfurt, and another in the Berlin Museum—he produces an archaic effect by stony expressions and attenuated hands, for which an affected grace is no sufficient compensation. Neither did Venice in this age produce, in the works of Niccola Semitecolo and Lorenzo Veneziano, anything of a superior merit. These masters adhered alike to old-fashioned types and old-fashioned technical processes.[125]

The only seats of a more noticeable artistic activity in North Italy at this period were Padua and Verona. The most important examples still existing are those at Padua, where a period of imposing artistic activity had been inaugurated by the presence and work of artists from Florence, and of Giotto at their head, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Verona, poor at the present day in paintings of that age, was nevertheless the place where its greatest artist in the North had his home and school. Artistic undertakings were eagerly furthered by the families of those princes who had possessed themselves of authority in the two towns, the Carrara at Padua, and the Scaligers at Verona. The leading master of all this group was Altichiero da Zevio, at Verona, who is mentioned by several early authorities, as well as by Vasari. Along with him, and in connection with the same works, a share seems to have been taken by Jacopo Avanzi, a master concerning whose origin notices are at variance.[126]

The most important series of paintings connected with these names is in the Chapel of S. Felice, formerly S. Jacopo, in the *Santo* or great church of S. Anthony at Padua. For the execution of these Altichiero received payment

A.D. 1379, three years after the completion of the chapel, which was erected at the cost of the family of Bonifacio dei Lupi, Marquis of Soragno. Opposite the arcades which open from the chapel into the church is a great composition of the Crucifixion, divided into three parts by painted arcades corresponding to the real. In the central compartment is the Saviour on the cross, surrounded by a number of figures whose looks are directed upwards, and most of whom are seen from the rear; in the right-hand compartment the soldiers casting lots for the raiment of Christ amid a number of bystanders pressing round and looking on; on the left hand the group of the Maries and holy women, while the return of the people from Golgotha to Jerusalem introduces a new and independent episode in the background. The west wall shows a much-injured votive picture of the donor and his wife, presented to the Madonna by SS. James and Catherine. Lastly, in eight pointed lunettes, together with two pictures on the east wall, is contained the story of James the Elder and his corpse, as related in the Golden Legend; this subject was chosen because the donors connected the origin of their family name, Lupi, with the Countess Lupa, who plays a part in the story. The choice furnished the artists with material as yet unused for pictorial representation, and material which stimulated their powers of imagination. The series opens, in the lunette of the narrow east wall, with the preaching of the Apostle against false prophets, while the lateral groups exhibit his enemies conspiring together and the Devil carrying away the magician Hermogenes. Then follow the three pictures of the south wall. Hermogenes, when the Devil has let him go at the command of the Saint, forswears his magic and is baptized; but the Jews lay information against the Apostle, who is condemned, and on his way to death a convert throws himself at his feet; farther on we witness his execution. Next follows one of the best pictures of the whole series, in which the power of artistic story-telling reaches its highest point, setting forth clearly the interaction of the mutual episodes, and choosing in each the really pregnant moment. The ship on which the body of James is conveyed away by his disciples Hermogenes and Philetus, and which, by God's guidance, has been brought to land at a castle in Spain, lies on the strand; an angel sits at the rudder, and this indication leads back the mind to the miraculous nature of the voyage and the motive of the main action. The disciples have carried the body to land, and are in the act of laying it down upon a stone, into which it then and there miraculously sinks as into a bed. In the background stand two other disciples in the courtyard of the castle, entreating the owner, the Countess Lupa, who appears with her ladies on the balcony, to grant them a resting-place for the body of their master. The picture on the west wall shows how the Countess causes them to be led before the judge, and how they are thrown into prison. The first picture on the north side is again particularly beautiful and characteristic. The disciples, released from prison by an angel of the

Lord, take to flight with the body of the Saint, and are saved by the breaking of a bridge beneath the feet of their pursuers in a desolate ravine. The headlong fall of man and horse, and their struggle to extricate themselves from the torrent, yield motives full of life and character. Next, the disciples appear once more before the Countess, and this time we see the wild beasts which she gives them for conveying the body into the castle miraculously tamed to the amazement of the multitude. In the end the Countess herself is converted, and dedicates her castle of Compostella to the Lord. The entire series is concluded by the two lower pictures of the east wall—the Saint appearing to the king in a dream and urging him to battle against the Saracens, and the Saint appearing in the midst of the battle, which is won by his interposition.

The Chapel of S. George, an independent building contiguous to the *Santo*, had been founded A.D. 1377 by another member of the family of Lupi, namely Raimondinus, the brother of the aforesaid Bonifacius. The pictures in this chapel have suffered much, but have at any rate not been the victims, like those in S. Felice, of modern repainting, and they give a still clearer idea than the others of the style of Altichiero, with whom, this time as before, Jacopo Avanzi would seem to have co-operated, but to what extent we are no longer in a position to decide.[127] On the entrance wall are five scenes from the Life of Mary and the infancy of Christ; on the opposite wall next the altar are to be seen the Coronation of the Virgin, and beneath, a great Crucifixion. This last picture is richly composed; little angels flutter about the cross of Christ, who has just given up the ghost; the souls of the two thieves are received as they leave their bodies, one by an angel, and the other by a fiend. Below crowd the people on foot and horseback; they look up towards the Saviour, whose death has impressed even the hostile and indifferent; in front are John and the holy women busied over the swooning Mary. Of the side walls, one contains the legends of SS. Catherine and Lucy, the other the legend of S. George, together with the great votive picture of the founder's family in adoration before the Madonna with their patron saints. The legendary pictures particularly show progress in the art of composition. Thus in the Release of S. George from his sentence of death by the wheel, angels have come down to shatter the instrument of execution; the executioners fall prostrate or recoil tottering; the Saint, stripped, and with his body still bent back, lifts his hands in thanksgiving to God; the armed men and spectators on both sides are seized with amazement (Fig. 133). Or see again in what a posture of dignity S. Lucy stands before the judge, or how no power, not even that of the oxen harnessed for the task, is able to drag her to the place of execution. Clearly as the principal characters are always made to stand out among the rest in their moments of exploit or suffering, yet the broad and varied disposition of the whole scene, with its multitudes of figures, never fails to attract the spectator with lively sympathy to the study of all its parts. The

individual groups and figures have always a significance of their own which accounts for and justifies them. Not less highly developed is the feeling for the environment and for space. The buildings which form the background are still better worked out here than in S. Felice ; rightly understood in the plan, in the perspective approximately correct, and so well designed in their elevation as to give to the compositions a character of quite peculiar stateliness.

Fig. 133.

These North Italian masters, then, Altichiero and Jacopo Avanzi, between whom our information does not allow us closely to distinguish, have been formed, in the first place, like other masters of the age, by the style which took its origin from Giotto. They have the seriousness and depth of Giotto, if not all his pathetic depth and intensity. And with this last, they miss also his roughnesses and vehemences of expression ; with them the prevailing mood is that of a tenderer emotion, and a purer feeling for beauty. In the types, in the management of drapery, in their whole principles of composition, Altichiero and Avanzi still show their connection with the older school, but they have advanced in grasp of reality, in acuteness of observation as regards actions and gestures, and in definition of character, which they often carry beyond the typical to the individual. They are capable of modelling the form more softly, and even exhibit a better understanding of the nude. They observe animal

life as accurately as human. Much as by all these means the traditional style is enriched in their hands, these artists, at the same time, do not exhibit an impulse towards great or sweeping innovation. With all their realistic leanings, their style is still grave and measured, even in the representation of the most tragic motives. Their noble tranquillity, the clearness and simplicity of their workmanship in drawing and colour, are qualities that charm and satisfy.

Among the mural paintings preserved at Verona, several are of a kindred style to these at Padua; for instance, the Madonna with saints and donors above the funeral monument of Federigo Cavalli in S. Anastasia (*d.* A.D. 1390). Other masters engaged at Padua are not to be compared with Altichiero and Avanzi. One of them was Guariento, by whom there is a signed Crucifixion in the gallery at Bassano, and who executed (A.D. 1365) a Coronation of the Virgin in the Hall of the Great Council of the Ducal Palace at Venice, afterwards replaced by the hand of Tintoret.[128] By him were also the paintings on the walls of the choir of the Church of the Eremitani at Padua; of these we can still trace the subjects of the Celestial Spheres with the pictures of the Planets and the Seven Ages of Man. An altar-piece of the Coronation of the Virgin, signed and dated A.D. 1367, now in the National Gallery in London, is the work of one Justus of Padua, or more exactly, *Giusto di Giovanni de' Menabuoi*, of Florence, entered on the registers of the brotherhood of painters in that city A.D. 1387, but afterwards permanently resident at Padua. The same painter is mentioned by early authorities as having carried out the rich pictorial decoration of the Baptistery of Padua, comprising extensive compositions, with a colossal bust of Christ above; in the dome, and lower down, the adoring Mary with five circles of angels, prophets, saints, scenes from the Old Testament, two Gospels, and the Apocalypse. In this master we recognise a late and feeble continuator of the style of Giotto, whose colouring is powerful, but whose drawing, expression, and choice of motives are dull and clumsy. He still seems desirous to rival Altichiero in the richness of his compositions, and the consequence is that he sacrifices clearness for the sake of multitude in figures, which he is nevertheless unable to make alive.

VIII. MINIATURES.—Italian miniature-painting experienced a great and rapid improvement about the middle of the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth was capable of producing ornamental books of the most splendid kind, which neither in decorative richness nor in daintiness of illustration yielded anything to the best productions of France. We shall not, however, enter into any detailed analysis of these works. Miniature-painting is important for the general history of art only in periods which have left insufficient monuments or none in other kinds. And this is the case in the later Middle Age as concerns the countries of Northern Europe, but not as concerns Italy, which on

the contrary is in that age so rich in other monuments that from the illuminations of manuscripts we have hardly anything new to learn.

The Italians in the thirteenth century seem to have been stimulated by French example to attempt to give a more artistic elaboration to their manuscript-painting. In the Bohemian Museum at Prague is a *Concordia discordantium canonum* by an Italian hand, in which the various law cases and their pleading before the judge are illustrated in thirty-eight little pictures. These remained faithful to the Italian Romanesque taste, not without traces of Greek feeling, in the system of round-arched arcades which frame and divide the compositions, as well as in the uniform movements of the little figures, the types of the heads, and the antique reminiscences in the cast of drapery, at the same time as they show the effect of French models in the employment of body-colour, the crude juxtaposition of vivid tones, as blue and scarlet, and the occasional introduction in the margin of comicalities, rude indeed, but still fresher and more alive than the main subjects. A similar change is perceptible in the Vatican manuscripts of the treatise on falconry by the Emperor Frederick II.[129] The Emperor, beardless and seated full face upon his throne, is a typical figure quite symmetrically treated; but in the little vignettes which follow, of huntsmen in the act of letting fly their hawks, or taking part in the chase, there already appear instances of lively conception and skilful movement. For instance, the naked back of a swimmer is well done, even if the water flows childishly upwards; and so is the back of a huntsman in the act of mounting. The colours, harsh and at the same time rather sombre, are laid on within black outlines. Of higher artistic value, and an emphatically Italian character, are the pictures of the months at the head of a psalter in the Laurentian Library at Florence. These delicately executed little figures are for the most part full of grace, quite antique in type and costume, and capitally handled even in the nude.[130]

In the fourteenth century the style of the new Tuscan painting completely penetrated the art of miniature as well, but even then the French taste continues to show itself occasionally in the marginal ornaments and comicalities. The library of the Abbey of La Cava, near Salerno, possesses two works written on the commission of the abbot Philip de Haya (A.D. 1316-1331), the *Speculum historiale* of A.D. 1320, in two volumes, and a Bible written by the scribe Guido, which are characteristic in this connection. In the finest examples of the purely Italian style, which correspond to the tendencies dominant in the art of the country from the days of Cimabue and Giotto, modern judges have often wished to recognise the hand of this or that great and well-known painter. But there is no single instance in which this can be done on sufficient authority. Simone of Siena is indeed named on the title-page as the illuminator of a Virgil in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, but only in a distich added by a later hand; and the workmanship itself falls far short of the known productions of

that master. In Italy, as elsewhere, the art of illuminating continued to constitute a calling by itself.[131]

But in this art also, from and after the epoch which we are studying, masters of celebrity begin to appear, whom, however, we know only by their names, and not by any authenticated works, inasmuch as none exist to which they have appended their signatures. Two of them, Oderigi of Gubbio and Franco of Bologna, have been immortalised by Dante in the *Purgatory*. With the former, who must have died before that part of his poem was written, Dante had held more or less intimate personal relations, as results from the passage where he makes him speak in the first person. As the poet walks along beside the procession of those condemned to march uphill in cowls of lead as the punishment for excessive love of fame, one of them recognises and calls him by his name; whereupon Dante—

> "Say," cried I, "art not Oderigi, late
> The glory of Gubbio, and glory of that style
> Which men in Paris call *to illuminate?*"
> "Brother," said he, "the sheets more brightly smile
> Pencilled by Franco of Bologna: now
> All his the honour, mine in part erewhile.
> Truly to do him so much grace as this,
> Living, I had not brooked, such passion mine
> Still to excel, nor my heart's aim to miss:
> Here of such pride with pangs I pay the fine."
>
> (*Purg.* xi. 79 *sqq.*)

According to Benvenuto da Imola, who wrote his commentary about A.D. 1376, Oderigi himself lived in Bologna.[132] Vasari mentions the name of a third and somewhat later illuminator, the Florentine Don Silvestro, a monk of the Camaldulese Order, who is said to have flourished about A.D. 1350. The great choir-books of the Monastery *degli Angeli*, in which he lived, have found their way into the Laurentian Library, and some of them are as old as the end of the fourteenth century; but in none does the name of Don Silvestro appear. They have in many instances been robbed of their principal pages, especially of the first. Some great initial letters said to have been cut from their pages were brought to England by Young Ottley, and among others a Birth of John the Baptist, now in the Royal Institution at Liverpool. The seventh part of the *Antiphonarium Nocturnum* in the Laurentian Library, which is marked at the end with the date of its completion, A.D. 1370, shows among them all, especially in some half-lengths of saints, the most delicate echoes of the style of Giotto.

In default of authenticated works by those miniature-painters whose names are preserved to us, we nevertheless possess masterpieces of their time by which we are enabled to judge of the standard of excellence which it had attained. We find in them a repetition, in composition, types, and drawing, of the

characteristics sometimes of the school of Giotto and sometimes of that of Siena. In the marginal decorations and initials there appears, instead of the minute thorn-leaf pattern of the French, a larger class of patterns in conventionalised Gothic foliage, in the midst of which separate bosses of gold are by-and-by introduced with excellent effect. Dante was right in laying stress on the *smiling* aspect of such pictures. A blithe and tender grace prevails in the motives as in the handling, which consists of a carefully-executed body-colour

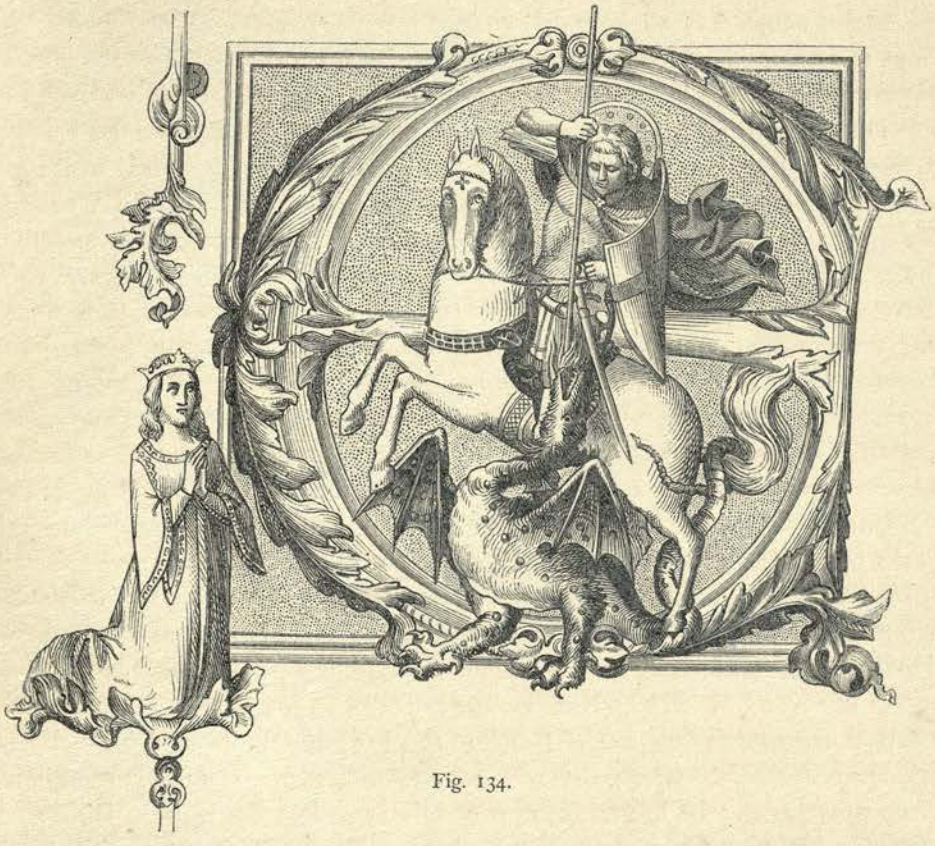

Fig. 134.

painting, with the little heads delicately modelled, and the colouring of a blooming cheerfulness agreeably harmonised with a gold background. Perhaps the most precious of all the existing examples of the period is the Missal, with the legend of S. George in the same volume, in the archives of the Canons of S. Peter's at Rome. The arms and portraits of the donor show that it was written for Giotto's patron, Giacomo Gaetano Stefaneschi, Cardinal of *San Giorgio in Velabro.* It includes among other Saints, in one of the pictures, the hermit Petrus de Murone, afterwards Pope Celestine V., and must therefore have been produced between A.D. 1327, in which year that person was canonised, and A.D. 1343, when the donor died. The pictures consist of a detailed set of

illustrations to the story of S. George, besides saints and Scripture illustrations to the prayers which precede and follow it. These designs are always placed within the initials, but sometimes intrude beyond the frame into the border (Fig. 134). The little figures are designed with much intelligence and life, and the portrait heads of the Cardinal have real individuality, especially that at the prologue of the legend, where he sits in the character of author writing at his desk. In the British Museum is preserved a copy of the Latin poem of Convonevole of Prato prepared for King Robert of Naples (A.D. 1309-1343). It contains subjects of allegory and antique mythology—the seven Liberal Arts about the fountain Hippocrene, which springs beneath the stroke of the hoof of Pegasus—the Muses in fourteenth century costume, but with noble motives and heads of much delicacy and animation. A manuscript in the National Library at Naples, containing the Treatises of Boëthius on arithmetic and music, has only three pictures, introduced between the two treatises; but the second of these is among the most beautiful productions of Italian miniature-painting. Enthroned in the midst sits Music with her organ, a woman young and fair; above her we see the half-length of David, below and at the sides a singer, and six youthful musicians in the costume, some of them even in the parti-coloured fashions, of the time. The sentimentality of expression, the graceful movement of the gently swaying bodies, the smallness of the mouths, and partial closing of the eyes, bring this work into relation with the school of Siena rather than with that of Florence.[133]

Unable as we are to recognise the hand of Franco of Bologna himself in works like these, however worthy of his fame, we nevertheless can say generally of his home, Bologna, that it was one of the chief seats of the art of miniature-painting. The presence of the university caused this art to flourish in connection with the book trade. The name of a Bolognese illuminator Nicolaus, occurs in several MSS., as a New Testament (A.D. 1358) in the Vatican Library, a missal according to the use of Rome (A.D. 1374) at Munich, and a Dominican missal at Venice.[134] The artist with whom we here become acquainted is one of no great mark; he has adopted, generally speaking, the style of Giotto; he executes his heads with care, and sometimes carries their expression to the point of pathos; but his forms are faulty and his motives lack originality. At worst, however, these miniatures are beyond comparison more agreeable than anything which the same age produced at Bologna in the way of pictures on wall or panel. In the class of illuminated law books it would seem that many examples may also be referred to the school of Bologna.[135]

Next to the great choir books of this period, among which we may also note those from the church of S. Francis at Pisa, now preserved in the Academy,—next to these an important class consists of the manuscripts of the great facts and writers of regenerated Italy, Dante and Petrarch. Numerous, however, as are the illustrated copies of the Divine Comedy, there rarely occurs

one of much artistic value. An Italian manuscript of Petrarch's Roman History in the library at Darmstadt belongs to the latter half of the fourteenth century; in a series of slightly executed narrative vignettes it attempts to give a lively illustration of the text, after the manner of the school of Giotto, and in the title-page with the portrait of the author it contains one real work of art. The view of the poet's study presents a very carefully designed interior space, in which the perspective has been not unsuccessfully observed; and the head is thoroughly individual in character.

It occasionally happens that miniatures furnish us with an evidence of artistic activity from provinces in which other classes of monuments are wanting; thus Sicily is represented by the Paris manuscript of the statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghost, founded A.D. 1352 by Lewis, King of Sicily and Jerusalem. The style founded by Giotto asserts itself here also, if somewhat diluted, in forms of moderate movement, pale flesh tints, low tones of colour, and well-composed marginal ornaments.[136]

Again, it often happened in this period that employment was given to the talents of Italian illuminators by lovers of books in France. The most significant proof of this is furnished by a Paris *Bible historiée*, with explanations in French, which begins with a symbolic picture corresponding to each Old Testament illustration and on the same page with it, and then goes on to simple illustration of the life of Mary and the New Testament in continuous order. Several hands have had a share in the pictures. The first, that employed upon the Old Testament, is French, the architecture, too, corresponding with the Northern Gothic. With the legend of Mary another style begins. The best hand,—which first makes its appearance in the picture of Mary and Joseph journeying to Bethlehem, and afterwards recurs in single pictures, until, from the Crucifixion on, we find it working alone,—is that of some first-rate Italian master. The name of Simone Martini has been suggested, and at any rate the work is unmistakably akin to the Sienese school. The slender forms, with their well-studied drapery and the gentle inclination of their heads, exhibit a delicate oval type of countenance, with narrow eyes and inspired expressions. The landscape, taken from an elevated point of sight, with a gold ground instead of sky, and very dark trees, has much breadth of treatment, and the architectural designs furnish an unmistakable reproduction of the Italian Gothic with its coloured marbles. The diminutive figures in the distance are of peculiar delicacy. Again, in a Paris Psalter, of which the illuminations consist for the most part of French thirteenth-century work, there appears occasionally also an Italian hand of the fourteenth century, which sometimes has turned to account designs already begun by the French illustrator. Among others that famous amateur, of whom we have already spoken, Jean Duc de Berri, was not always content with his excellent French and Flemish illuminators, but occasionally, as is proved by a Prayer-book in Brussels, employed Italian hands as well.

The marginal ornaments, with the Duke's well-known emblems, are completely French, but the Italian hand declares itself in the independent pictures, as, for instance, in the opening design of the Duke, with John the Baptist and S. Andrew, on his knees before the Madonna, who gives the breast to the Child. But in this case we can see that the Italian employed must have been one who had lived in the North, by the way in which he accommodates himself to the Northern architecture, and by the windmills which, in the subject of the betrayal of Christ, he has introduced into the background.[137]

CONCLUSION.—In connection with that passage of Dante in which mention is made of Giotto, his commentator, Benvenuto da Imola, concludes what he has to say with the following words, alluding to the verses about him and Cimabue:—"And let it be noted that Giotto still lords the field, inasmuch as there has appeared no greater master than he, even though he may sometimes have committed great faults in his works." This expression, on the part of an author writing A.D. 1376, is very significant. By that time men were indeed aware that in many points the pictures of Giotto were incorrect, and that the art of painting stood in need of a further development. But they were still dominated by the powerful influence of his genius, which had been followed by none of equal grasp. After his predecessors had made the first timid attempts to emancipate themselves from the Byzantine manner, Giotto had all at once introduced a new way of intellectually conceiving the subjects of art, which quickly led to new modes of representation, new standards of form and treatment. On the level to which painting had been raised in the hands of Giotto, it remained standing for nearly a century after him. His Florentine successors may here and there soften down the rough vigour of their master, or may here and there introduce a richer motive in composition or expression, but essentially they are contented to maintain and carry on his style, which in the course of time assumes in their hands the stamp of a tradition and a convention. Of more independent value are the products of such artists and artistic movements as stood more apart from the direct influence of Giotto. Of this Florence affords an instance in Orcagna, who transcends the school of Giotto with his greater refinement in the working out of form, and with his spirituality of expression; and Siena in her school at large, the members of which adhere to their own traditions, developing especially a mood of tender lyrical sentiment peculiar to themselves, until by-and-by Ambrogio di Lorenzo approximates more nearly to the strength of the great Florentine. Towards the close of the fourteenth century we discern increased leanings towards the close observation of nature, with greater richness of composition and elaboration of backgrounds —leanings which are more successfully exemplified in the works of the North Italian masters, Altichiero and Avanzi, than in those of the Tuscans themselves. But a further development in the true sense of the word—a development by

which the embodiments of art should be brought into full correspondence with the ideas embodied, and which, to the spiritual truth of conception now attained, should add material truth of representation—such a development could only come about in connection with a general transformation of the national culture such as it was reserved for the fifteenth century to witness.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MAHOMMEDAN RACES.

Art of the East essentially decorative—The Prophet concerning images—Mutual influence of Eastern and Western arts after Moslem conquest—Animal design in Arab embroideries—Figure paintings in the Alhambra—Analogous representations first in Arabic and later in Persian MSS.—Chinese and Japanese painting not included in scope of present work.

THE art of the East is mainly and essentially decorative, even when its technical processes are the same which Christian races employ for painting in the Western sense of the word. All races alike have set out, indeed, from the practice of mere surface decoration, whether in wall-painting, glass-painting, or tapestry. But in the natural evolution of the art Western races have been led on to a mode of treatment which transcends the merely decorative, and to representations from which, though applied upon a flat surface, the effect of flatness is removed. The art of the East, on the contrary, clings to its original aim. Colour, which for painting in its developed state is only a means, continues for it to be an end in itself. Its main point lies in its character as ornament, and for art transcending the limits of ornament the Oriental genius has not felt the need.

The condemnation of images by the Prophet was rather the expression than the cause of this feeling of the Eastern races with regard to art. No express religious prohibition of images is indeed to be found in the text of the Koran. The only passage that can be cited to the purpose is the following:—"O ye faithful, of a truth wine, gaming, images, and the casting of lots are things to be held in abhorrence." The text then goes on to denounce idolatry, and makes it clear that by images are understood the works of sculpture only. It is in the oral utterances attributed by tradition to the Prophet that the passage for the first time occurs, "Woe unto him who paints the likeness of a living thing; on the Day of Judgment those whom he has depicted will rise up out of the grave and ask him for their souls. Then, verily, unable to make the work of his hands live, will he be consumed in everlasting flames." [138]

When the tribes of the desert from whom the great religious uprising among the Arabs had gone forth, had conquered some of the ancient homes of classic civilisation—Syria, Egypt, Sicily, and Spain—they took into their own service the artistic dexterities which they found existing among the conquered. As an example of this we have already become acquainted with the mosaics of the mosque of Loubet-ez-Sakrah at Jerusalem; these, according

to the Arab predilection, are exclusively ornamental. Motives of ornament and landscape are found in combination in a mosque at Damascus, for the rebuilding of which the Khalif Walid employed artists summoned from Byzantium. The ornamental style comes forward more and more decisively as the independent Arab taste begins to develop itself. Plant ornaments tend more and more to turn into mere linear patterns, bands with inscriptions become the leading decorative motives, and the whole system of forms is determined by the principles of textile art, the art essentially characteristic of the East. The hangings, woven stuffs, and embroideries of the Oriental races exercised at the same time a powerful influence on the West, where they were brought as merchandise and where they introduced a multitude of fantastic motives for ornamental use.

Fig. 135.

But these hangings themselves demonstrate that the warning of the Prophet against the representation of natural objects was not always practically legislative among the races of Islam, inasmuch as they exhibit in great abundance the constantly recurring shapes of animals. These animals were at the same time treated according to the exigencies of the taste for pure ornamentation; their forms were conventionalised no less than the forms of plants, and frankly transformed into many constituent elements of a symmetrical surface pattern. And this happened although the Arabs were by no means naturally destitute of the instinct for observing nature, and especially animal nature. The German imperial mantle which we have already mentioned, the production of Arabian workmen in the royal factory at Palermo, exhibits, in two symmetrical groups

of camels fallen on by lions, a vehement dramatic life and a surprising expressiveness in the rendering both of helpless collapse and ferocious attack; and this notwithstanding that the animals are represented quite without shading, in the likeness of a mere play of surface lines and ornaments (Fig. 135). If elsewhere there occur isolated figures of men or brutes in the patterns of wares or furniture, still it is only late, and then always under the visible influence of Christian art, that we find representations really pictorial and carried beyond the confines of mere decoration.

The most important existing examples of such work are furnished by the pictures on the roof of the Alhambra.[139] The Arabs in Spain, who represented the highest culture of their race and lived in continual intercourse and emulation with Christendom, were capable on special occasions of emancipating themselves alike from the splendid onesidedness of their own peculiar taste and from the prejudices of their religious creed. In one of the great halls opening out of the Court of Lions, namely that called the Hall of Justice, the vaulting of three niches is filled by the pictures in question; their form is long, rounded at the narrow ends, and within the space thus circumscribed run the figures with their feet always directed outwards. The principal picture in the central niche contains two rows of venerable figures in Arabic costume, holding their swords, and most of them making an expressive gesture with the right hand. Under each are the arms of Granada, an oblique bar, gold, on a field gules; and the same arms supported by two lions recur at the two narrow ends of the composition. The two other pictures exhibit scenes of chivalry, in which both Arabs and Christians take part, and of which the subjects are perhaps drawn from poetry. In the niche left of the centre appear Christians and Arabs together engaged in the chase, some mounted and some on foot, in combat with boars, bears, and lions; Christian and Arab alike present their spoils to their lady-loves, the former kneeling, the latter haughtily erect. The centre of each compartment taken lengthways is formed by a fountain surmounted by the figure of a dog spouting water; a knight and lady gaze into the basin, from which emerge little naked figures; in front extends a pond with ducks and storks (Fig. 136). The niche on the right contains battles between Christians and Arabs, with ladies looking on from battlements, besides hunting scenes, a battle between a knight and a wild man of the woods who clutches a girl by the arm, and a charming pair at the chess table with a rose bush growing beside. These paintings are executed on a number of hides sewn together and covered with a plaster preparation; the ground is gilt, with raised ornaments in low relief, the outlines brown, the colours vivid, with scanty shading. The number of tints is small, and the same combinations for the darker tones recur over and over again. One of the Arabs in the first picture even has a green beard. Just as the subjects in this case remind us of that class of French or German miniatures or wall-paintings, of which the mate-

rials are drawn from the poems of chivalry, so the forms in their pliant grace and elegance of drawing vary but little from the ordinary style of the West, about the middle of the fourteenth century. To this time, in fact, the pictures in question must, according to the costumes represented, belong, as it is also the time when the Alhambra was renewed under Yussuf I. (A.D. 1348). If, next, it were possible on the strength of the figures to assume that we had here before us the work of Christian, say of French, artists in the service of the Mahommedan princes, our assumption would be disproved by another feature which is characteristic of these pictures. That is, the surprising feeling which they show for the poetry of nature, the loving realisation of their detail, and their keen and diligent adhesion to the particular facts, in the representa-

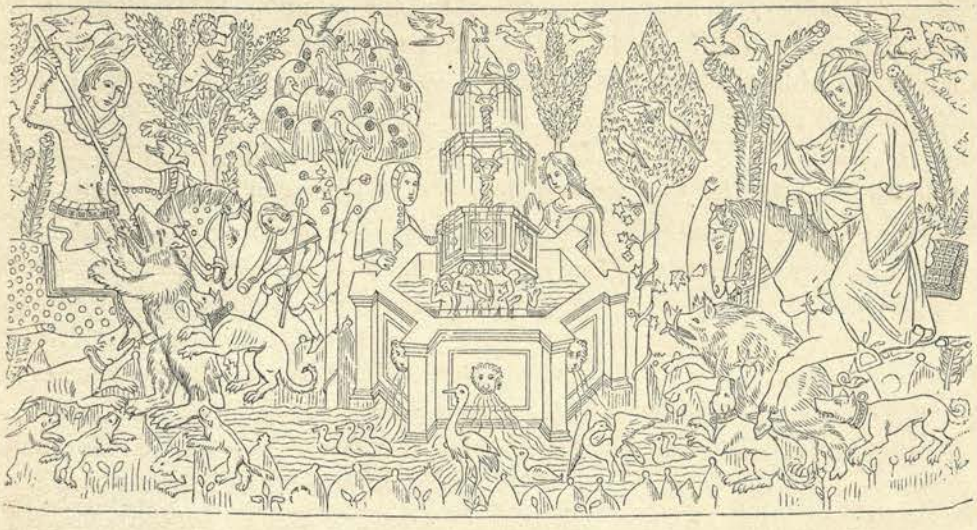

Fig. 136.

tion of the leverets and other little animals on the ground, the birds on the boughs, the dates, cypresses, and the rest. All these are treated in a quite exceptional manner, even though their treatment does not in every particular rise above the conventional, and though the perspective is very imperfect.

But that these paintings of the Alhambra do not stand alone in the art of Islam we may learn by comparing with them manuscripts of Arab, Turkish, and Persian origin. Among Continental libraries, the Royal Library at Vienna is especially rich in monuments of this kind from the fourteenth century down. The Arabic manuscripts of the Makamen of Hairiri, dated the 22d of Radschele 734—that is March 29 A.D. 1334—suggests an acquaintance with miniatures of late Byzantine work. At the beginning we find the poet himself solemnly enthroned, with two winged figures holding a blue ribbon over his head, and

beneath his feet seven figures, of whom some play on musical instruments, some juggle, and others carry cups. The picture is painted in *gouache* within a tasteful arabesque border. Then follow sixty-nine vignettes to the several Makamen. The proportions are short, the heads large and coarse, irregular in the oval, with slits for eyes, shapeless noses, and mouths often ridiculously small. The outlines are red in the flesh parts, the draperies quite devoid of style, the tissues adorned with rich patterns, the colouring sumptuous but heavy, with an entire absence of shading and modelling. On a higher level stand a number of Persian manuscripts of the sixteenth and subsequent centuries, in which there appear a better observation of nature, with a nearer approach to the character of Western art, and a general feeling akin to that which we have perceived in the pictures of the Alhambra. Hunting and battle, scenes of conviviality and love are represented, with some of the attractions of romance, in combinations of slender figures and dainty motives. The horses are drawn with peculiar precision and skill, and in spite of the want of perspective the scenery is always delicately and agreeably worked out.

In this place we should also have to deal with the painting of the races of Eastern Asia, of the Chinese and Japanese, if it were not our intention to refrain from including them in the scope of our history.

APPENDIX.

1. [THE main political conditions which accompany the opening, about A.D. 1250, of this third or Gothic period of mediæval painting, are—1, The downfall of the German Imperial power; 2, The consolidation and growing strength of the French kingdom; 3, The emancipation and growing commercial and industrial importance of the Italian cities. In art, the Gothic or Pointed style of architectural construction and ornament, systematically developed in France soon after the first application at S. Denis (A.D. 1144), has, before the close of the preceding period, spread to Germany, Great Britain, Spain, and lastly, in a modified shape, to Italy (church of S. Francis at Assisi, A.D. 1228-52). But the principles of this style have not at first told upon painting, and it is only when they begin decisively to do so that a Gothic age for that art begins. The close of this Gothic period is marked by no special conjuncture in the political affairs of Europe, but only by a change of tendency, which comes over the craftsmen of Northern and Southern Europe simultaneously about A.D. 1400. Painting is about that date again transformed by a spirit of increased freedom, as well as increased exactness, in the interpretation of nature; coupled, in Flanders, with the discovery of oil as a vehicle for colours, and in Italy, with an awakening enthusiasm for the monuments of antiquity,—an enthusiasm destined in that country quickly to bring into disfavour, after an ascendency of little over a hundred and fifty years, the Gothic principles of ornamentation both in architecture and the other arts.]

2. See the Book of the Painters' Guild of Prague, edited by Pangerl, M., in the Vienna *Quellenschriften*, vol. xiii. p. 13.

3. Durandus, *Rat. divin. offic.*, lib. i. cap. 3; quoted by Didron, *Ann. archéol.*, ii. p. 24.

4. *Album de Villard de Honnecourt*, edited by Lassus and Darcel, Paris, 1858.

5. [The hero of Wolfram von Eschenbach's epic of *Willehalm* or *Wilhelm von Oranse*, is the historic personage, William, Count of Orange in Provence, known as William Long-nose, whose career and exploits had been idealised in popular lay and legend in the same spirit as those of Charles or Roland.] Among the MS. directions to the illuminator, written in Latin, and still legible on the margin of the Vienna copy of the poem, are the following:—*Hic ponas aliquot monachos cum abbate* (fol. 238). *Hic ponas regem Terramer regio in apparatu in medio capitalis* (fol. 238). *Hic ponas solum capitale et inpingas quid placet* (fol. 223).

6. Paris, *Bibl. de l'Arsenal*, Théol. Lat. 165 B (reproductions in Lacroix and Serré, *Le moyen âge et la renaissance*); Venice, *Bibl. Marc.*, ce. i. cod. lxxvii.; Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 238.

7. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 10525; reproductions in Labarte, Pl. 92, and Humphreys, Pl. 10.

8. Rome, *Bibl. Vat.* 3839; see Seroux d'Agincourt, Pl. 70.

9. Berlin, Print-room, MSS., 38. See Sotzmann, L., in Quarterly Journal of the *Mainzer Verein für Literatur u. Kunst*, 1832, Pl. 2.

10. Vienna, *Hofbibl.*, 2554, and another example more fully illustrated, with superscriptions in Latin, 1179. Compare Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 167, 9561; to be mentioned later. On the choice and typical signification of the subjects in these books, consult Heider, G., in *Jahrbücher der k. k. Centralcommission*, vol. v. p. 33.

11. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 2090-2092.

12. The relation between the popular tales of the Middle Age and the comicalities of the MS. borders had already been noticed by Uhland (*Schriften*, vol. iii. p. 223 *sqq.*): compare Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, vol. iii. pp. 239-242.

13. Hanka, the "discoverer" of the Königinhof MS., has inserted Slav names of a pretended scribe and illuminator, and claimed a Bohemian origin for the work. See Woltmann in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1877, p. 1. The Stuttgart Bible (Bibl. fol. 3 a-c) is shown by two Latin notes written at the beginning and end to have belonged to a convent of the Celestine order at Mons.

14. As other important works of this period we may mention the manuscript of the Pandects in the Library at Metz, written for Renault de Bar, bishop of that place (see Hefner-Alteneck, *Trachten des Christl. Mittelalters*, i. Pl. 77); his Pontifical in the same place (No. 43); and further, a somewhat later Pontifical with the arms of Hugues de Bar, bishop of Verdun (A.D. 1352-1361), and also of his grandmother Jeanne de Cocy, recurring frequently in the initials. (Prague, Libr. of Prince Lobkowitz, 225.) The book contains also thirty-nine representations of church ceremonies, many beautiful initial letters with figure subjects, and delightful *drôleries*.

15. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 20125 (date about A.D. 1300); Donaueschingen, *Furstenberg'sche Bibl.*, 168 (see Hefner, *op. cit.*, Pl. 28, 31); Brussels, *Bibl. de Bourgogne*, 11040, 10747; Vienna, *Hofbibl.* 2583, 2563 (specimens from the former in Dibdin, *A Bibliographical Tour*, vol. iii. p. 479.

16. See Shaw, *Art of Illuminating*, p. 18 *sqq.*, for specimens of the Tenison Psalter in the Brit. Mus., executed about 1284.

17. Oxford, *Bodl.*, Douce, 366; London, *Brit. Mus.*, Arundel 83, MSS. Regia 2, B. vii.; for reproduction from the last, see Palæog. Soc., Pl. 99 *sq.*

18. See Hefner-Alteneck, *op. cit.*, vol. i. Pl. 41.

19. Munich, *Carmina Benedictoburana*, cod. c. pict. 73 (see Publ. of the Literar. Vereins, Stuttgart, vol. xvi.); cod. Germ. 19, Cimel. 28; cod. Germ. 51, Cimel. 27 (see Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, vol. i. p. 88).

20. Stuttgart, *Königl. Privatbibl.*, Poet. Germ. 1 (see *Literar. Verein*, vol. v., with plates); Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Allemand 32 (see Hagen, F. H. v. d., *Atlas zu den Minnesingern*, Berlin, 1856).

21. Cassel, MSS. poet. et rom. fol. 1 (specimen in Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, vol. i. p. 53).

22. Published with reproductions by Heider and Camesina, Vienna, 1863.

23. Published with reproductions by Wocel; Wellislaw's *Bilderbibel*, Prague, 1871.

24. Prague, *Universitätsbibl.* xiv. A 17. See Wocel in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Centralcommission*, 1860, p. 75 (with plates).

25. For literary testimonies concerning these libraries consult Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, p. 502; and Laborde, Comte L. de, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, etc., vol. ii.

26. Compare in the same sense Waagen, *Kunstwerke u. Künstler in Paris*, p. 326, and Schnaase, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste*, vol. vi. p. 517.

27. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 30; Hague, *Mus. Westreenen* (see Waagen in *Deutsches Kunstblatt*, 1852, p. 238); Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 167 (specimens in Louandre).

28. Hague, *Mus. Westreenen* (see Montfaucon, *Mon. de la monarchie française*, vol. iii. Pl. 2); Paris, *Bibl. de l'Arsénal*, T. L. No. 4 (see Louandre), *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 437.

29. Hague, *Mus. Westreenen.* Among slighter and less artistic works done for the same king, Charles V., are a Valerius Maximus in French, the *Livres de propriete des choses* of Jehan Corbichon, the latter with the date 1372, and each containing a dedication picture (Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 290, 22534). There is another pleasant dedicatory picture in an epistle addressed to Richard II. of England between A.D. 1370 and 1380 by a Cœlestine monk of Paris, with the object of arranging a peace between that sovereign and Charles V. London, *Brit. Mus.* 20 B. vi.

30. Brussels, *Bibl. de Bourgogne*, 10392; London, *Brit. Mus.*, Harleian, 2897 (see Shaw, *op. cit.*, p. 24).

31. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 2810 (see Humphreys, Pl. xv.)

32. London, *Brit. Mus.*, Harleian, 4831.

33. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 13091; known as *Les petites heures de Jean de Berri.* The date of the original catalogue referred to in the text is between A.D. 1401 and 1403. Compare woodcut in Lacroix, *Les arts au moyen âge*, etc., Fig. 330.

34. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 919. See reproductions in Silvestre, *Paléogr. univ.* iii.; and consult Waagen, *Künstler u. Kunstwerke*, in Paris, p. 339; also Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. ii. p. 1,

note to p. 121, where the entry concerning this Book of Hours from the inventory of property left by the Duke is quoted thus: *item unes tres belles heures tres richement enluminees et hystoriees de la main Jaquemart de Odin et par les quarrefors des feuilles en pluseurs lieux faictes des armes et devises de MS., etc.*

35. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Lat. 18014, 10483, 10484.

36. Paris, *Bibl. Maz.*, 753. A similar book at Oxford, completed, according to the inscription, A.D. 1407, belongs also to the finest of this class (*Bodl. Libr.*, Douce 144), as does a nearly allied Prayer-book which Waagen saw in the possession of the Count de Saint Mauris, and later of Count Bastard in Paris.

37. See Waagen, Treasures of Art in England, vol. iv. (Suppl.) p. 248.

38. Rome, *Vat.*, Ottobon., 1262; London, *Brit. Mus.*, Harleian, 4431.

39. Unsatisfactory lithographic reproductions published by Duncker and Humblot, Berlin, 1830; Schnaase, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste*, vol. i. p. 540, disputes the reading of the name.

40. London, *Brit. Mus.*, Harleian, 7026; see Humphreys, Pl. 14.

41. Other excellent works of the same school are the following:—the *Orationale* of Arnestus in the same museum, which has figure compositions in the initial letters, among which the kneeling bishop already shows an individuality of character; the thorn-leaf pattern strongly predominates in the borders; the *Pontificale* of the fourth Bishop of Leitomischl, Albert von Sternberg, executed A.D. 1376 by the writer Hodico (this is in the Library of the Præmonstratensian monastery at Strahow, Prague); the Missal of Ozko von Wlaschim, Archbishop of Prague, A.D. 1364-1380, in the Metropolitan Library of that place; the Christian school-book by Thomas von Stitny, in the Bohemian tongue, now in the University Library at Prague; the small vignettes in this work are less finished in execution, but full of spirit, and skilful in their motives. The scene in which a young girl in fashionable attire listens to the advances of the seducer, while the devil imparts evil counsel to her through the bellows, is extremely life-like, and the latter end of a sinner whom Death slays upon his bed is very powerful. A Gospel-book in Vienna, illuminated, according to its inscription, by Johann von Troppau, Canon of Brünn, and completed A.D. 1368, is particularly beautiful in the ornaments of the borders, and corresponds altogether to the Prague examples.

42. Vienna, *Hofbibl.*, Theol., 1182; Jus civile, 338; No. 2759; *Ambraser Samml.*, No. 75.

43. Vienna, *Hofbibl.*, No. 1844.

44. Vienna, *Hofbibl.*, No. 2765; see Birk, E., in *Berichte des Wiener Alterthumsfreundes*, 1855.

45. Stuttgart, *Oeff. Bibl.*, Bibl. fol. 5.

46. Consult the splendid uncompleted work of Lassus and Duval, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (coloured plates); and for almost all examples of French painted glass, the work of Lasteyrie above quoted.

47. For the glass of Bourges Cathedral, with examples from other places introduced for comparison, see Arthur Martin, and Cahier, Ch., *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges, 1ere partie, vitraux du 13eme siècle*, Paris, 1841-1844. For those of Le Mans, Hucher, E., *Vitraux peints de la Cathédrale du Mans*, Paris, 1865. For some examples of legendary subjects in painted glass, Cahier, *Nouveaux mélanges*, etc., Paris, 1875, art. *Décorations d'églises*.

48. Of the sixty-one original subjects, only forty are preserved; and these have been filled with many fragments, which, though ancient, do not belong to them. See Rahn, *Schweiz*, p. 566 (with plates).

49. For the window at Marburg, see Moller, G., *Denkmäler der deutschen Baukunst*, ii. Pl. 16. For that at Alpinsbach, Stillfried, R., *Alterthümer und Kunstdenkmale des erlauchten Hauses Hohenzollern*, Berlin, 1859-1867. For that at Wimpfen, Müller, F. H., *Beiträge zur teutschen Kunst-und Geschichtskunde*, Pl. 18. For Niederhasslach, Straub, *Analyse des vitraux de l'ancienne église collégiale de Haslach et de l'ancienne abbaye de Walbourg*, Caen, 1860. For Klostermenburg, Camesina, in *Jahrbuch der k. k. Centralcommission*, ii.

50. See Gailhabaud, *L'architecture et les arts qui en dépendent*, II., and Schmitz, F., *Der Dom zu Köln*.

51. For the windows at Seligenthal, see *Alterthüms-und Kunstdenkmale des bayerischen Herrscherhauses*, Munich, 1853. For those at Königsfelden, Liebenau, Th. v., and Lübke, W., *Denkmäler des Hauses Habsburg in der Schweiz: Das Kloster Königsfelden*, Zürich, 1867.

52. For documentary proofs, see Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*.

53. See the work of Lasteyrie, and also Labarte, Pl. 96.

54. For the example of S. Pierre-sur-Dive, see woodcut in De Caumont, *Abécédaire, Arch. religieuse*, 5th ed., p. 504. For that at S. Omer, Gailhabaud, vol. ii., and Didron, *Ann. archéol.*, vol. xii. p. 137.

55. The essential information concerning the mural painting of this age in England is contained in Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (founded on Vertue's notes), ed. R. N. Wornum, London, 1849; Eastlake, Sir Charles, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, vol. i. p. 552; compare Schnaase, *Gesch. der bild. Künste*, vol. v. p. 538, and vi. p. 546.

56. See *Some account of the Collegian Chapel of S. Stephen, Westminster*, published by the Soc. of Antiquaries, 2d ed., London, 1811.

57. For the Westminster portrait, see Scharf, G., *Observations on the Westminster Abbey Portrait of King Richard II.*, in *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, 1867, with illustrations: on that at Wilton (which has been engraved, but without preserving its true character, by Hollar), Waagen, *Treasures of Art in England*, vol. iii. p. 150.

58. For the Brauweiler examples, see Weerth, E. aus'm, *Wandmalereien des Mittelalters in den Rheinlanden;* for those at Rebdorf, Sighart, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste im Königreich Bayern*, p. 340, with illustrations.

59. See Weerth, E. aus'm., *op. cit.* Tracings are preserved in the Print-room at the Berlin Museum.

60. Figured in Förster, *Denkmale*, vol. vii.; Schnaase, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste*, vol. vi. p. 386; and in colours Schmitz, *Der Dom zu Köln.* Copies and tracings are in the Print-room at Berlin.

61. For the Basel paintings, see Bernouilli, A., in *Mittheilungen der Hist. u. Antiq. Gesellschaft zu Basel*, New Series, 1, with seven coloured plates. For those at Oberwinterthur, Rahn, R., in *Anzeiger fur schweizerische Alterthumskunde.*

62. In Swabia the Chapel at Kentheim, and the *Veitscapelle* at Mühlhausen on the Neckar, founded A.D. 1380, may be particularly mentioned (see Grüneisen in the *Kunstblatt*, 1840, No. 96 *sqq.*) and in Bavaria some remains in the Cathedral at Freising. Of a corresponding character are the wall-paintings with the legend of S. George in a chamber of the castle of Neuhaus in Bohemia, dated A.D. 1338, and High German both in style and in the language of their inscriptions. (Published by Worel in the Vienna *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1859.) The tenor of the legend gave scope to the artist for naïf representations of chivalrous life. Of other Bohemian wall-paintings we shall speak later in connection with the school of Prague. In the north-east of Germany, the only examples are the pictures in the vaultings of S. Mary's Church at Kolberg.

63. On representations of Death in the painting of this period, consult Wackernagel, W., *Ter Todtentanz*, in *Kl. Schriften*, vol. i. p. 302; Douce, Fr., *The Dance of Death*, London, 1833; Langlois, E. H., *Essai historique, philosophique et pittoresque sur les danses des morts*, Rouen, 1852.

64. On the English examples, see *Archæol. Journal*, 1848, p. 69 *sqq.* (plates): on that at Badenweiler (badly preserved), the essay of its discoverer, Dr. Lübke, in the Supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Sept. 23 and 24, 1866. Instances both of Death riding an ox, and of scenes from the tale of the Three Living and Three Dead, have already come before us in fourteenth century MSS.

65. See Zingerle and Seeloz, J., *Freskencyclus des Schlosses Runkelstein bei Bozen*, Innsbrück, 1859. New drawings have been made by authority of the *k. k. Centralcommission.*

66. For the Erfurt tapestries see Eye, A. von, *Anzeiger für Kunde der Vorzeit*, 1866; and compare Lambel, H., in *Germania*, vol. xi. p. 493: for those at Wienhausen, Mithof, *Archiv für Niedersachsens Kunstgeschichte*, ii. 6: and for those in the town-hall at Regensburg, Sighart, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste im Königr. Bayern*, p. 414: Hefner-Alteneck, *Trachten*, Pl. 100; compare *Germania*, 1878, p. 276.

67. The Salzburg *Antependium* is published by Heider, G., in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Centralcommission*, 1862, p. 29; that from Pirna in Schulz and Klemm's *Guide* to the Museum of National Antiquities in Dresden, and again in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, vol. iv. p. 280.

68. See Viollet-le-Duc, *Dict. du mobilier français*, vol. i. p. 234.

69. *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 9.

70. On the technical methods of painting in use in the Middle Age consult Eastlake, Sir Charles, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, London, 1847, 1869.

71. The text of these statutes has been published by Pangerl, M., with supplements by Woltmann, A. in the series of *Quellenschriften*, vol. xiii., *Das Buch der Malerzeche in Prag*, Vienna, 1878.

72. An inscription of the time of the last restoration gives the date of the completion of the building as A.D. 1343, and of the different renewals as A.D. 1412, 1588, 1594, and 1654. But the first date can scarcely be trusted, as the consecration of the monastery only took place, as stated in the text, A.D. 1372.

73. *Ut ipse diligenciori studio pingat loca et castra ad quas deputatus fuerit.*

74. For example, a half-length of the Virgin with the Child, undraped, reaching up caressingly to her face, is in S. Stephen's at Prague; also two pictures with similar motives, not differing one from the other, in the church of the Minorites at Krumau, and in the monastery church at Hohenfurt. The face of the Virgin is a delicate oval shape, with high forehead and scarcely any eyebrows. The high lights in the flesh are white, and the hair is painted with hatchings. In both cases figures of saints are let into the frames; in Krumau, chiefly saints of the mendicant orders; and in Hohenfurt, female saints and S. Wenzel, besides the donor, a monk of the Cistercian order. The frame of the Vera Icon in the Cathedral at Prague is of the same kind, and adorned with figures of the patron saints of Bohemia; and the picture itself probably belongs to the same group, although its characteristics are not so easy to recognise in the principal subject—a typical full face of Christ.

75. Attributed without foundation to Nicolaus Wurmser.

76. *Advertentes artificiosam picturam et solemnem regalis nostrae cappellae in K.*

77. On the position of apprentices see *Das Buch der Malerzeche*, note 371.

78. This entry was discovered by Ennen, Keeper of the archives; see *Köln. Zeitung*, August 9, 1859. For the records concerning Wilhelm of Herle see Merlo, *Nachrichten von Kölner Kunstlern*, Cologne, 1850, p. 509, and Supplement to same, 1851, p. 31.

79. Figured in Förster, *Denkmale*, v.

80. Concerning examples of this period in Salzburg see Sighart in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-commission*, 1866, p. 65; in Nuremberg, Rettberg, R. von, *Nürnberg's Kunstleben in seinen Denkmalen dargestellt*, Stuttgart, 1854.

81. This altar-piece was dedicated by Kunz Imhof between A.D. 1418 and 1422, as we can tell from its containing the arms of his three first wives, but not of the fourth, who was a Wolkramer, and whom he married A.D. 1422.

82. In the possession of Fräulein Gabriele Prizibraum at Vienna.

83. Figured in Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Early Flemish Painters*, English ed.; see Laborde, Comte L. de, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, vol. i.; and *Catalogue hist. et descr. du Musée de Dijon*, 1869.

84. The essential literary sources for the history of Italian painting in this period are the following:—Vasari, Giorgio, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti.*, original eds., 1550 and 1568; later ed., with supplementary matter, Bottari, G., Rom, 1759; Valle, Guglielmo della, Siena, 1791-1794; Montani, Giuseppe, and Maselli, Giovanni, Florence, 1832-1838; recent critical ed. in 14 small vols., Florence, Le Monnier, 1846-1870; prefaced to vol. i. are the *Commentaries* of Lorenzo Ghiberti. Two vols. have appeared of an important new issue of this edition, with additional matter, viz. *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, Florence, 1878. Uncritical Italian literature of later times; Baldinucci, Fil., *Notizie de' Professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua*, Florence, 1681-1728; Lanzi, L., *Storia pittorica dell' Italia*, Bassano, 1789; Rosini, Giov., *Storia della pittura italiana esposta coi monumenti*, 7 vols., Pisa, 1839-1854. Modern critical writings and researches, beginning with Rumohr, C. F. von, *Ital. Forschungen*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1827-1831; Förster, E., *Beiträge zur neueren Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1835; *Geschichte der italienischen Kunst*, Leipzig, 1870; *Denkmale der ital. Malerei*, Leipzig, vols. i.-iii; Schnaase, vii.; Crowe and Cavalcaselle, i. and ii.; Burckhardt, J., *Der Cicerone*, iii.; Lübke, W., *Geschichte der ital. Malerei vom 4 bis zum 16 Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1878; publications of documents and letters, Valle, G. della, *Lettere Sanesi*, Venice, 1782-1786; Gaye, Giovanni, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei Secoli xiv. xv. xvi.*, 3 vols., Florence, 1839 *sq.*

85. On this point the author agrees with Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting in Italy;* but in the following paragraph he dissents from the conclusions of those writers, and agrees with Vasari in assigning exclusively to Cimabue and his pupils the series of works in which they would discover the works of various hands. The description of Messrs. C. and C. needs correction in the following particulars: V., the angel is not thrusting Adam with his foot; both are merely walking rapidly: XII. represents Abraham and the angels; XIII., Jacob gaining his father's blessing by guile; XIV., Esau coming too late to ask his blessing.

86. See Ciampi, *Notizie inedite, etc.*, p. 110, Florence, 1810; comp. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 319, note.

87. See Milanesi, Gaet., *Sulla storia dell' arte Toscana*, Siena, 1873; *della vera età di Guido pittore senese.* This Guido is probably identical with a Guido Graziani who appears in documents after A.D. 1278. A false date, 1221, appears in the picture as at present restored, before the verses, *Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amenis, Quem Christus lenis nullis velit agere penis.*

88. See Milanesi, Gaet., *Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, Siena, 1854, vol. i. pp. 158, 168, 166. The picture is inscribed, *Mater sancta Dei sis causa Senis requiei, sis Ducio vita, te quia depinxit ita.* Published by Emil Braun from drawings by Rhodens and Bartoccini, Leipzig, 1848; Förster, *Denkmale*, i., plates 17-20.

89. For the general position of Pietro Cavallini see Crowe and Cavalcaselle (following Della Valle), vol. i.; for his mosaics of *Santa Maria in Trastevere* see Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani* (the inscription, *Hoc opus fecit Petrus*, was legible here as late as A.D. 1640); for his employment at Naples, Schulz, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 76, and vol. iv. p. 127.

90. For the mosaics of Torriti at the Lateran see Gutensohn and Knapp, Pl. 46; Valentini, Ag. and Gerardi, F., *La patriarcale basilica Lateranense*, Rome, 1833, vol. ii. Pl. 30; for those at *Santa Maria Maggiore*, Gutensohn and Knapp, Pl. 46, and Valentini, Ag., *La patriarcale basilica Liberiana* (Rome, 1839), Pl. 55. Those at the Lateran are for the present removed for purposes of restoration; coloured cartoon copies, on a large scale, are to be seen in the Christian Museum of the Lateran.

91. Vasari, who knows nothing of Rusuti, ascribes the execution of the lower pictures to the aforementioned Gaddo Gaddi, who, according to this, must have already come under the influence of his contemporary Giotto; see Milanesi, ed., vol. i. p. 347.

92. Consult, besides the general literature mentioned in note 84, Schnaase *Gesch. d. bild. Künste*, Dobbert, E., in Dohme's *Kunst u. Künstler*, vol. iii. For Giotto's birthdate, see Pucci's *Centiloquio*, in *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani*, vol. vi. p. 119; comp. Vasari, ed., Milanesi, vol. i. p. 370, note. The name of Giotto's father, Bondone, on which doubt was cast by Rumohr, is established by the decree of A.D. 1334, mentioned in the text (published by Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 481).

93. See Ricobaldi Ferrariensis *sive alterius anonymi scriptoris compilatio*, etc., in Muratori, *SS. rerum Italicarum*, vol. ix. p. 255:—*Zotus pictor eximius Florentinus agnoscitur; qualis in arte fuerit testantur opera facta per eum in Ecclesiis Minorum Assisii, Arimini, Paduae ac per ea quae pinxit in Palatio Comitis Paduae et in Ecclesia Arenae Paduae;* comp. Villani, *Cronica*, lib. xi. cap. 12.

94. In holding this view the author dissents from Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and agrees with Dobbert. The words of Ghiberti concerning Giotto—*Dipinse nella chiesa d' Assisi, nell' ordine de' Frati Minori, quasi tutta la parte di sotto*—refers evidently not to the Lower Church, but to the lowest tier of frescoes, those illustrating the life of the saint in the Upper Church.

95. Text in Baldinucci, Life of Giotto *ad. inst.*

96. See Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 413.

97. See excerpts from the MS. commentary on Dante of Benvenuto da Imola in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. med. aev.* (Milan, 1738), vol. i. col. 1185 *sqq.* On the Arena frescoes in general, consult Selvatico, P. E., *Sulla cappellina degli Scrovegni nell' arena di Padova e sui freschi di Giotto in essa dipinti*, Padua, 1836; Ruskin, John, *Giotto and his Works in Padua*, London, 1854, Arundel Society's publications, comp. Förster, E., *Denkmale*, i. Pl. 21-25.

98. Burckhardt.

99. Schnaase, *Gesch. d. bild. Künste.*

100. See Savonarola, Michele, *De laudibus urb. Patav.* in Muratori, *SS. rerum Ital.* xxiv., 1169 *sq.*

101. Text in Rumohr, *Ital. Forschungen*, vol. ii. p. 51, and Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 426 [transl. by Rossetti, D. G., *Specimens of the Early Italian poets*].

102. Cennino Cennini da Colle di Valdelsa, *Il libro dell' arte o trattato della pittura*, ed. by Milanesi, Carl., and Gaet., Florence, 1859; German ed. by Ilg, A., in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna, 1871.

103. See Eastlake, Sir Ch., on the connection between the early History of Painting and that of Medicine, in *Materials for a History of Oil Painting*, chap. i.

104. On the Confraternity of S. Luke, see Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 673, in Life of Jacopo di Casentino. Text of the statutes in Gaye ii. 32 (under date, wrongly according to Milanesi, A.D. 1339). Comp. statutes of Sienese painters, *Ibid.* ii. 1.

105. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i.

106. The Maso of the text is probably identical with one Maso the son of Banco, admitted to the guild of *Speziali* A.D. 1343, and to the confraternity of painters A.D. 1350; Giottino, on the contrary, was called Giotto di Maestro Stefano, and appears in the registers of painters A.D. 1368. See Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 622.

107. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 459. Pictures bearing the signature Bernardus, had hitherto been erroneously ascribed to the brother of Orcagna, commonly styled Nardo—an abbreviation, however, which has been proved to stand in this case not for Bernardo, but for Lionardo.

108. *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 572 note.

109. For details concerning Traini, consult Bonaini, Fr., *Memorie inedite intorno alla vita*, etc., *di Fr. Traini*, Pisa, 1846.

110. Consult Marchesi, Padre V., *Memorie dei pittori, scultori, ed architetti Dominicani*, 2d ed., vol. i. p. 124; and comp. Schnaase, vol. vii. p. 446. The authorship of the various frescoes in the Spanish Chapel has been much debated, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, holding that some of the compositions may be by Taddeo, fail to see his hand in the execution, but suggest (without sufficient grounds) the names of Andrea di Firenze and Antonio Veneziano. For the work of these masters in the Campo Santo at Pisa, see pp. 473 *sqq.*) Schnaase assigns to some follower of Giotto the works given by Vasari to Taddeo Gaddi, and the rest to a Sienese hand.

111. See the masterly essay of Hettner, H., *Die Dominikaner in der Kunstgeschichte des* 14 *u.* 15 *Jahrhunderts*, in his *Italienische Studien* (Brunswick, 1879), p. 97.

112. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. i., for an account of the remains of a fresco of corresponding subject, preserved in the building now occupied by the *Accademia Filarmonica* (*Via del diluvio*).

113. Petr. *Epist. fam.*, lib. v. 17; *Sonnetti* 57, 58, 100.

114. Milanesi, Gaet. and Carlo, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, vol. i. p. 216.

115. The only account of these Avignon frescoes (which the author has not yet seen) is that given by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, vol. ii.

116. Milanesi, Gaet. and Carlo, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 194. Vasari does not know that Pietro and Ambrogio were brothers, and gives to Pietro, from a false reading of an inscription, the surname Laurati.

117. The ascription of the fresco of the Hermits in the Campo Santo to Pietro di Lorenzo was first, and rightly, disputed by Förster, *Gesch. der Ital. Malerei*, vol. ii. p. 382. With this fresco the panels of the same subject at Berlin and the Uffizj disappear also from the list of Pietro's works. The frescoes given by Vasari to Cavallini in the south transept of the Lower Church at Assisi, are transferred by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Pietro di Lorenzo, but seem rather to resemble the work of his brother Ambrogio.

118. For the documents concerning Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, see Milanesi, Gaet., and Carlo, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 285, 304 *sqq.*, vol. ii. p. 36; Gaye, *Carteggio*, vol. i. p. 70; Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. ii. pp. 33, 37. For those concerning Andrea Vanni, Milanesi, Gaet., and Carlo, *op. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 295, 305 *sqq.;* for Ugolino da Orvieto (*al.* Ugolino *da Prete Ilario*) Luzi., Ludov., *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Florence, 1866), doc. xxvii. xxxvii. *sqq.*

119. Consult Bonaini, *Memorie inedite intorno alla vita e ai dipinti di Fr. Traini* . . . ; Förster, Beiträge, p. 105; and Lasinio, *Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa* (40 plates).

120. Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute this famous fresco to Pietro di Lorenzo on the strength of its analogy with the fresco of the Hermits in the same place. But, as we have already said (note 117), the attribution of the latter work itself is more than doubtful. Milanesi, on the other (Vasari, ed. Milanesi, vol. i. p. 468), would assign the work to Bernardo Daddi, on the strength of an anonymous MS. in the *Bibl. Magliabecchiana* (Cod. Gaddiani, Cl. xvii. No. 17); but a comparison with Bernardo's rigid frescoes in S. Croce disposes of this statement at once. The words of the MS. are: *Bernardo fu discepolo di Giotto et operò assai in Firenze et in altri luoghi. In Pisa dipinse la chiesa di S. Paolo a Ripa d'Arno et in Campo Santo lo Inferno.*

121. Vasari ascribes the upper tier of the Ranieri frescoes to Simone da Siena; but we have the actual entry of a payment made to Andrea da Firenze, October 13, A.D. 1377, which proves that the latter was their real author, at a time when Simone had been thirty years dead. This Andrea may probably have been identical with the Andrea Buonajuti whom we find admitted to the guild A.D. 1343, and making his will November 13, A.D. 1377. To complete the Ranieri cycle it was first intended to call in Barnaba da Modena, A.D. 1380; but negotiations with this artist do not seem to have come to an issue, and the execution of the three lower pictures fell, as has been said in the text, to Antonio di Francesco, who had been matriculated as a member of the Florentine guild A.D. 1374. He received payment for his three pictures at Pisa A.D. 1386.

122. See Schulz, *Zur Gesch. der Malerei im Königreich Neapel*, in *Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, vol. iii. p. 143.

123. See Aloë, Cav. Stanislas, *Les peintures de Giotto de l'Eglise de l'Incoronata à Naples*, Berlin, 1843; and Schulz, Pl. 76, Fig. 1.

124. See Brufalli, *Memorie originali riguandanti Ottaviano Nelli*, Perugia, 1872; comp. Förster, *Gesch. d. ital. Kunst*, vol. iv. p. 107 (plate in *Denkmale*, vol. iii. Pl. 2, 3). The Arundel Society have published a coloured reproduction of this work.

125. *E.g.* The coronation of the Virgin by Semitecolo in the Academy (A.D. 1351); Christ enthroned by Lorenzo Veneziano in the Correr Museum (A.D. 1369).

126. Altichiero is mentioned first by Michele Savonarola, a famous physician at Padua in the fifteenth century (Savonarola, M., *Commentariolus de laudibus urbis Patavii* in Muratori, *Rev. Ital. Script.*, vol. xxiv. col. 1133); then by an anonymous amateur of the beginning of the sixteenth century, whose manuscript notes of travel in Northern Italy were edited by Morelli A.D. 1800, and who is thence known as the *Anonimo di Morelli* (*Notizia d'opere di disegno nella prima metà del secolo* XVI. *esistenti in Padova, Venezia, Milano, Pavia, Bergamo, Crema e Cremona, scritta da un anonimo di quel tempo, pubblicata e illustrata da* D. Jacopo Morelli, *Bassano*, 1800); and lastly by Vasari in his life of Carpaccio (ed. Le Monnier, vol. vi. p. 89). These authorities, together with Gualandi (*Memorie delle belle arti*, Scr. vi. p. 135), exhibit discrepancies, which we have no means of reconciling, as to the parts which they severally assign to Altichiero and Avanzi in the decorations of the *Cappella S. Felice and the Cappella S. Giorgio*, as also of the *Sala de Giganti* in the *Palazzo del Capitano*, now turned into a university library, and containing almost indistinguishable remains of frescoes. The *Anonimo* of Morelli professes uncertainty whether Jacopo Avanzi was a native of Padua, or Verona, or Bologna; but it is clear that the painter of the Paduan frescoes cannot be identical with the *Jacobus de Avanciis de Bononia*, whose signature occurs on an indifferent panel in the Colonna Gallery at Rome.

127. E. Förster, who discovered these pictures A.D. 1837, deciphered the inscription, *Avantiis Ver . . .* beneath the border of the last fresco from the life of S. Luçy. Savonarola gives Altichiero alone as the painter, Vasari and the *Anonimo*, both Altichiero and Avanzi. See Förster, E., *Die Wandgemälde der S. Georgenkapelle zu Padua*, Berlin, 1841.

128. See Ridolfi, C., *Le Meraviglie dell' Arte* (Venice, 1648), p. 27.

129. Rome, *Bibl. Nat.*, No. 1071. *Liber de venatione avium. Auctor est divus Augustus Fridericus secundus Roman. imperator, Jerus. et Sic. rex.*

130. Florence, *Bibl. Laur.*, No. 300, small fol., 13th cent.

131. For the La Cava MSS. see Guillaume, P., *Essai historique sur l'Abbaye de Cava dei Tirreni*, 1877. For the Virgil with the false signature of Simone of Siena, Rosini, Pl. xvi., and the reputation of its authenticity in Schnaase, *Gesch. d. bild. Kunste*, vol. vii. p. 430.

132. This statement concerning the residence of Oderigi in Bologna has been confirmed for the interval A.D. 1268-1271 by recent researches; see *Giornale d'Erudizione Artistica*, Perugia, 1873, vol. ii. p. 1.

133. London, *Brit. Mus.*, MSS., Regia, 6 E. ix.

134. Rome, *Bibl. Vat.*, No. 2639 (see Seroux d' Agincourt, Pl. 75, Figs. 4-7); Munich, *Staatsbibl.*, Lat. 10072 (with the signature *Nicolaus de Bononia p.* on two of the pictures, and at the end, *correctum et scriptum per me bartholomeum de bartholis de bononia scriptorem* mccclxxiii. *indictione*, xii. xiii. Feb.); Venice, *Bibl. Marc.*, Cl. iii. cod. xcvii.

135. *E.g.* prob. the *Corcordantiae Canonicae* and the *Liber Decretalium* at Naples, *Bibl. Nat.*, xii. A. 1 u. 2, and the *Digesta* at Turin, *Bibl. Nat.*, E. I. 1.

136. Florence, *Bibl. Laur.*, Badìa Cod. ix., No. 204; London, *Brit. Mus.*, Addit. MSS. 19587; Stuttgart, *Oeff. Bibl., Poet. et Philol.*, fol. 19; Modena, *Bibl. Est.;* Naples, *Bibl. Naz.*, No. 26; Venice, *Bibl. Marc.*, Cl. ix. Cod. cclxxvi.; Paris, *Bibl. Nat., Ital.* 73, written A.D. 1403 by Paolo di Duccio Tosi of Pisa for Francesco Petrucci at Siena.

137. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 4274. Text in French, *Institution de l'ordre du Saint Esprit par le Roy Louis de Sicile et de Jérusalem* en 1352.

138. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, Franç. 9561, Lat. 8846; Brussels, *Bibl. de Bourgogne*, 11060, 11061.

139. See Schack, A. Fr. von, *Poesie u. Kunst der Araber in Spanien u. Sicilien*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1865.

140. See Goury, M. J. and Jones, Owen, *Plans, Elevations, and Details of the Alhambra*, London, 1842, vol. i. Pl. 46 *sqq.* Compare Kugler, *Kl. Schriften*, vol. ii. p. 687.

141. Vienna, *Hofbibl.*, Cod. Orient. A. F. 9 (709) and A. T. 93 (205); Nos. 372 and 512 respectively in the catalogue of Flügel. Concerning the former example see Prisse d' Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaïre*, atlas iii. Pl. 177-180.

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Printed by R. & R. CLARK, *Edinburgh.*

00080255

Digitized with financial assistance from

Hermès India

a project facilitated by the Rotary Club of Bombay

on 12 April, 2019